GUIDE TO THE FL6 DOROBO FILE

The FL6 Dorobo file consists of 14 sources, all of which are in English. This file contains data on the rather scattered Dorobo tribes of Kenya, East Africa, variously known as Il-Torōbo, Okiek, El Dorobo, Andorobo, Asa, and Wandorobbo. Information is also to be found in this file on other non-Dorobo tribes such as the Acholi, Jiye, Masai, Kikuyu, and Nandi, and appropriately subheaded where applicable. Of the 14 sources comprising this file, six were written by a professional anthropologist (i.e., G.W.B. Huntingford), six by various government officials, one by a natural scientist, and one by a traveler. The sources were analyzed in 1962 and 1964, and range in date of publication from 1903 to 1954.

A general survey and basic identification of the Dorobo people will be found in sources 1, 2, 7, 8, 9 and 14. Data on economic life will be found primarily in sources 3 and 6; material culture in 3; folklore in 2; religion in 3, 5 and 13; trade in 3; physical data on the people in 3 and 7; social organization in 1, 4, and 14; clans in 4, 5, 10 and 11; diet in 6; various aspects of property ownership in 6 and 8; foreign relations in 9, 11, and 14; marriage in 9;

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mortality and birth statistics in 9; cultural history in 12; kinship structure in 14; general treatment of offenses in 5; and vocabularies and word lists in 2, 3, 7, and 10.

Although this file does not contain a great many pages of text material, data can be found in most cultural categories, and the file is generally adequate for cross-cultural purposes. --Analyst.

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1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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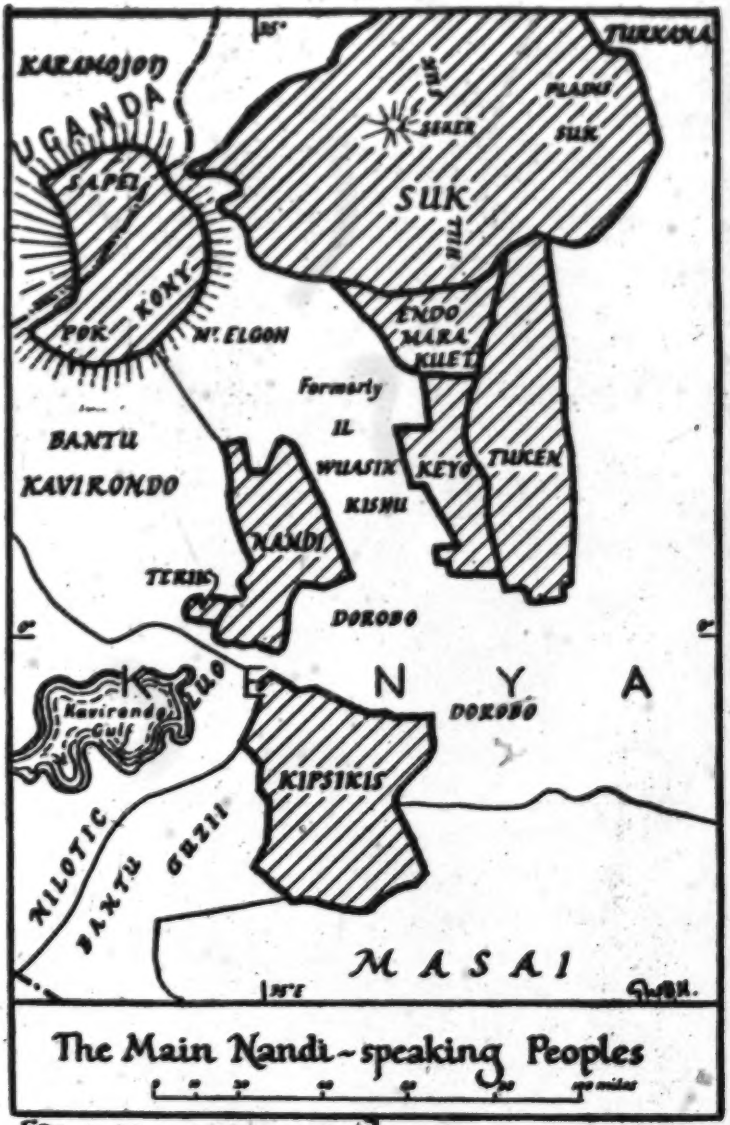

The Main Nandi-speaking Peoples

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THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Turuit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 202
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93
[4] ∞ Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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IL-TORŌBO

PART I

BEING SOME NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *DOROBO*[1] FOUND IN THE MASAI RESERVE OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS

THE name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torôbôni*, *Il-Torôbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. "Tribe," *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

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race "without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a charateristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name "Dorobo" would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop* short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] "The Dorolo," say the Masai, "live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorolo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorolo?" While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name "Dorobo" here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word "Swahili" cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[1] Hobley, p. 135. [2] Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore.*
[3] Masai: *En-dorōbōni*; *pl.* *'N-dorōbo*; the tsetse fly.

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101 [124] of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balafigai	Il-Balafiga
2. Ol-Kinyalafigati	Il-Kinyalafigat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro [3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo [4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

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[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes. [G14]

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole. [193]

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve.

[4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitēto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself " originated " in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name " Lumbwa " is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

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cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-ainer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Nandeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masaland, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-igwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro ; Il-Médiak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Counsellor.

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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Mdiah* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

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palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumas* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I MUST confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen [1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balaidge* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mōiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mōiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 119 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mōiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 133.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 130 in *Journal* for January 1918.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaigo* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peikya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Moiyo*

[1] See p. 131, fn. 1. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unconfirmated statements made by certain Masai.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mátoo* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigi*. The *Mátoo* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mátoo*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *h*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oitá, Purko and Ol-Ositkitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Máisi*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kwaloi*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kwaloo* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitókwa; Il-Kisongore[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyéi* family of the *Il-Mólelyan* clan (*Dublin*).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

or whether they are as closely connected as the *Médiré*, *Médiré* and *Kisuaheee*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wangiu and Wasigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wangua and Wasigua inhabiting the Talamai-Gitu-Mtambaio area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wangua and Wasigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kingua and Kisigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Médiré* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Médiré*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wangua and Wasigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kingua or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, so far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Baiedga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Méisho*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kikoes), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Baiedga* and *Kiwyaiedgai* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kuanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-pordwe'* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai pene- 174
trated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted 534
throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre [1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo 101 ●
would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by 531
the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were [386]
even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokondet* (Nandi); *Hocmbi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their [648]
reward is as much meat as they can consume.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

101 apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of
194 speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with
[181] invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

114 *Note.*—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faa* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ngamfigam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

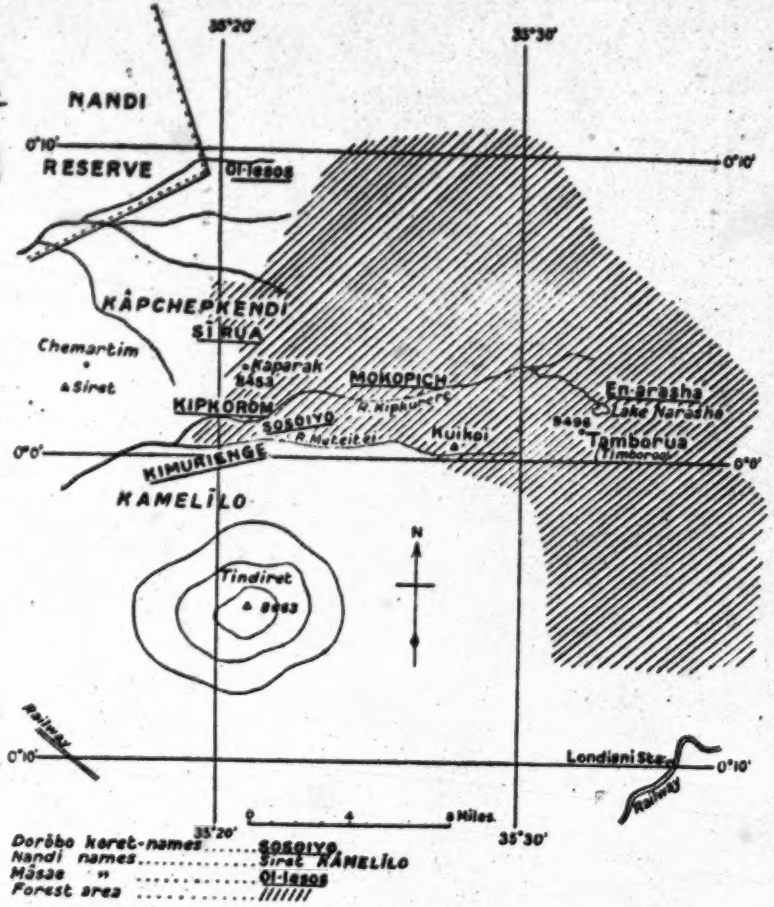

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DORÔBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsae words are marked thus: † (*engerait*†).

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Tindiret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmelilo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsae they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. En-Dorôbôni, pl. In-Dorôbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsae name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper.

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mogogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ñgiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Mâsae, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguturk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandurôbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

105 Wakuafi [Mâsae] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the 114 southern Mâsae. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. 7/A

● 101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-'l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkunerek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mâsae.
6. Salêta.	
7. Kidong.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Sisiwek and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ñgiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Aramanik.[2]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mâsae and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 188; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 130.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Torôbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 240.

7/A [See source number 2, this file--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsae story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

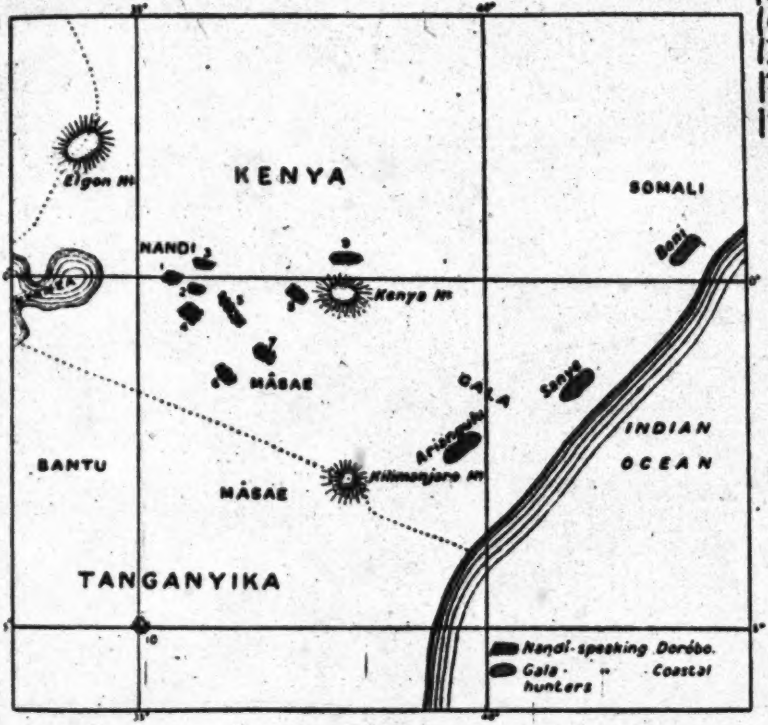

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Koñgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Sanye and Ariangulu have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bōni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bōni, Ariangulu, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume N.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Biasutti[2] to be connected with the Dorōbo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UAUAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA–, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	uli-tok	korosue-chu	olekinye-tukul,	kimi
We-dwelt	here	countries-these	of-old-always,	there-were
Meek	komaa-i	kewanni	ak	Ipkwapek	komaa-in
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Maasae	side-that
ellgatet.	Olekinye	kimi	Kâpcheptuen	ulin-po	korosue-chu	tukul
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Sirikwa	there-of (-at)	countries-these	all
ulin-bori	po	Soiin[3]	ko-pet-yo	keny.	Ma-ki-sue	kiit'-ake.
there-down	is	Soiin	they-are-lost	long-ago.	Not-we-know	thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country; the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Maasae on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Sirikwa' lived in the plain of Soiin below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kâmellio-Kâpchepkendi Dorōbo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*saangutiet ap samak*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*koroita*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the Kâplelach age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1895, when the Maasae suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorōbo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorōbo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] E. Cerulli, "The Folk-literature of the Gala of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I miei trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 4, vol. vi, p. 175.

[3] Soiin was one of the Nandi emotinuek, or "counties," which was cut off after the Nandi Punitive Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorōbo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Muhoroni to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiin.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenstwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*emilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorôbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsiktsin (Kipsiktsindet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsiktsiek). il-Kakesant.
Màsae, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Mee (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorôbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorôbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorôbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Màsae to the Bantu "savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = "the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning "boy."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

144 In conclusion, I do not consider that the physical characteristics of the Dorōbo throw much light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Nilo-Hamitic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment.[1]

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101 114 [1] In the foregoing paper no remark has been made as to the "false" Dorōbo. There are a large number of people of all sorts of tribes, who have taken to the woods, and live as outlaws, mostly on account of some misbehaviour. The numbers of true Dorōbo have probably been swelled also by people from the tribes next to whom they dwell, *e.g.*, Masai, Nandi, etc. But these additions to the numerical strength of a section are by no means Dorōbo, though they may be so in name. And I cannot accept Merker's view of the origin of the Dorōbo. (*Die Masai*, pp. 6-9, 221, etc.; Miss Werner's review of Hollis, *The Masai*, in *Man*, 1905, 62, p. 100.) Merker's work is not, I believe, very reliable, and he seems to be a rather prejudiced observer. The physical characteristics which we have noted may, perhaps, be taken as one indication among others that the Dorōbo we met were true Dorōbo, and not outlaws of other tribes. The effects of environment are not likely to make themselves visible in a few years only. The fact that three Dorōbo vocabularies (luckily recorded by Mr. Hobley, *loc. cit.*) show that the true Dorōbo language is similar to Nandi in structure, may, I think, be taken asome evidence against those who maintain that the Dorōbo of Mau, E-uasoñgiro, Kenya, Saliṭa, etc., are formed mostly of outlaws from neighbouring tribes.—[G. W. B. H.]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tindiret Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cockman and E. G. Whittall for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HOBLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiot*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

Group	Horde	Now or formerly [a] in contact with	Territory
I. Western [b]:	1. Kipkurerek	Nandi	Kenya
	2. Tindiret	Nandi	Kenya
	3. Lo-l-diani	Nandi	Kenya
	4. Ravine	Nandi, Tuken, Keyo	Kenya
	5. Western Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
	6. Eastern Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
II. Central [c]:	7. Dundule	Masae	Kenya
	8. Saleta	Masae	Kenya
	9. Kidong	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
	10. Digiri	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
III. Eastern [c]:	11. Kisima	Masae	Kenya
	12. Mt. Kenya	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
IV. Southern:	13. Mosiro	Masae	Tanganyika
	14. Aramanik.	Masae	Tanganyika

[a] I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.
[b] Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.
[c] Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HOBLEY (1905).

101
101
631
331
133

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI[th] dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[5]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[6]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[5] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[6] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
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D JA 133 [312]

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kameon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

D JA [221]

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

D JA 137

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

D JA 103

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

D JA 101 131

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karomojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magosi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	„
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kadama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	„
Ngi'ngoleriet	„
Ngi'merimong	„
Ngi'kopo	„
Ngi'pei	„

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	„ „
Ngi'watia	„ „
Ngi'kotido	„ „
Ngi'panyangara	„ „
Ngi'owtakow	„ „
Ngi'silanga	„ „

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
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(3) Dodotho.	Area.
Ngi'nkorikituk	Loyoro
Ngi'meris	Tuhuli-Tuhuli
Ngi'tiiti	Chibak
Ngi'kasimeri	„
Ngi'teuso	Pula-Pula

(4) Nangiya and Niporen :—Area, Lomalil Hill.

D J A 101

For a reason to be stated shortly, two important subdivisions, one of the Jie people and another of the Karamojong, do not appear in Capt. Chidlaw Roberts' list; nor is mention made of a highly interesting folk calling themselves Dorobo (Wanderobo) who live on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment, north of Kameon.

The people are very similar both in appearance and dress throughout Karamoja, and it is difficult to discover their tribal relationship. According to one tradition they and the Turkana folk were originally one great tribe, and their present dissociation is due to disputes over grazing-ground rights; while some aver that the tribes were always distinct and separate. But, inasmuch as it is found that considerable differences exist in important matters of procedure and belief the Karamojong, Jie, Dodotho, and Dorobo are herein regarded as separate tribes.

3.—THE LABWOR

A 133

(1) *Environment.*—The Labwor hills are situated on the western border of Karamoja and are unlike those of the rest of the country (except those of Nakwai, that lie a few miles to the south-east of them) in that water can be obtained among them all the year round. On this account the history of the inhabitants differs from that of what may be called the more typically Karamojan tribes. (*See* map p. 189.)

A 142

(2) *Physical Characteristics.*—The people of Labwor though decidedly Karamojan in physiognomy and build, and typically so in dress, appear to be somewhat mixed in type. Of recent years they have intermarried to some extent with the Acholi and have acquired a little of their astonishing high spirits. The figures in the accompanying plates (Pl. XIX-XXIII) will give a better idea of the appearance of these people than a verbal description would do.

A 361 343

(3) *Mode of Life.* (a) *The Village.*—In construction the Labwor village (*gang*) is almost exactly that of the Lango as described by Driberg,[1] except that it is enclosed by a palisade (*kyel*), and that the grain stores (*daero*) are not ornamented.[2]

A 291

(b) *Dress and Adornment.*—The first point of difference that strikes one between the Labwor and their neighbours, the Acholi, is their mode of dress. Among the latter the men are seldom completely nude and the women very generally so, except for a few beads or a diminutive apron; among the Labwor, however, the men go about practically naked while the women are more or less clothed.

[1] *The Lango*, London, 1923, p. 71.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, plate opposite p. 112.

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58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

8-Lambert-G G-6 (ca. 1935-1949) 1950 F18 Dorobo F18

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in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilchiaraguta, Buru, Dorobos etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /15/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior clan of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Kamba Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tame fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ani and the Kikuyu call them Adai. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adai."

/10 cont'd/

The "Dorobo Committee" of 1929, appointed to investigate and make recommendations regarding accommodation for the various sections of the Dorobo, defined the word as a general term including many kinds of hunting people, who were usually in scattered families with no tribal organisation, were generally known by the name of some river or hill where they were found, and were pre-tribal and pre-pastoral. 101

80. The Kenya Land Commission was presented with at least two lengthy memoranda on the subject. One was that of Mr. G.W.B. Huntingford, the Local Correspondent for Kenya of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Mr. Huntingford, inter alia, said:

> "The hunting tribes who live in various forest regions of Kenya Colony are termed collectively Dorobo, or, in their own language, Okiek ... The Dorobo are the nearest approach to aboriginal inhabitants to be found in Kenya ... The Dorobo are not as other tribes. They are by far the most primitive in Kenya, and incredibly shy."

In another memorandum Mr. Huntingford gave his views as to Dorobo relationships:

> /11/ "The Dorobo are members of the race of hunters to which belong also the Watta or Wat of Abyssinia, the Sanye Segeju of Tanaland, the Boni of Jubaland, the Midgan of Somali, the Ariangulo[1] of the Taru Desert, the Dume of Lake Stephanie,

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1. This is apparently a Bantu word meaning 'Water buck Eaters'. They are possibly a sub-section of the Nilgiri section. But cf. Hobley in Kenya: From Chartered Company to Crown Colony: "... while camped at the Taru waterholes, we got into touch with a curious tribe, generally known as the Wa-Langulo, this being a nickname given to them by the Bantu Samburu tribe which means 'those who eat pig'. The Wa-Langulo are really serfs to the Galla; farther north they are called the Wa-Sania, and their language is a dialect of Galla. They are a hunting people and roam about in the arid hinterland which lies behind the coastal belt from the Tana River to what was then the Anglo-German border. If they shoot an elephant one tusk is given to the Galla chief."

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and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro. The Watta may be the same as the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI Dynasty), though certain Italian authorities think the final 't' may not be part of the root. But the Galla call the Sanye Wanya, plural Watwa[2], which may show a stem Wa-, with a plural suffix in 't'; if we can accept this, we may see in Uauat a reduplication of the stem Wa with a suffix 't', and if we may identify the Watta with the Uauat, we have historical evidence of the antiquity of the hunting tribes, and confirmation of the Nandi and Masai view that the Dorobo are the autochthonous inhabitants of Eastern Africa." 101

The following is extracted from a memorandum submitted by Lt.-Colonel H.F. Stoneham, C.B.E., F.R.A.I.:

"There seems little doubt that the greater part of Eastern and Central Africa, from the coasts to the Congo forests, was inhabited in early times by short dwarflike peoples akin to the Pygmies of the Congo forests and the Bushmen of South Africa. As a result, first of Bantu invasions, and later by invasions of Nilo-Hamites, these little people have been split up, exterminated or absorbed in and by these later arrivals, and we now find in various parts of the country remnants of them only, some having adopted the speech and customs of the invaders either in part or whole, and all of them living lives of hunters in the hills and forests, few owning property except dogs. Thus most of those met with today are of mixed origin. Perhaps the best known are the Dorobo (El Torobo or dwarfs). The Dorobo, like the Agumba and cognate peoples, are hunters ... 174

2. This would connect the Sanye with the Twa. But the peoples of the northern coast identify the Sanye with the Dahalo and consider the Twa a separate people.

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All that denotes is that, in a very general sense, they have a common culture. All the tribes in the Land Unit, except the Embu and Mbere, told the 1929 Committee that they were in that stage of culture too not so long ago. 174

62. Somewhat different groupings of tribes and sub-tribes into peoples descended from the original Dorobo tribe were given in evidence before the Land Commission by another authority, Mr. Cardale Lock, based on information he had acquired by reason of his position as "a chief elder in more tribes than one". He said:

> "As a result of my researches, I find that the Dorobo are perfectly correctly the original settlers of this Colony, and their history goes back thousands and thousands of years. The Dorobo are a people, not always a part of a people: the Dorobo are the people whom we know as Dorobo all through Masai and Kikuyu, but when we come up here" (i.e. in the vicinity of Kitale) "the Dorobo is not a Dorobo any longer in the same way. Old Arap Kasisi and his tribes and these tribes on Elgon are also the original Dorobo ... Of the Masai, another lot were originally Dorobo, viz., the Kabti and the Matabattu ... There are three groups ... the Mokeseru, the Mamasita and the Tarneero or Daithero. These three peoples were original inhabitants, and, vanquished by the incoming Masai, were incorporated and grouped under the division of the Masai called the Mulelyan, together with the L'Aiseri and the Mengama, who wandered in from the north, and fought here on the borders for a very long period, eventually making a breach in what are called the Dorobo, who are the original tribes, of which the Sogidu and the Kisii appear to be sub-tribes. They all belong together ... The three first-named peoples came from the Coast and claim to be of the same descent as the Arabs; they came up here and mixed with the Dorobo ... Arap Kasisi is of royal blood; I know him well, and can trace his pedigree back for hundreds and hundreds of years ... (Arap Kasisi's tribe) have owned Elgon for thousands of years ... He belongs to the group [101] [101]

/58 cont'd/

intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both. 174

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:- 101

> "... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..." [197]

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Karura repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes: 174 [325] [439] 174 144

> "... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

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It would seem that the Il Imwesi, though known to European settlers as "Meru Dorobo", affected the Meru very little. They were squeezed out of Katheri by the Meru and then out of the Loldaigas and the Lewa area by Europeans. They were moved back to the Meru District about 1925 and out of it again some twelve years later. 194

71. Dorobo and Mwimbi

The Mwimbi told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo used to come and go, and the implication was that there was little contact between the two tribes. It was, however, generally believed that their spokesman himself, Mbogore, had Dorobo blood in his veins. The Mwimbi failed to mention the Mwoko (Mukoko), who were possibly, according to Mr. Gurney's account, connected with them. They are noticed here because it does not seem too far-fetched to identify the "ancient Mukoko" of that account with the present Mukogodo of Nyeri District, and these Mukogodo claim, according to Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum to the Land Commission, to be pure Dorobo, though the "Dorobo Committee" reported that they were said not to be Dorobo at all, but a separate tribe living on and around the Mukogodo hills and believed to have been there from time immemorial, and that there were two sections of them, a stock-owning section who lived on the plains, and a stockless section who lived on shelves in the hills. The former might well be of the type the Meru encountered on the Tigania plains and fill Mr. Lindsay's description of the Mukogodo as "probably of Galla origin", and the latter may be true Dorobo hunters and identifiable with the Mukoko of Mr. Gurney's account. If so, one must suppose that the Mukogodo afford another instance of a symbiosis between a pastoral Hamitic tribe and a forest-dwelling hunting Dorobo type. Mr. Huntingford[2] expresses doubts about the Mukogodo similar to those of the "Dorobo Committee" and remarks: 648 101

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1. Memorandum submitted to the Land Commission.

2. loc. cit.

/63 cont'd/

"There are nine groups of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi had a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mwoko or both than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be indicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi with the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes call Mokuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbi who went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in open baraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to the Mwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was named Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the north with most of his people.

[439]

/64/ 72. Dorobo and Chuka, etc.

There is very little evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Muthambi, Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contact in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the minor tribes know of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, that there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lasting impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. None the less there is credible evidence (not advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement near Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of the present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mwea, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gichugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

/64 cont'd/
a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country". 648 101

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [582]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

/64 cont'd/

"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Ahoni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

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Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being the common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Honi. Ahoni in Kikuyu means "the Honi people", and honi may be related to an original Nyika stem foni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by n, would give mboni in Ndia and honi in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

[492]
[231]

/65 cont'd/

The Ndigiri may have been on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An old man from Igoji told me that the Dorobo formerly thereabouts were known as the Ndigiri or Mokuru, and there is a place in Imenti called "Muromo-Ntigiri" - "Doorway of the Ndigiri" - said to be on the track by which the Ndigiri migrated northwards, though the name might possibly refer to nothing but a path once used for donkey transport. 101 ●

It is possible, indeed, that the Ndigiri are (or were) very widespread in the eastern half of Kenya, for it seems unreasonably not to identify them with the Wadegere of the southern coast, of whom Captain C.T. Davenport, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, says:

> "The aboriginal inhabitants of the (Duruma) country were a tribe of hunters called Wadegere, who, but for two or three small settlements where their language is still spoken, are extinct, either through disease or through absorption by the surrounding tribes; probably the latter".

Possibly the Ndighiri "clan" of the Taveta are also Ndigiri Dorobo in origin.

75. Dorobo and Metume Kikuyu 101 648

The Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee:-

> "There were no Lorobo here" (i.e. when the Kikuyu arrived) "the nearest were on the Mau".

But Commander Lawford appears to have been informed a good many years before, when he was District Commissioner, Fort Hall, that "in years long past" the Kikuyu country, then being forest, was "in the tenure of Wanderobo"[2], and, earlier still, Mr. L. Talbot Smith, who was District Commissioner from 1908 to 1910, recorded in the Political Record that

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2. Quoted by Beech, loc. cit.

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"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Anderobo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu country by stress of famine and found it occupied by Anderobo. The Anderobo seem to have received these emigrants hospitably and to have sold them shambas which were originally demarcated by planting 'kihutia' shoots and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the shambas to this day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu shambas the bulk of the Anderobo were driven from the country".

76. Dorobo and Karura Kikuyu

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In regard to the territory south of the Chania River (the present Kiambu District) it may be said with confidence that the forest areas (much more extensive then than now) were in the occupation, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dorobo people at the time of the Kikuyu influx. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wanderobo who were hunters ... There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania".

The Committee recorded the opinion that "the Kiambu District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dorobo were hunting over it."

Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dorobo with whom the Kikuyu came into contact. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Wanderobo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of that part of the country" i.e. the Fort Hall area, "and the only previous inhabitants seem to have been a tribe called by the Kikuyu Gumba, or Maitho a Ciana. These people, from all accounts, must have been a pygmy race, few in numbers, and having no organised land occupation even for hunting purposes.

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

/68 cont'd/

Aberdares and at Kijabe. In Mr. Huntingford's classification they are presumably included in the Masai group, called Kidong, or in the Kikuyu group, called Digiri. 101 ● 174

79. It is probable that the Dorobo who lived well inside the forests south of the Chania were entirely independent of any other tribe until the Kikuyu arrived and occupied their country and gradually turned them into the half-absorbed, half-expelled people now known as the Kikuyu Dorobo, but that those living in the fringes of the forest and carrying their hunting expeditions into the plains were already under the influence -- almost under the aegis, if not the suzerainty -- of the Masai. We find them referred to occasionally as the Kaputiei Dorobo and it is not altogether too much of a strain on the imagination to suppose that the /69/ relationship was really not so much one of symbiosis or semi-dependence as one of common origin but different culture, the Dorobo and the Kaputiei representing respectively the section of a tribe which had preferred to remain in its original state of untrammelled freedom and the section of the same tribe which had assumed a pastoral life and had had a Masai militarism thrust upon it, and had as well perhaps absorbed a modicum of the Masai blood. Such a flight of the imagination would merely bring us nearer to Mr. Cardale Luck's hypothesis that the "Kabti" Masai were originally Dorobo, and possibly serve to explain the Kikuyu name of "Andu a Kabete" for the most southerly section of themselves, of whom he says, "There is a third group generally called the Kabete Kikuyu ... who have intermarried with Masai, mainly Kabte, and with their Dorobo". The word Kabte (or Kapte) certainly has more of a Nandi (and consequently, perhaps, Dorobo) than Masai flavour, and it is among the Southern Kikuyu that the two guilds, to which Hobley called attention and which he named the Kikuyu and the Masai, with differing customs in certain aspects of the social life, such as initiation, are particularly intermixed. The Kikuyu call the latter the Ukabi guild, wherein we see perhaps a recurrence of the same stem kap, though the word ukabi has generally been related to the Swahili ukwavi, derived by Bader from the Masai stem ngop. The Rev. Canon Leakey, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, said:

101 648 174 101

/69 cont'd/

"... the late Rev. W.A. McGregor ... had been living ... latterly on the Church Missionary Society Station which he founded and called Kihurukoini, and which later I renamed Kabete, reintroducing an old but almost lost Kikuyu name",

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which suggests that the alternative to "Andu a Karura" was based on an old tribal or sub-tribal name rather than on the name of some physiographical feature[1]. On these grounds it might be argued that though the predominating factor in the ethnological make-up of the southernmost Kikuyu is an influx of Kikuyu proper from Metume the people recognize (or used to recognize) a very considerable element of Kaputiei (Kabete, perhaps the same as Kwavi) blood, which may itself have had its origin in a Dorobo tribe[2]. The similarity of the word Kabete to the names of Dorobo clans may be significant.

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1. The actual place originally called Kabete is an open piece of ground in the vicinity, where water stands after the rains.

2. The following is an extract from Chief Koinange's evidence before the Land Commission: "... most of the Kaputei warriors were killed. Those who remained came to the Kikuyu and asked that they should be allowed to live amongst them at Kamiti. Their guide was Thianga and he was a Kikuyu originally, and another man also called Ndegwa wa Kamiti, stepbrother of Thianga. The chief of these Kaputei Masai is also a Kikuyu, because he was born in the Kikuyu Reserve. Their clan is called "Raisri", i.e. L'Aiser "by the Masai, and we call this clan Anjiru". This last sentence suggests a recognition of a relationship, but whether of blood or blood-brotherhood is not clear; probably the latter, though the whole passage infers a mixture of blood. In a memorandum to the Commission Chief Koinange remarks: "The Kikuyu took them over and made some ceremonies for internationality ... They are now known as Kaputie Masai, who are regarded as Kikuyu Masai (Kabutii)".

In Facing Mount Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta talks of "... this friendly relationship ... particularly between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu ..."

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

000 Africa, East. Hobley.

Notes concerning the Eldorobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
[224] a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
[233] by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
[241]
648 By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik.
They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
[191] language; in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
[563] a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and
probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
142 aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact
had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar
eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged
5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

583 Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkinde," or wild date palm, and a
few monkey-skin cloaks, or "karosses," and takes away his bride.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

D MN 192 197

—	Dorobo of Tinderet (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Ndoinet (Doinet).	Nandi.	Masai.
Bread-fruit	mulillo	—	—	—	—
Shamba	—	mwiguk	mwaret	—	en-gurum
Sheep	ridoromut	lechet	gwuth	kigirist	el-barr
Sister (sweet)	wonkito	wonkito	retwet	retwet	en-gurr el-okun
Sister	nipolongomuk	—	—	hitchcho	eng-anaha
Snake	tindop mwrok	tindop mwrok	chogwjet	orwuk	el-nowal
Spear	kkwrwet	tregut	tungut	gwelet	en-bwa; e-wuret
Stick	silwanet	—	—	kirukto	e-lgudi
Stomach	ngulut	—	—	mulet	eng-ologha
Steel	chorigut	—	—	ne-kwrok	el-orighe
Sun	—	engolio	engolium	ilioto	eng-iloig
Supreme being	kobo-tobin	—	—	kwuk	eng-ai
Teeth	mumomuk	kelwet	kelyut	kelilwk	'l-ain (el-chil, sing.)
Thing	—	mumk	olimoto	ko	en-dikl
Tobacco	kipundit	chelongwet	tumbetet	tumetet	el-kumbun, el-chumi kee-'ng-ongok
To-day	—	pwlun	kavungor	—	lumin
To-morrow	—	tun	tungut	mutai	talawo
Tongue	mebit	mwajakit	kwuna	nalelun	el-lepiyo
Tops catalogue	—	kipkorgokus	—	—	—
Tree	kekkevet	kitink; also tarokwet	kuna	kutk	el chumi; en-jani; el-chuna; en-jana (pl., il-kik; 'n-gik)
Vatum	—	kekiniet	—	mugulet	en-gumoo
Wart-hog	—	—	chogi	tarot (pig)	el-kitir (pig)
Water	pelun	pelun	pik	pik	eng-ero
Wimbi	ngurumuk	kek	—	—	il-gook
Wind	—	kijabet	ngirve	koriolo	en-gilapa; en-gidumbe
Woman	—	ngitogot	kawuket	korlinet	e-ligurulyini; en-gituk
Woman (old)	mwarkit	—	—	—	en-dinok; eng-ogho
Woman (young)	tirik	—	—	—	e-nkongiki
Work	—	pulik	ndoko	ngoyini	en-gino
Yes	—	ee	kuluma	wo	ee; ee; ita
Zebra	chelilgok	chemwal	mwuret	ngirist ni ewuk	el-ottigo

D 114 101 614

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Easso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Man.

D 192

Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo:—

Arrow - - Lagh.
Bad - - - Etiteri.
Bird - - - Lagel.
Blood - - Sogo.
Note.—In Lur language sogo means bone; in The-Leo bone is chogu.
Bone - - - Motobo.
Bow - - - Puko.
Buffalo - - Piko.

Child (of either sex) - - Loyo.
Boy - - - Keti.
Come - - Yoto.
Cooking pot - Duru.
Cow - - - Gwit.
Dog - - - Kuko.
Elephant - - Sogomd.
Father - - - Abasi.
Five - - - Ito.

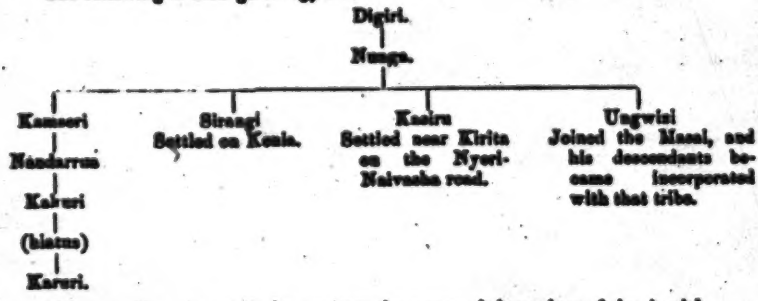
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.*

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] Kameeri, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungaro, they do [262] not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

[173] [648] The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10

D 181

Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes. *By Hon. K. R. Dundas.*

The earliest inhabitants of the country now occupied by the Kikuyu of whom any reliable information is obtainable were a people who call themselves the Okiek. To the Kikuyu they were known as the Asi,* to the Masai as Il Torobo,† and to the coast people as Wa-Ndorobo, by which name they were also familiarly known to Europeans, though of late the more correct form of Dorobo has taken its place. Curiously enough some writers have recently invented and use a corruption of the Swahili form and style these people Andorobo.

K 104

Who the Kikuyu were, and when they first came into the country which they now occupy, are questions not easily answered. The invasion commenced probably about 80 or 100 years ago and has not entirely ceased even now. Undoubtedly many different tribes impelled to migrate by famines, raids, and the pressure from within and without of increasing population, helped in forming the present Kikuyu race. That they represent a fusion of many different tribes is shown by the numerous types to be

K [144]

* Sing., *Muasi.* † Sing., *Ol Torobosi.*

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aisakahuno clan is the Mokesen of the Masai; the Anjiro, the Tarosero; the Amboi, the Moiselyan; the Akkachiko, the Aisir; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo† might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Muisi‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Muisi Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

K. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north *viâ* Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Sotik, may have settled down in those fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been depopulated during, and afforestated after, such occupations.

† Dorop, *pl.* doropa, means *slave* in Masai.

‡ Endigiri and Muisi are different names for the same people; they are also known to the Kikuyu as Amaithachiana. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Asi. The name Asi itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Athi, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Asi, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. MacGregor, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amaithachiana means *child-stealers*. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived thus:—Amaithe is the name given by the Kikuyu to a *fierce people*—it is, for instance, their name for the Masai—the word Chiana means *children* or, in a secondary sense, *little people*.

14:Huntingford E-S (1928-1929)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1928 and November 1929 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organization for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P.183, A]

Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dandee Country

/3/

M 174 D 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Maasai people came from the north down toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Maasai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Aná, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Maasai word El dorobo : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Aná has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, D [648] finally, the pressure by the Teuso weakened the Aná to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Maasai, the El kunyi, the first sections of which were the El kunono, and the later ones the El molí, when it came in, to drive out the colored ones altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they emerged, another part among their D [224] [735] oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 [731] The fate of the Aná, however, was not to be spared the El kunyi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Teuso for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the cow misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El molí (sing. el molí), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Teuso, who in plenty were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the belligerency of the Maasai. They joined the El kunyi for the common fight against the former.

Ib Archer--SOE C-6 (1895-ca.1909) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Draft
Dorobo FL6 •
Asa

/222/ Third Part

I.

The Wandorobbo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakwafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobbo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people

and to pronote the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobbo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an earlier hunting people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Asa were from the oldest epoch, the El mill from the middle one, and the El gumuruk from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobbo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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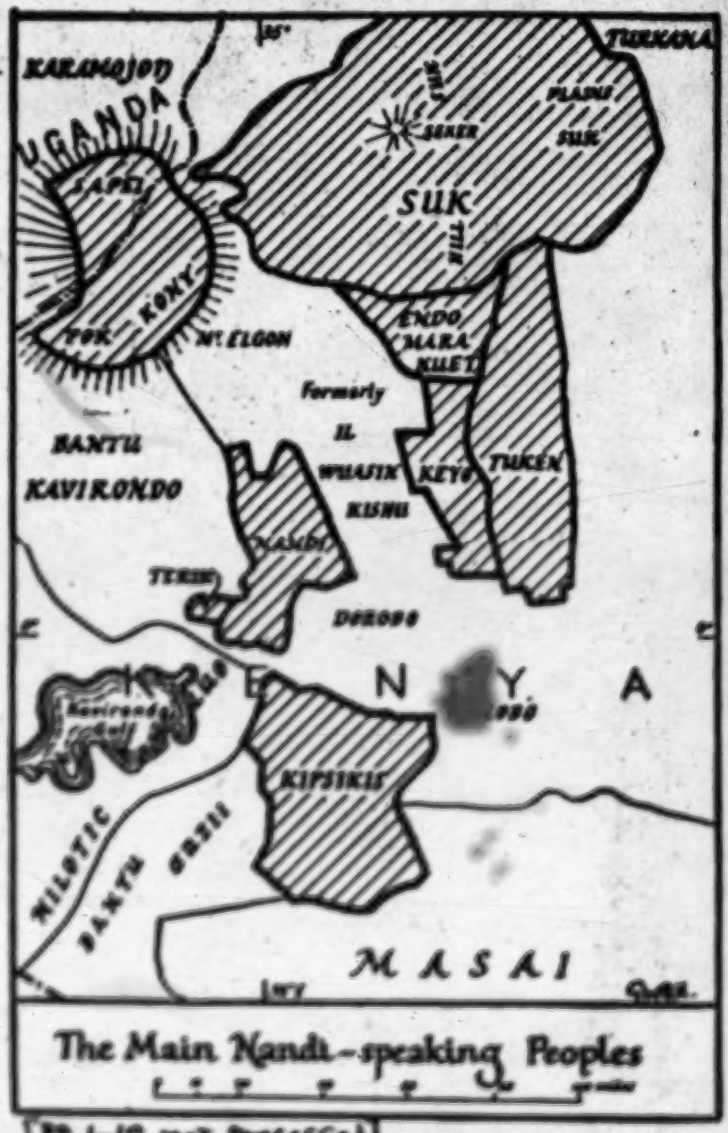

The Main Nandi-speaking Peoples

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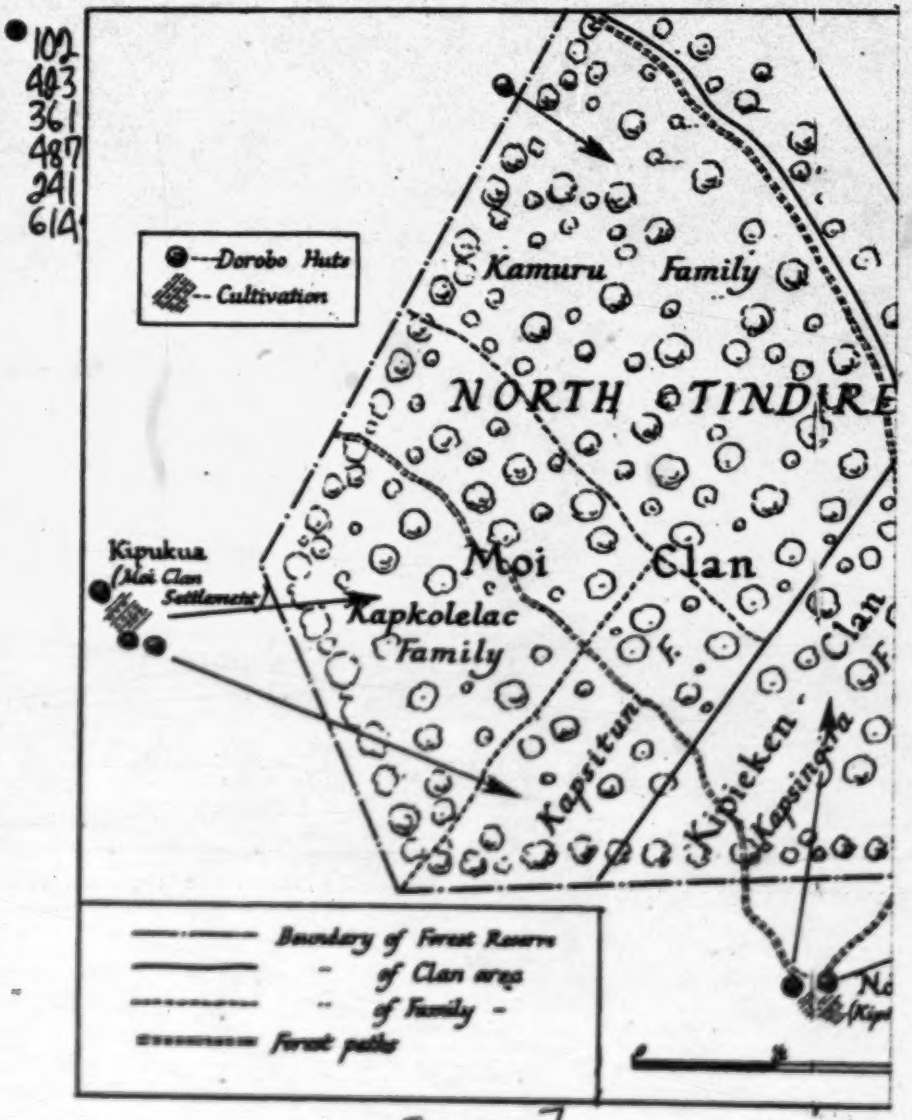
1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

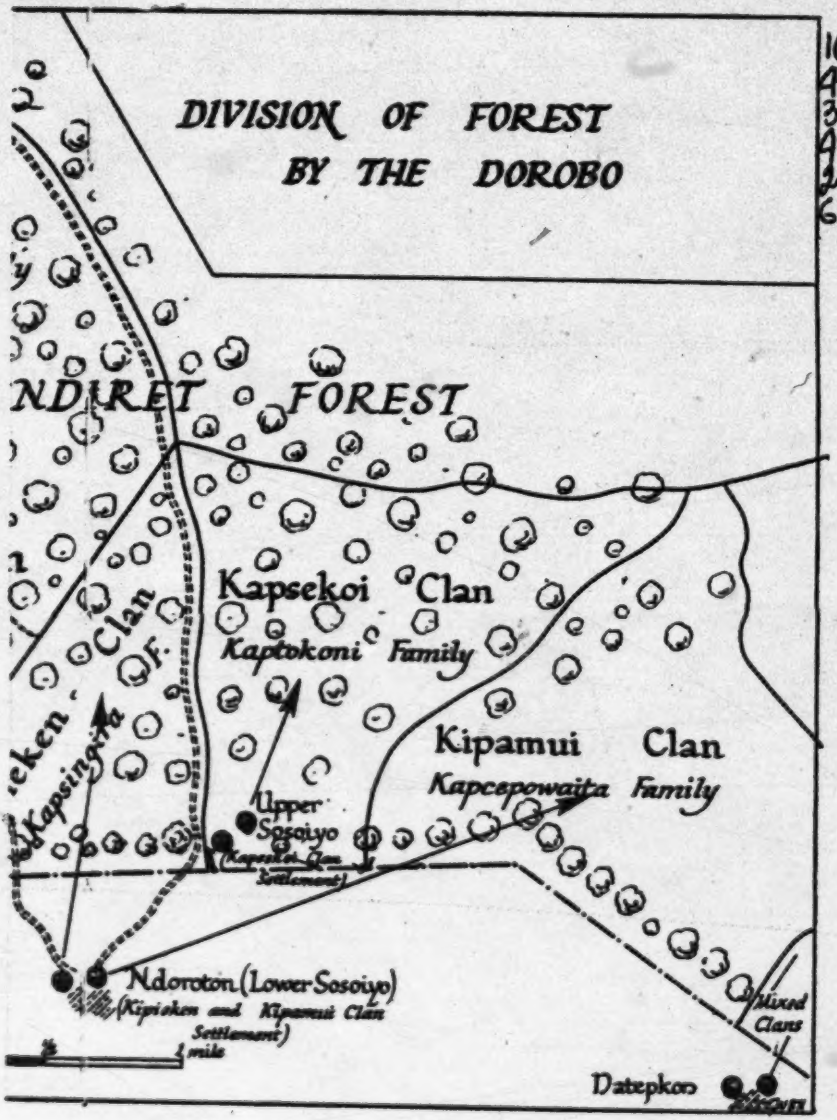
THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES



[p. 56]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDIRET FOREST



[P. 57]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ngamfigam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

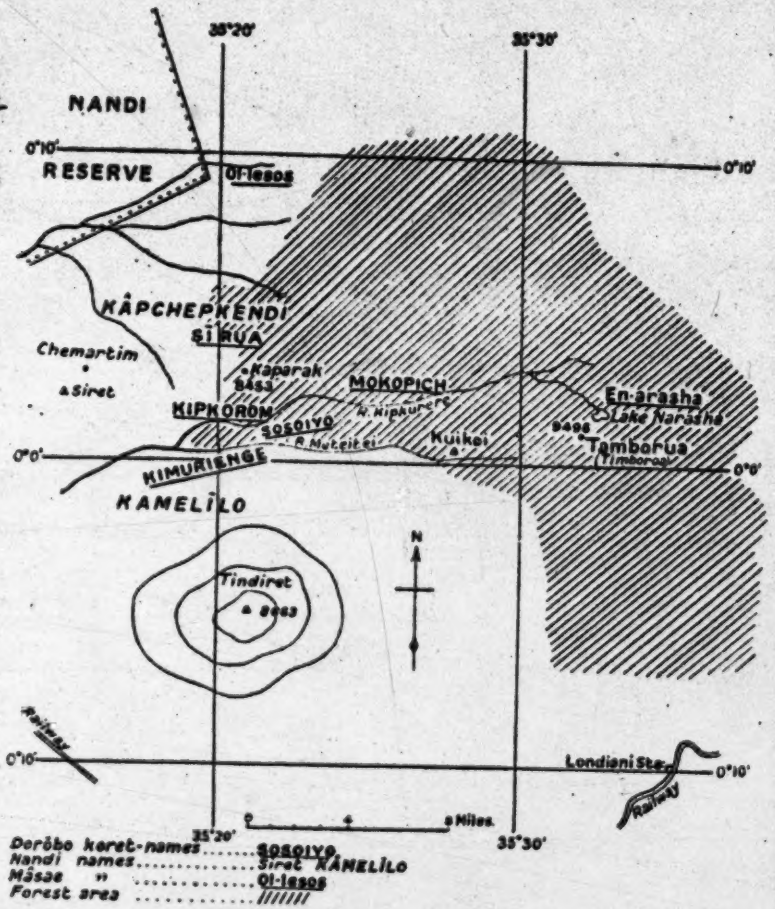


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DOROBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Masai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

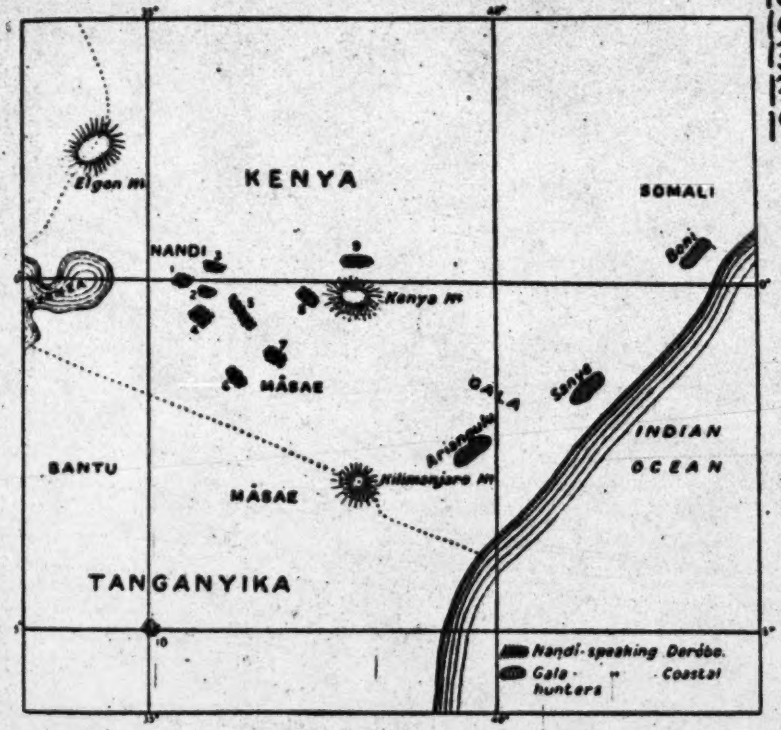


FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kámellio-Kápchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Koñgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

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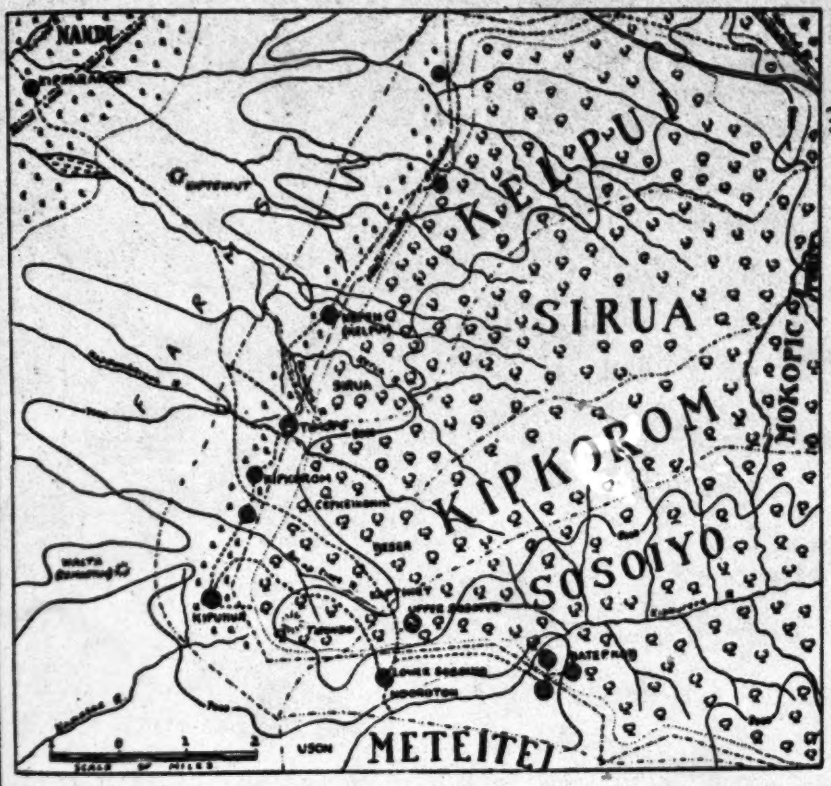
4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Sketch Map of the Kipkurerek Dorobo Country



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Reserve boundaries . . . . . .
Dorobo district boundaries (approx.) . . . . . .
Dorobo tracks . . . . . .
Edge of bank or forest . . . . . .

Forest . . . . . .
Bush . . . . . .
Dorobo settlements, 1939 . .
Form lines at 1000 ft. V. I. —— 1000 ——

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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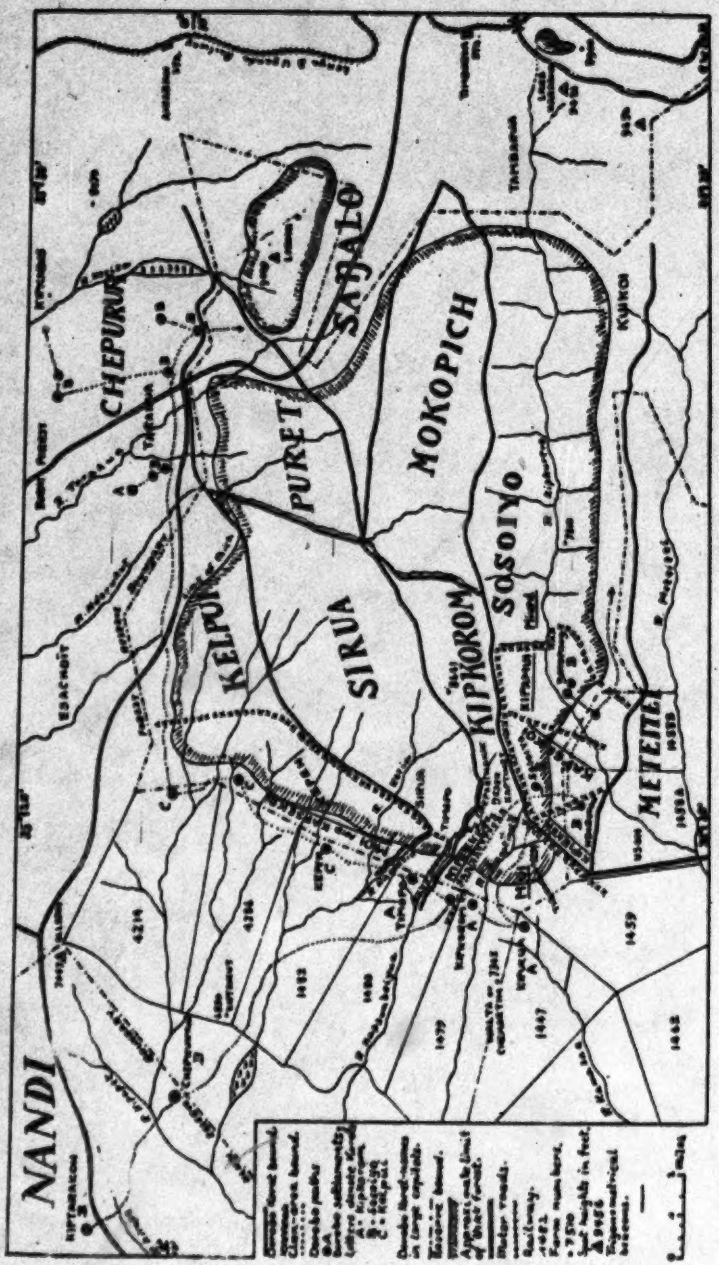

Sketch-Map of the Kipkurerek Dorobo Country.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	Average
Jan.	0.00	4.12	0.89	0.55	1.58	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.43[35]
Feb.	0.05	1.97	0.00	1.56	0.51	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.37
Mar.	1.86	9.42	7.09	8.00	0.12	2.33	0.98	8.78	6.35	5.03
Apr.	9.54	15.57	7.16	5.35	0.91	5.22	5.61	12.25	13.13	8.30
May	9.47	7.65	10.30	12.26	2.86	10.15	12.37	4.49	9.52	8.78
Jun.	3.85	5.07	3.39	3.16	4.50	5.54	8.26	5.87	6.90	5.08
Jul.	5.83	4.02	11.34	5.53	5.32	6.19	5.04	3.11	5.92	5.81
Aug.	4.80	6.12	6.88	4.76	5.15	6.68	5.12	6.21	8.66	6.04
Sep.	2.86	3.78	8.60	8.57	2.67	3.06	5.49	4.20	1.96	4.55
Oct.	3.76	3.80	3.17	2.42	2.88	3.02	6.13	2.72	3.03	3.43
Nov.	5.63	1.66	2.29	1.44	1.22	3.47	2.02	1.40	8.87	3.11
Dec.	5.25	1.29	3.66	1.88	0.89	2.70	2.87	1.66	1.32	2.39
Inches	52.90	64.47	66.17	55.48	28.61	48.71	53.89	50.69	65.72	54.09

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

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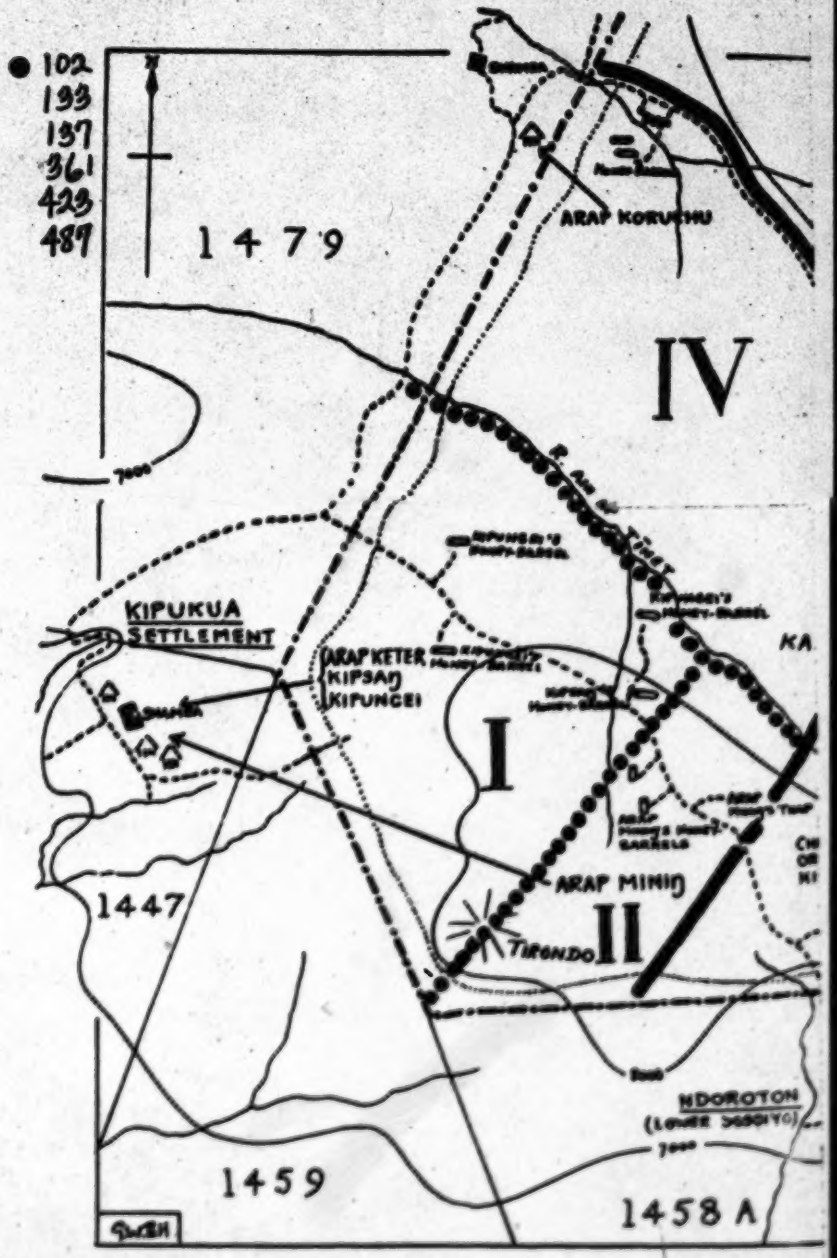
Area No:	Class:	Families:	Domicile:
I.	Moi	Kapkolelach	Kipukua
II.	Moi	Kapsituni	Kipukua
IV.	Moi	Kamuru	Between Kipukua and Kipkorom
III.	Kipieken	Kapsingira	Ndoroton
V.	Kipamui	Kapchepouaita	Ndoroton
VI.	Kapsekoi	Kaptokoni	Upper Sosoiyo
VII.	Kipieken	Kamnasutik	Upper Ngatepkon
	Kipieken	Kapkipopo	
	Kapsekoi	Kapkimancari	
	Toiyoi	Kapkuikoi	
	Kipieken	Kamnasutik [36]	Lower Ngatepkon
	Kapsekoi	Kapkorongos [36]	
	Kapil	Kamereua [36]	

[35] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1930: a more accurate average would be about 0.75 ins. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cockman for providing these figures.

[36] These families, represented by Tote, Nekoi, and Kilanya, are not shown on the map: their area lies east of Upper Ngatepkon.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



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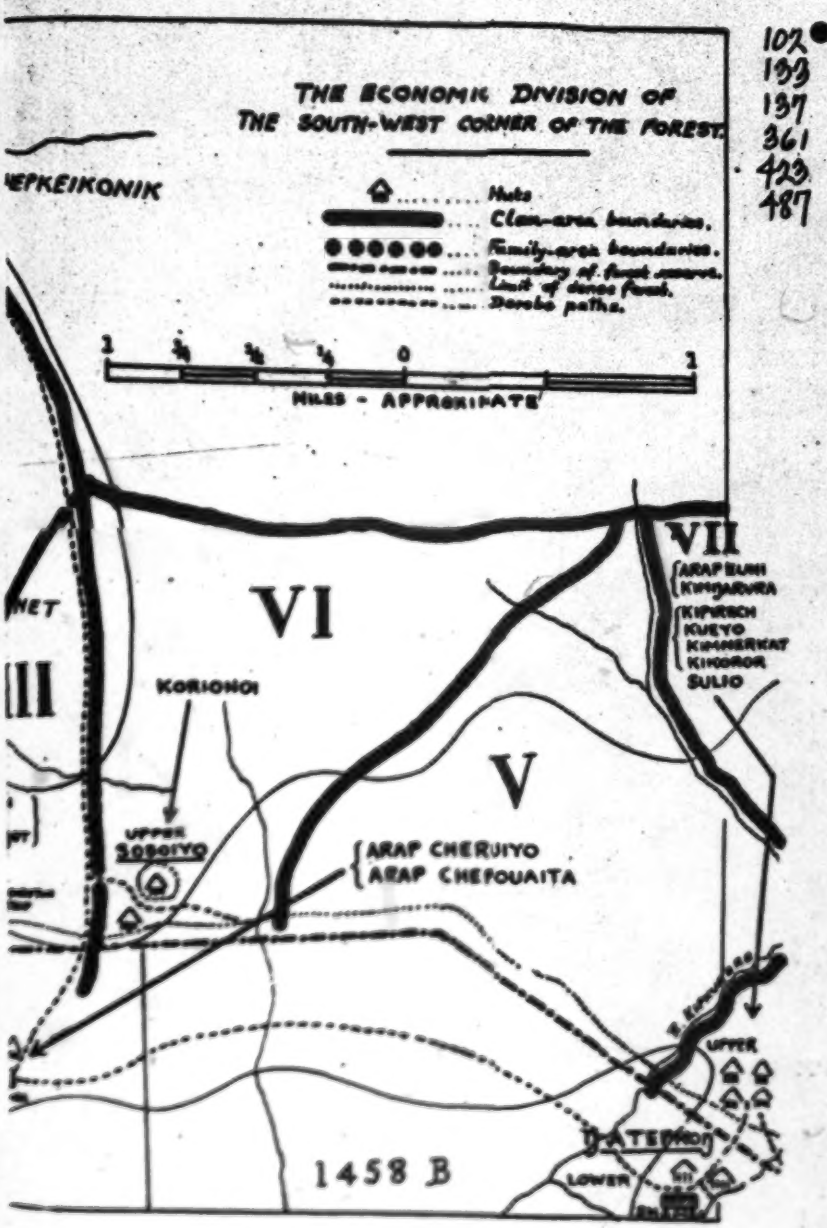
61:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16



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7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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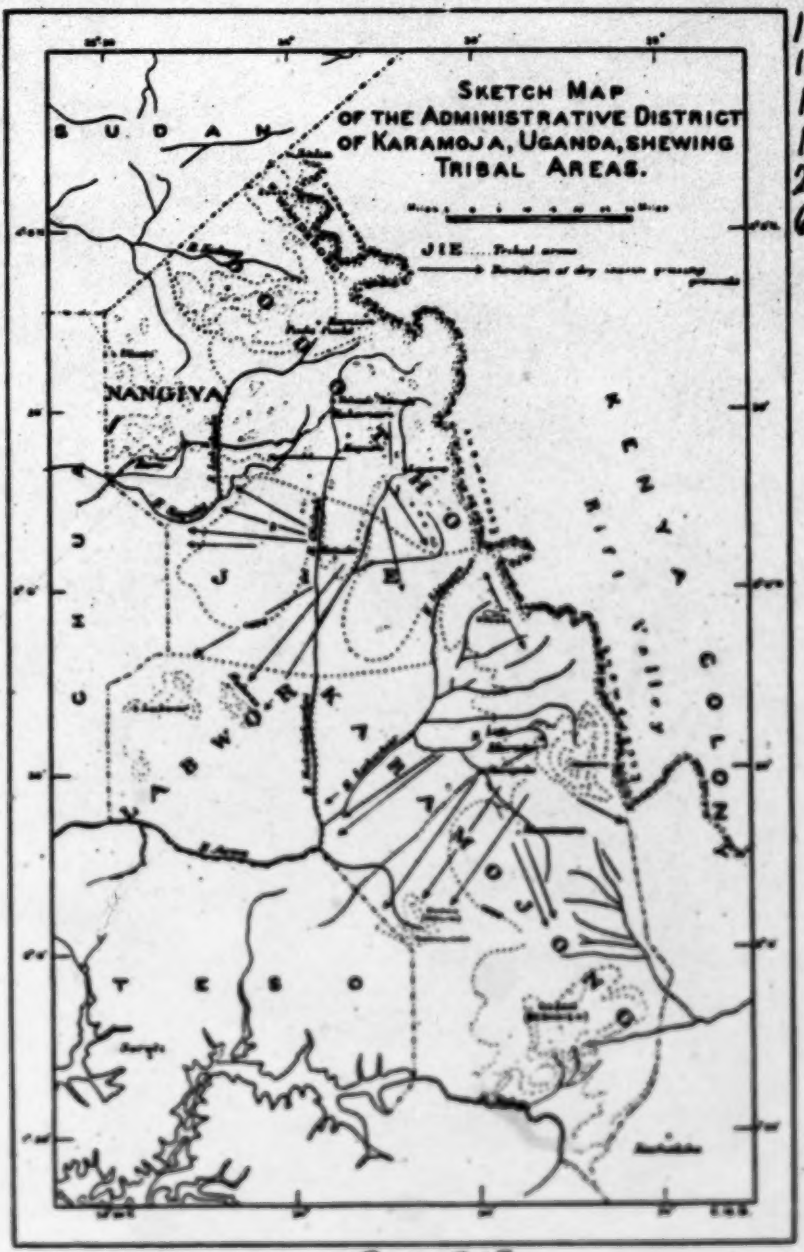

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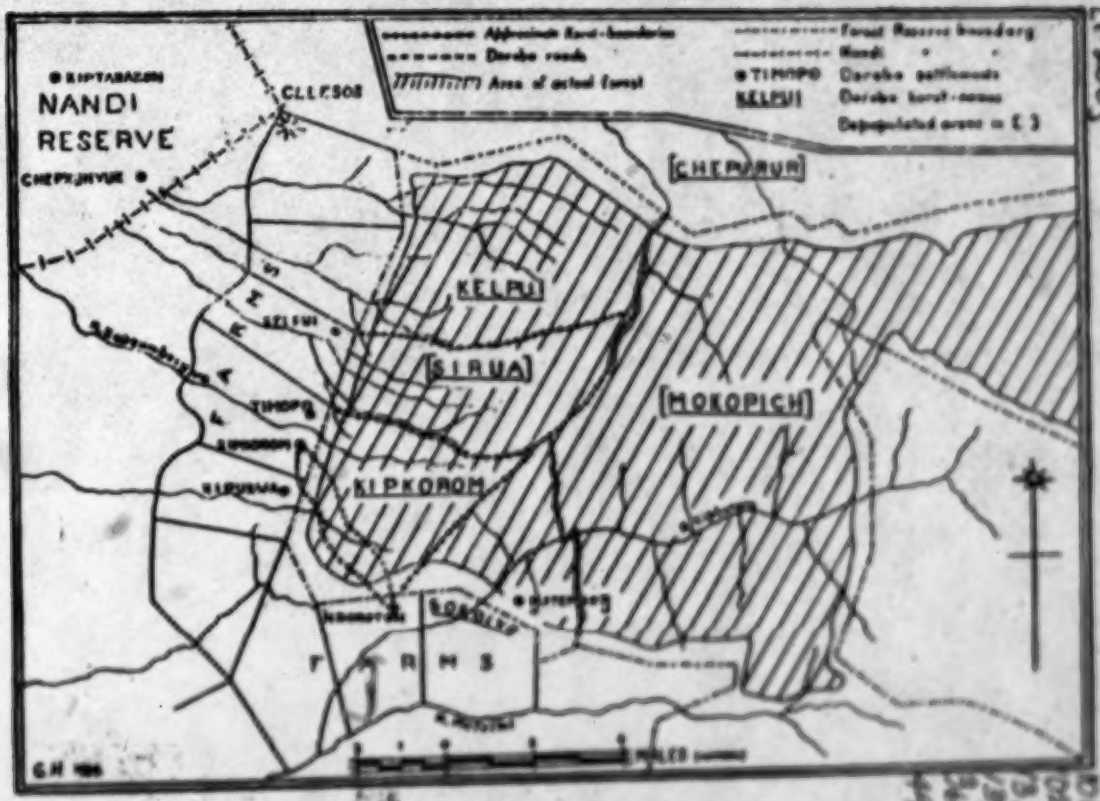

Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

Schmittegford E-5 [1921-1924]1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The ribs is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Quicklimers (Sifts, X.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no smoked instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Kenuli.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Kenuli honey, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for livestock, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Kenuli, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, *pl.* *kwenuk* (X.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkoreon, Sirua, Kimoloingo, Sambiyo (location, X. *sabat*), and Mokogodok. The majority of the present place-names are Kenuli.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Kinet (X.). East: Tu-ninet (X. *ulin-kinet* = up). West: Tu'isib-ta (= where[-the-sun]-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo Kipchigilondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkipiroyi[3] arap Ngandigan, who was chief at the time of the Kenuli Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindoi* (X.)—counsellor) was chosen for "*kipkoyoyo kitin*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogindoi*, X.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Kenuli one, since K.K. does not manufacture it.

[2] On the use of bows, see V., "Miscellaneous." These are hardly to be considered as instruments of music.

[3] K. = Kon-kitlon.

4-Huntingford E-F (1918-1919) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

133 1000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkaren, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North
137 Tinderet Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick
361 undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Nandat valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. (Thus the chief settlement of the district called
● [103] Sondoyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they
[148] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 300 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

804 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Bun, Mount Kenya, and Nyiru used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masai whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masai, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the Europeans it was a hunter's paradise.

CAR Today, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1918; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1949 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

NANDI
CHEPKORIO
KAPSET
SIRIBA
KAPSABET
MOSOPCH
KOSOYO
KIPTUNGA
NYANDO

Schuntingford R-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1937, and a number of these have been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which these settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Forest

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the unsystematized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Nandi, Kamba, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1938 I was told that no forest council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1937 the somewhat slight and unsatisfactory incomplete picture is, I think, correct so far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *ajarisiak*, elders; *mamnik*, circumcised men; and *natik*, boys. The *ajarisiak* and *mamnik* are those who take part in public affairs; *natik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *ngaitokisiak*, old women; *yamnik*, married women; and *ripik girik*, have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *kwat*, pl. *kwanak*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Lopurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kulpai: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Siroi: south of Kulpai.
4. Kipkoreon: from Siroi to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Soeiyo: east of Kipkoreon.
6. Sirotiet: between the forest and the Sirotiet river.
7. Kiliegis: east of Kipkoreon.
8. Piret: east of Siroi.
9. Sengalo: east of Siroi.

(continued on the

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and for shield. Thus, Arap Minie told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapuksi[*] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singiro got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sawaiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Mosuti which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkoreroh, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the *kwirot* tree (*lordea sp.*) and are about 6 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *ilat*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *ramit*; the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenamdet* and *mamita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

* Some known as Kaiyuman on Kibobos and Kapsaget.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them. 423

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sonsiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sonsiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sonsiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Metsitsi valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them. [487] [251]

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tiret, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkoleloc (I), Kapeitusi (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group № I is represented by Arap Koter, Kipsangui, and Kipsaos, three brothers; № II by Arap Misio; and № III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sonsiyo. The Ain ap Tiret is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamura (IV) represented by Arap Koruro who lives at Kipkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area № V is held by the Kapcroposaita family represented by Arap Cerwiyo and his brother Arap Ceposaita who live at Ndoretua. Above this is area № VI, held by the Kaptukuni, represented by Koriosui who lives at Upper Sonsiyo in the forest. And finally № VII is the enterement area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkua in the forest and Lower Ngatepkua outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kommuntik, represented by Totit; Kamorua, represented by Nekui; Kapkwongua, represented by Kilanya; Kapkimuswei, represented by Arap Emui; Kapkipapa, represented by Kipiro; and Kapkuikui, represented by Salio[*]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of № VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkoleloc	}	Clan Mui.
II. Family Kapeitusi		
IV. Family Kamura		
III. Family Kapsingira		Clan Kipiakua.
V. Family Kapcroposaita		Clan Kipsansui.
VI. Family Kaptukuni		Clan Kapsekui.

[*] The gentile *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e.g. *Kapeitusi* is named from *Simoni* the wife of Arap Misio's father's father. 125 ● 193.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6 ●
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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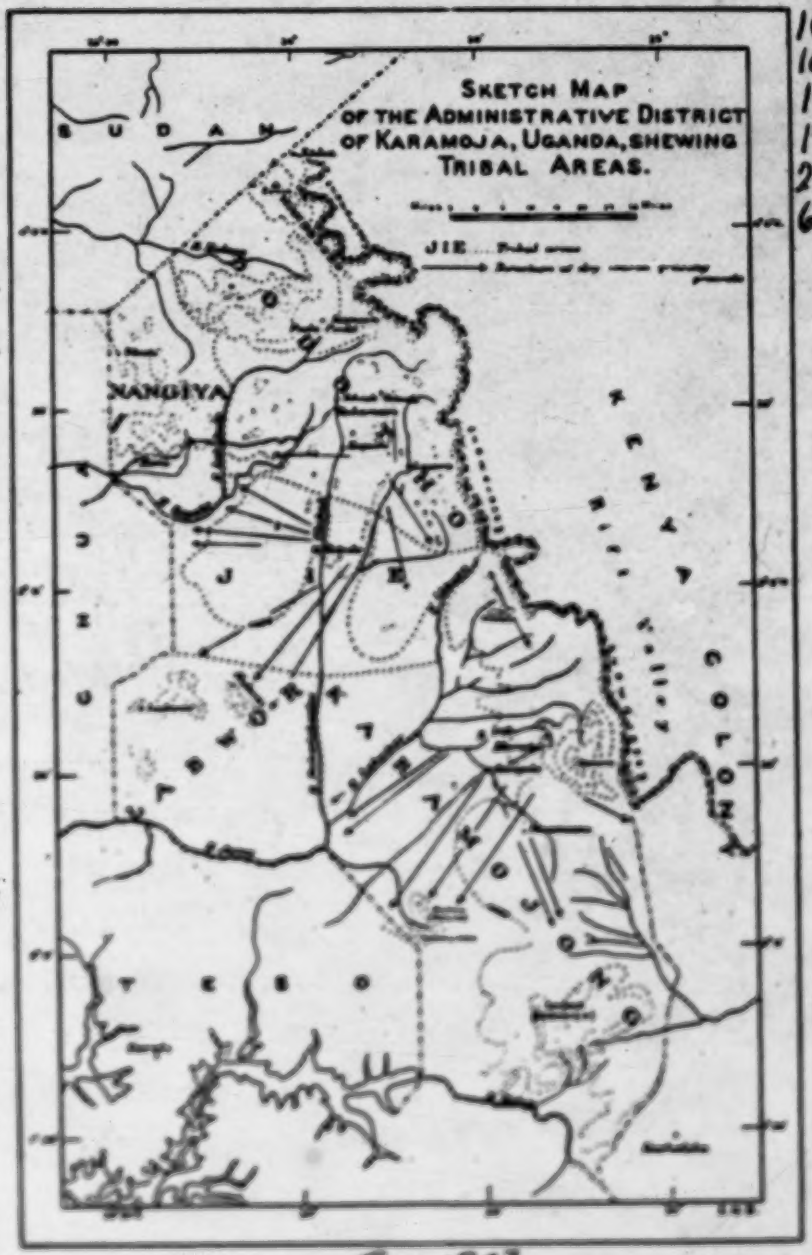

[p 189]

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamoeo and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karamojo.	Area.
Ng'imano	Magusi (to Mareito).
Ng'imaziniko	Mareito
Ng'lepes	"
Ng'pion	Mani-Moni and Kilim
Ng'kadame	Debasien Mt.
Ng'imur	Bukora
Ng'imoningo	"
Ng'ngokoriet	"
Ng'imorimoeng	"
Ng'lupe	"
Ng'pri	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ng'rungen	Jie central.
Ng'lotiangs	" "
Ng'watia	" "
Ng'lotido	" "
Ng'pospongete	" "
Ng'owtakow	" "
Ng'alonga	" "

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

805 [221 224 132] The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iuot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iuot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize [4]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriruo	*Kipsundet*	October	
Kipsundet	*Kipsundet oiyo*	November	
Kipsundet ake	*Mulkul*	December	*Muainonik*
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwot kut*	March	
Iwot kut	*Waket*	April	
Waket	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	*Iuot*
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Puretо	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeset	*Mulkul oiyo*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

821 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other [791] tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

493 [311 325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. 434 Objects of iron they have got for so far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 * Throughout this paper I have written the velar vowel by the sign ɑ, representing the "long-tailed a". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar vowel.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Lakwor, The Wanderobo, the Dodotho and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(WITH PLATES XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. WAYLAND.

1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with whom one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 190. Karamoja = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamoja.

8:Lambert--ii G-5 (ca. 1935-1949) 1950 FL6 Dorobo FL6

NOTE

104

The Kikuyu Land Unit is referred to in the text as the Unit.

The Committee appointed in September, 1929, "to investigate the system or systems of Native Land Tenure within the Native Reserves of the Kikuyu Province" is referred to as the 1929 Committee.

The Commission appointed in April, 1932, to consider and report upon certain land problems in the Colony of Kenya, commonly known as the Kenya Land Commission and the Morris Carter Commission, is referred to as the Land Commission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am particularly indebted to Dr. L.S.B. Leakey for allowing me access to certain chapters of his hitherto unpublished study of the Southern Kikuyu, to Mr. W.H. Laughton for permitting me to read the manuscript of his monograph An introductory study of the Meru people and to the Rev. P. M'Inoti for a copy of his Asili ya WaMeru na Tabia Zao.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as moyen, [a] warrior, and moyen-*et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *wpitiho**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Masai words are marked thus: † (*ingerosit*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timboret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kápchepkendi and Kámasiro (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Masai they are called Ol-Torróbôni, pl. Il-Torróbo (fem. En-Dorróbôni, pl. In-Dorróbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Masai name Torróbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *dorope*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 31, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mugugodo," who live near the E-Unaso Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mugugodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Kikuyu (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mugugodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Kuafuáhi Kinikh* (1854) that "the Wandorobbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [111] [115] 105

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

105 Wakuafi [Mimo] do, who therefore learn of their own superior lessons. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorobo in contact with the southern Mimo. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorobo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorobo. [1]

114 101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorobo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorobo.

[199]

1. Kimotio-Kipchorkwondi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsigis.
2. Le-Tchani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsigis.	
5. Chepkurwonik, Kamisk, and Kiptarwonk, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mimo.
6. Sabiny.	
7. Kiboby.	
8. Digirl.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Nairobi and Lukenia, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uasin Kgishu).	

Tanganyika Dorobo.

10. Tatoora,[2] lat. 4° S.
11. Mosiro,[3]
12. Aramanik,[4]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorobo can be distinguished. (Huntingford, Tent-dig. E.)

194 The origin of the Dorobo is uncertain. Those of the Kimotio-Kipchorkwondi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical characters, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mimo and Nandi traditions point to the Dorobo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 144; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 130.
[2] H. A. C. Maguire, "A Dorobo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 121, 122.
[3] [See Sample Number 2, this file — Ed. HSP]

Identification

The Dorobo (Andorobo, Asa, 1-Torobo, Okiek, Wandorobbo) live in scattered band, those of he Central group almost exclusively at elevations in excess of 7,000 eet interspersed among the Nandi and Masai. Smaller dispersed goups are found to the north adjacent to the Dodoth and Jiye, in the suth adjacent to the Shashi, Kindiga, and Zigula, and in the east adjoent to the Kikuyu and Samburu. The Northern Dorobo number abut 140 (in 1930); one of the twelve groups of Central Dorobo number 221 (in 1942); the Southern Dorobo number about 1,000 (in 925). The Central and Southern groups, at least, speak language of the Nandi-Suk branch of the Great Lakes or "Nilo-Hamitic" ubdivisioh of the Southern division of the East Sudanic nuck, apparuly more closely akin to Nandi than to Suk. In physique the Dorobo are basically Negroid, but Sudanese somatic characteristics are reported to occur occasionally. Though often regarded as remnats of the first wave of Nilo-Hamitic pastoral nomads who were deprived of their cattle and driven to hunting by the later Kwafi and Masai, they are much more likely an aboriginal hunting population "Himiticized" through contact with the Nandi and Masai. Accordlng to Leinhardt, their culture is richer and more complex than that of te Kindiga but the differences consist exclusively of borrowings fom the Nandi and Masai. They do, however, include some impoverished Kwafi and Masai. They are commonly attached to the Masaia a sort of serf class.

Basic Economy

The Dorobo are nomadic hunts and gatherers. Until recently they practiced no agriculture ordad no domestic animals except dogs. Today some groups have few cattle, sheep, goats, and chickens, and the Central Dorobogrow a little eleusine and maize and the Northern Dorobo some maize, maize, and millet. Beekeeping as well as honey gathering are aboriginal and important. Hunting is done with poisoned arws. There is considerable trade with the Nandi. Honey may not e eaten on the same day as fruit or blood [does not apply to meat]

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt and gather honey. Women gather vegetal foods. Today men clear land, [illegible]ows led, and women milk and do all the agriculture.

Property

Formerly there were band hunting territories and very little movable property.

Inheritance is patrilineal--by children, then by brothers and cousins (FaBrSo and MoBrSo). Land rights pass to Elle, weapons to a Br, dogs to sons.

Social Stratification

Slavery is absent, and social stratification is presumably minimal.

Marriage

Today a substantial bride-price is usual, consisting of approximately two cattle and four goats. Formerly the groom supplied quantities of mead or honey wine, but it is not clear whether this was considered a token payment.

Monogamy is practically universal, though polygyny is not forbidden. Secondary unions with BrWi are common.

Family

There are both independent nuclear families and small patrilocal extended families consisting of no more than two or three nuclear families.

Residence

Patrilocal residence prevails, though neolocal residence (in the same vicinity) also occurs occasionally.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy appears to be the rule. Children remain with their parents until puberty, moving into nearby bachelors' or spinsters' huts after circumcision or clitoridectomy.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with all primary, secondary, and tertiary relatives, including first cousins. Kindreds are not present.

There are 8 exogamous, unnamed patrilocal. Totemism is probably due to Nandi influence.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--papa. Mo--eiyo. Ch--apaa(m.s.), laikuni (w.s.). Br,

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Si--Sasanda. Wi--muweriat.

Avuncular and male-speaking nepotic terms are of bifurcate merging type.

Omaha terminology prevails for MoBrCh, but FaSiCh is equated with FaBrCh by a special term.

Settlement Pattern

Small migratory bands (today small farm settlement). The dwellings are small dome-shaped huts of bent-over branches covered with leaves and an ox-hide (Central Dorobo), with grass (Northern Dorobo).

Avuncular and male-speaking nepotic terms are of bifurcate merging type.

Community Organization

The local or settlement is a patrilocal clan-community. The Northern Dorobo lack age-grades, but the Central Dorobo have seven age-grades of Kenuli type (but without military functions). A new Central Dorobo age-grade is formed about every 15 years, but is divided into three sections whose members are circumcised at the same time. Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practiced.

Local Government

Each local clan has a council of elders, who are presumably family heads, though local headmen are reported for the Northern Dorobo.

State

Political organization does not exceed the local level except among the Northern Dorobo, whose 160 members have a chief over the local headmen, with patrilineal succession. Districts of several clan-communities, each with a council and leader, are due to Kenuli influence.

Warfare

The tribe is unwarlike.

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L: Murdock--4 E-4 (No date) 1958 P] Africa
Dorobo FILE
Dorobo

335

(Largely superseded by author's later works.)

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S.Leather--40 G-6 (ca. 1956-1957) 1958 FILE Kikuyu FILE
Barclay FILE

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K
FIS
455

Colonel John Ainsworth, then Chief Native Commissioner, wrote in 1918 a memorandum, "Kikuyu Explanation of the Origin of the Gikuyu and the Gikuyu System," in which he said,

"In the course of time, the Kikuyu got into touch with these people (the Dorobo), and, where possible, made friends with them .... These Dorobo lived on game, roots, and honey, and in order to collect the honey they hung honey barrels over wide areas of the forest. They had no cultivation. The destruction of their occupation was generally followed by the presence of these honey barrels and by game pits. The Dorobo were few in numbers and their villages were scattered in the forest. Gradually the Kikuyu encroached for purposes of cultivation, and began to burn and cut down the trees. The Dorobo ... resented the invasion by the Kikuyu, and demanded compensation for disturbance of their rights. Individual families paid the compensation demanded. On the Dorobo accepting such compensation they made blood-brotherhood and afterwards lived side by side, the Dorobo allowing the Kikuyu to cultivate and the Kikuyu recognizing the right of the Dorobo to carry on his way of living. In the course of time, members of Dorobo settled down as members of the Kikuyu community and took up cultivation.

"Many thousands of goats and cattle were paid by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo, not all at once, but from time to time. The Kikuyu correspondingly occupied the forest area 'bit by bit'. The Dorobo, having lost their forests, owed to the Masai, to whom they paid goats and cattle for permission to reside among the Masai. They also took large presents of ivory to the Masai Laibon, Mbatian, in payment of their hunting. Others joined the Kikuyu, and became members of the community when they gave up hunting and became cultivators.

"In order to avoid quarrels and fighting among themselves, the Kikuyu agreed that the particular member of the community who parted with his goats or cattle as compensation should be recognized as the person who had acquired the rights of any particular Dorobo, and so, they argue, came into existence the gikuiku rights now claimed. Where Dorobo elected to remain as members

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Ambeebbe. This tribe—the Wa-ambeebbe of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masailand, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Ambeebbe are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Mount Nyiri, Chilishumguani, Buru, Donyiro, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the great tuskers; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the nomad people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Miminiki, a very large village of Ambeebbe have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the Andorobo.

The language spoken by the Ambeebbe is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

In hunting the elephant the Ambeebbe use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the sueyia. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

[illegible]

[illegible] dependency on them. A course running across the [illegible] valley does not remain hidden from the Hindukho roaming about everywhere. [illegible] Their banquet was meant to be [illegible] to the spirits hungry beast. Through [illegible] poverty and the [illegible] this universe to make up for the lack of daughter animals through the killing of goats, the Hindukho, to be sure, [illegible] to the detriment of the latter, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow villagers to the extent that they do not grant individual Hindukho, as well as [illegible] and [illegible], admission into their community.

In some cases these also, after the [illegible] have become detached from the larger community and live in small bands in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the [illegible]. Others, however, meeting themselves within one of the three [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] gamsik. Often they live together with a few [illegible], sometimes one also finds one or several Hindukho families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot cultivate on foam, they also cultivate maize, banana, etc. here and there and [illegible] themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

The influence that the latter people exerted not only over [illegible] but also [illegible] is very great. [illegible] Hindukho, [illegible] the Hindukho, [illegible] the [illegible] and latter to whose influence the surrounding peoples owe much. What qualified the latter for this lordly position [illegible] their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their [illegible] organizations and their [illegible]. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the latter [illegible] higher are than that of individual [illegible] surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of them, in contrast to the [illegible]

1: Huntingford, G. W. B. The Southern Nilo-Hamites. Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part 8. London: International African Institute. 1953.

[Only pages vii-viii, 18, 54-70, and 140-150 of this source have been processed for the *FLÁ Dorobo File.*]

HRAF copy

[This source is a concise general survey of the cultural and social life of the Dorobo. Much of the material is based upon the author's previous papers on the Dorobo--Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1962

2: Maguire, R.A.G. Il-Torobo. Journal of the African Society, Vol. 27, pp. 127-141, 249-268. London, 1927-28.

Yale: DT1 R62 27

/In this article the author seeks to determine the identity of each of the bands of people who have been thought to be or once to have been Dorobo. Most of his cultural and linguistic evidence was based upon original observations and interviews with Dorobo and Masai. He also gives some cultural data, three short word lists and a few folk-tales. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1924
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Government official - 5
Processed in 1962

FL Dorobo

3: Huntingford, G. W. B. Modern Hunters: Some Account of the Kimelilo-Kipchephendi Dorobo (Okiek) of Kenya Colony. (With an account of the physical features by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.). The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vl. 59, pp. 333-378. London, 1929.

3 end plates

Yale NK10 / R31 v. 59

/This paper gives a general account of the economic life, material ulture, trade, religion, social institutions, government and rites of passage amon the Dorobo. In addition there is a short grammatical sketch and vocabulary lists A short chapter on their physical features is added. --Analyst/

Field date: 1921-1928
Analyst: Robert J. Throdarson

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

4: Huntingford, G. W. B. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo. Anthropos, vol. 46, pp. 1-48. Freiburg, Switzerland: Anthropos-Institut, 1951

Yale: NK10 An89 46

/In this paper the author is primarily concerned with those aspects of social organization which relate to the family and to the clan. As such the topics which receive the fullest attention are kinship, the role of kinsmen in child socialization, the age-set system, the role of clan membership, marriage, birth and sex life.--Analyst./

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1962

5: Huntingford, G. W. B. The Political Organisation of the Dorobo. Anthropos, Vol. 49, pp. 123-148. Freiburg, Switzerland: Anthropos-Institut, 1954.

Yale: NK20 .A6 49

/The information in this paper is primarily on clans and their functions, clan councils, and offenses (crimes and torts) and their sanctions in Dorobo society. To this the author has added an excellent section on Dorobo religious beliefs and practices and their social functions. --Analyst/

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1962

6: Huntingford, G. W. B. The Economic Life of the Dorobo. Anthropos, Vol. 50, pp.602-634. Posieux (Freiburg), Schweiz: Anthropos-[maison, 1953]1955].

Yale DkDO / An89 50

[In this paper the author discusses the diet and economic activities of the Dorobo. It includes the use of wild plants, hunting, trapping, trade, sexual division of labor, bee-keeping, agriculture, domestic animals, conceptual the ownership and use of real property and a general discussion of the exploitation of their forest habitat. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930-1939 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus Processed in 1962

9: Wayland, E. J. Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of the Karamoja. (The Labwor, the Wanderobo, the Dodoths and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.) The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 61, pp. 197-230. London, 1931.

Yale: Nb18 .J82 v.61

/This article contains chiefly ethnographic accounts, word lists and anthropometric data on the Acholi, Jiye and the Dorobo of the Karamoja district of eastern Uganda. The material was gathered during the author's travels through the district. --Analyst./

Field date: (ca. 1926)
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Natural Scientist - 0
Processed in 1964

4: Leakey, M. E. The Systems of Land Tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the Tribal Occupation of the Land. Communications from the School of African Studies, New Series No. 22. Capetown: University of Capetown, 1949 (1950).

Vols: Shelf 49491. 1 /SOAF MS. pp. ii, 29/

[Only those pages, i.e., 54-72, dealing with the Dorobo have been processed.]

[In this chapter the author has attempted to identify and locate each group or remnant of the Dorobo. On the basis of linguistic, cultural and physical anthropological data he has also reconstructed the pre-contact and post-contact history of the Dorobo. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1935-1949 Evaluation: Government official-5
Analyst: Robert J. Thornton Processed in 1962

9: Hobley, C.W. Notes concerning the Eldoroba of Mau, British East Africa. Man, Vol. 3, No. 17, pp. 33-35. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1903.

Yale: Nk10 ≠ M31 3

/This source presents a very brief "thumbnail" sketch of Dorobo ethnography. Data presented pertain to: marriage, relations with the Nandi, language, fire-making, hunting, peacemaking and mortality and birth rates.--Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Government Official - 9
Processed in 1964

[illegible]. Dobbins, C. W. Further Notes on the Gi Dorobo or Ogiek. Man, Vol. 5, No. 21, pp. 79-80. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1905.

Vols: 00(0) # 0(2) 4, 0

[illegible] This very brief article contains some information on a variety of Southern Dorobo living on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Fort Hall, called by a Kikuyu name and believed to be of the Ogiek clan. After a brief discussion of the above group, the author presents a listing of Dorobo (Ogiek) clans, followed by an alphabetical vocabulary list of the Dorobo, Kikuyu and Masai languages. A note on a nomadic Dorobo clan of hunters called the Gi Wagogwete, and a brief vocabulary list of their language collected by Mr. Arthur Simpson, conclude the article. --Analyst/

Field data: ca. 1905
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Contemporary (Official): 2
Processed in 1968

15. [redacted], C. W., Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes, gathered from Chief Kaiyori and others. Man, Vol. 6, No. 78, pp. 129-135. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1906.

Data: [redacted] 1931 c. 6

/This very brief source presents a clan genealogy, with special emphasis on the Digiri and Aggish clans. The author also presents a legend of the Digiri relating to the invasion of Dorobo country by the Maasai, and Dorobo relations with other neighboring tribes. An interesting note is also included here in regard to Aggish tradition relating to a race of [redacted] called Westerwei Chiana who supposedly inhabited the country in the old days.--Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: John Sorenko

Evaluations: Government Official-5
Processed in 1964

12: Dundas, K. R. Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes. Man, Vol. 8, No. 76, pp. 136-139. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1908.

Value: [illegible]

/This is a brief account of the historical relationships and migrations of the Kikuyu (FLI0), Wanga (FLI2), and Dorobo in the area of East Africa now occupied predominantly by the Kikuyu. Included are data on the origins of the Kikuyu and Dorobo, and on the various tribes that have at one time or another lived in this area.--Analyst/

Field Date: c.a. 1908
Analyst: William Rice

Evaluation: Government Official=5
Processed in 1910

13: Mallia, A. C. Dorobo Initiate. Man, Vol. 9, no. 101, pp. 171. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909.

Value: 0000 # 0021 c. 9

/This is a brief account written by a traveler in East Africa who witnessed a morning prayer ritual and male procreation ritual as performed by a Dorobo who was a member of his traveling caravan. --Evelyn/

Field date: ca. 1908
Evelyn: William Mia

Evaluation: Traveler - 9
Processed in 1914

16. Huntingford, G.W.B. The Social Organization of the Dorobo. *African Studies*, Vol. 1, pp. 183-200. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1942.

Note: DT376 A37 v. 1

/This source presents a thorough analysis of Dorobo social organization, with emphasis on kinship terminology and relationships. The field work for this study was undertaken by the author, a professional anthropologist, under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, between May 1938 and November 1939 in the Dorobo "districts" of Kaipai, Kipkenyon and Sambiya.

In addition to the social organizational aspects of Dorobo ethnography, the author also discusses relations between the government and the Dorobo, clans, settlements, personal characteristics, and economic life. Two tables of Dorobo relationship terms and a map of the area conclude the work.--Analyst/

Field Date: 1938-1939
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 2
Processed in 1964

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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113

In Rhodes House (E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Durobo FLA

Cattaneo, Rev. G. continued
1935. "Religious beliefs and practices of the Elgonyi." JRAI(GB), 65-6, pp. 197-98.
1937. "The African religious witchcraft: II. Elgonyi." Africa, VIII, pp. 308-15.
A useful collection of statements by three Elgonyi, with translations. The author has known the Elgonyi well for many years.
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An account of the water supplies in the Mumi district of Tanganyika, their ownership, the related ceremonial customs, and ceremonial regulations determined by them.

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1946. The social institutions of the Kipsigis. London.
The best full account of the Kipsigis, useful for ceremonial customs and legal procedure.
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A full and detailed account of the rejuve and grade rejuve ceremonies among the Suk-speaking Pokot.

Phillips, A.
1945. Report on Native Tribunals. Nairobi.
Kamba, pp. 108-11; Masai, pp. 111-4.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1950. African System of Kinship and Marriage. London.
Brief analysis of the Masai kinship system, based on Hollis, pp. 19-30.

Seligman, C. G.
1934. Die Hamitische Welle im afrikanischen Kulturkreis. Stuttgart.
Useful account of material culture of "Kipsigis," (Chebonyit), pp. 5-38; Nandi, pp. 39-51; "Pokot" (Suk), pp. 52-7; Turkana, pp. 57-61; Masai, pp. 61-2; together with material on the Bantu neighbours of these peoples. Good but comparative study.

Weiss, M. A.
1934. Die Anthropologie der afrikanischen Kulturkreis im westlichen Zentral-Sudan. Stuttgart.
Physical anthropology; has some material on the Elgonyi.

Wilson, Rev. J.
1936. The Nigeria. Cambridge.
Chapter XVIII deals ethnographically with the Nigeri, who are referred to as "Nandi."

Woodbridge, W. A. and H.
1936. Wild a grasslands people; the children of British East Africa. London.
Chapters IX (pp. 180-8) contains a short account of the Masai; not very useful.

Woodhead, C. H.
1933. The administration and political history of the Masai Reserve. London.
A useful and valuable study, with good maps.

Seligman, C. G.
1911. "The relationship systems of the Hamit, Masai, and Thonga." Man, 1911, 48.
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Shefford, E.
1935. "Notes on the Masai." JAI, LV, pp. 397-8.
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1:Huntingford B-4, 5 (1934-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

113 [illegible], L.S.B., K. P.
1938. *Kikuyuland on the Border.* Kenya Land Commission, Evidence, Vol. II, pp. 1,060-5.

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Tovey, L. H., and Chorley, G. H.
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1847. "The physical characters of the Southern" *JRAI*, LXXVII, pp. 81-99.
Though mainly on physical anthropology, there are some useful ethnographic

Van de Kimmenade, Rev. M.
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An account of social organization and religion; of some value.

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The narrative of Count Teleki's hunting and exploring expedition in East Africa in 1887-8. Very useful for details of tribal distribution, and other items of ethnographical interest.

Van Leenhoe, F.
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Ward, C. E.
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Description of a ceremony held in the month of May.

Weise, Max.
1910. *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas.* Berlin.
Good photographs of Masai and Dorobo of Mandhaland.

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Whitehouse, L. E.
1933. "Masai Social Customs." *JEAUGMS*, vol. 4, pp. 140-45.
A valuable but somewhat confused account of the formation of age-sets; many subjects in the Masai words used.

Woodhouse, C. W.
1913. "People of the South-west slopes of Mount Elgon." *JEAUGMS*, 8, pp. 19-30.
Notes on the division and organization of the Kony.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In conclusion, I do not consider that the physical characteristics of the Dardic throw much light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Tibeto-Dardic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment.

[illegible]

Bibliography.

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1801 Schedule for Field Journey Assessment (Secondary)

Ch 14 • A • Ch 14

[P1.2] **1.** In this final outing of the fourth Term and History, a set of the Fourth Secondary may be found collecting their data from a full Wheatleyhurst area, by the Wheatley and Thorne, around Town, Wind Lane, Wheatleyhurst Lane, by the Wheatley and Thorne, around Town, Wind Lane, [illegible] Wheatley Road, as well as other parts by having collaborations between Wheatley Preserve, Wheatley Lane Valley, by their walks of their arrival and research to be a team assessing and assessing. Then the Wheatley Survey [illegible] by Wheatley, [illegible] which was completed there Wheatley Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve.

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2 • Ch 14 • A • Ch 14

[L.3] **2.** The Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve.

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Ch

by

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[illegible]
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[illegible] has been [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] to consult, conventional the employment by any gentleman of Dondo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact was made with these shy and elusive people, whose dominant interest and fear of the Europeans is quick to smile, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as hunters and trackers.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dondo are not alike and that some differ as widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was merely open the door to many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dondo by Mr. Bibby,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Boers and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dondo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dondo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Dalodigo* and the *Kinye-ledigat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dondo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Bibby to have been a scattered

[illegible]

[1] *A Fiveto and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Bibby (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Canal Hollis informs me that most Dondo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dondo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 96, n.) "Dóndo," *The Swahili, their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1927

[illegible] [1]

By the side of Gumbo and Ashby I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dialect.

[illegible]

The Bubaiga Dialects live entirely with the Bhasa. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A Bubaiga often owned thirteen, living at present with the Bhasa of the Bubga area. I take one of the largest herds in the northern part of the Bhasa Reserve. The Bubaiga tribes Bhasa maintain [10] and contends of the enough when they are prevented from living on thorough poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a Bubaiga Dialects into a Bhasa, in all points and purposes, and the lowest form and first subjective dialects for living among and dwelling in close proximity to cattle entered by other Dialects owners. The Bubaiga form [20] of language except Bhasa[1] will tell you that they are Bhasa [21] and are considered by the Bhasa to be the same as they are themselves. Here the fact it is interesting to note that the Bubaiga[2] are very often girls and the Bubaiga lives on assemblage of Bhasa, particularly if the Bubaiga possess no sisters. The reason for this is, I think, that the primitive Bhasa people have been trained to exchange to the girls have left their work. There is something favorable to the physiognomy of the Bubaiga, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men. [40]

In this connection it is of interest to note that Mr. Lloyd Dubbs, in an article in Blue (December 1916), mentions the fact that he once met some Bhasa-Dialects in the Bili Valley who did not speak Dialect (see p. 138 and other references right). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that [1] [14] [15]

Pressure, when relative to the cattle assembles that of the Dialects in the Bhasa, were all speak Dialects, though they formerly had a language of their own (which exists still somewhere). (see further that the women of the Dialects are practiced with those of cattle Dialects.—H. H.) [20]

[1] The one bordering the Kingani river, north-west of Dungera.

[2] Mr. H. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the Journal of the African Society, makes a passing reference to the Bubaiga, whom he considers to be entirely impoverished Bhasa. [14] [15]

[1] Bubaiga themselves, of course, a certain number of Bhasa in the Kibiti area speak this tongue, likewise many Dialects.

[illegible] possibly from Dundee but have seen Beast, who, having had their words, had taken to hunting, is probably the easiest way [illegible] Beast, who is hunting in question were Dalridge, though the Beast also needs to satisfy himself as to that very point.

The original Dalridge are stated to have come from the Grampian Mountains of the Beast. It may be that this is the case, as the name Grampian originally meant the [illegible] mountains, but, [illegible] the whole area occupied today by the Beast of Tungwaythe Territory. It is certain that there are no Dalridge Hounds with the Beast throughout the length and breadth of the Tungwaythe Beast Country, and it becomes more difficult daily to find Dalridge who will devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own Dals or are much guilty to this with their other hunting or with the Beast. The younger men have never had a Dalridge. [illegible] which appropriately, decidedly and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Beast.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the Europeans sportsmen, a few old men (Beast), to all outward seemingly, will make their appearance mysteriously, generally accompanied by Dalridge. During whatever proceedings they will proceed to rip and hack away large quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful alacrity which is far more with to the Beast. When the Dalridge have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, [illegible] presumably, for a banquet of Cooperstown proportions. Should one ask, they will inform [illegible] that they are Dalridge, but will always add:

"We are not Beast again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Beast and the Dalridge are one and the same. The opinions of the Beast [illegible] unwilling to admit the equality of others and the Dalridge themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the Dalridge are also

[illegible] Dalridge. Beast Language and Folklore, pp. xiv, xv. The name would seem to be extremely suitable, as the area [illegible] and one of exotic [illegible] animals. Cf. p. Kilimanjaro. G. R. G. S.

[illegible] The name would not seem to be an indigenous Dundee imagine.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[117] [illegible] who had a life of hunting. These people [illegible] and Yi-Meng. If my conclusions are not erroneous, [illegible] and nearly all the others have had very small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Shans and Yi-Meng respectively in all outward customs.

The Hsaweeli [illegible] are also rapidly becoming Shans, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to that cause. My opportunities for investigating the Hsaweeli of the northern areas [illegible] Lahutaw,[1] and round the northern end of Kyaut Gale have been extremely limited, but I should state that they are far less susceptible to Shan influence than are their brethren of Mongpa and Loi-kalawee. The Hsaweeli present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them mentioned in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to give [illegible] very closely as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Shans, as are the Zalengs.

The Khamtis and Khamyens [illegible] of them to think over current events also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Shandu dealt with here.

Among the Shans Shans influence seems yearly and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Shans are willing to pay for Shans women; the fact that the Shans are always ready to employ the younger Shans men as lambi; the serious enforcement by Government of the Opium Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of Shan life by the Shans, who are busy but far from comfortable.

[114] I believe the Shans to have been very closely allied to the Shandi at one time. If they were not pure Shandi?[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a moot

[1] Hpawngwee Lahutaw. These Chinese are entirely distinct from the Kachin Lahutaw shown by Mr. F. J. Hopkinson [illegible] and [illegible].
[2] See Note: The Shandi, p. 6.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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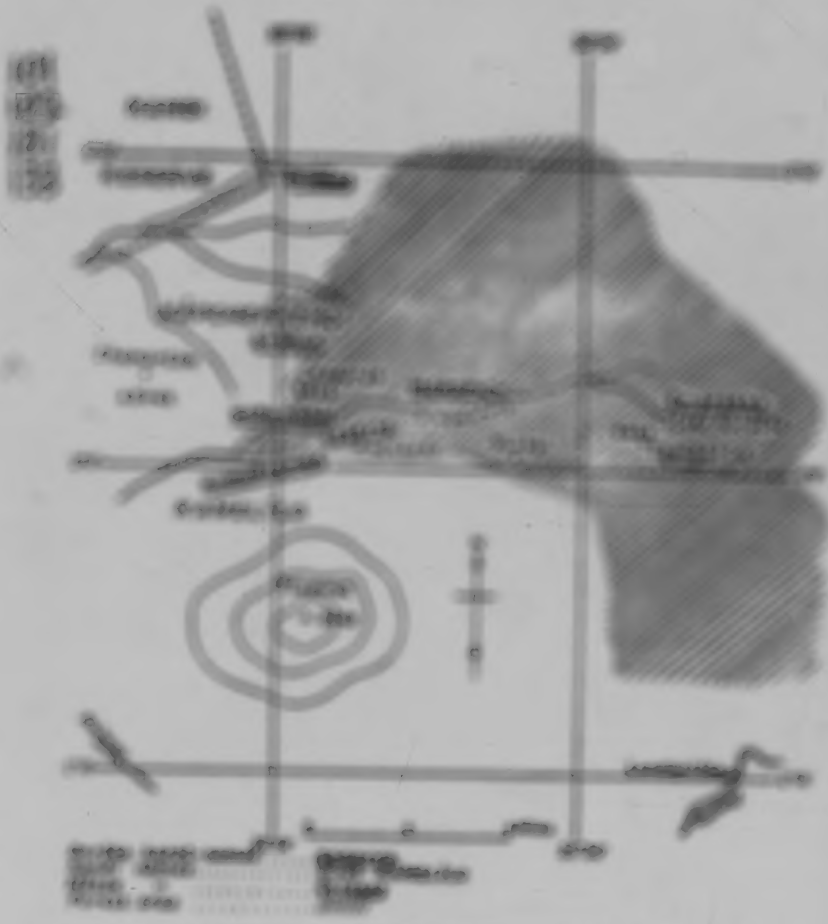

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The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

by [illegible]

Contents

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
  1. The First Kinship Generation
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III. The Family and Household
  1. Family life
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IV. The Clan
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  1. Introduction
  2. Pre-marital events
  3. Marriage
  4. Rites
  5. Relations and Avoids
  6. Polygamy
  7. Levirate
  8. Marriage with Ogiek

I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Trans Nzoia area between May 1948 and November 1949 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1937 was still remembered, and in 1948 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, to which I was greatly helped by one Ivong Sirong, my guide in 1937, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that it may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor A. M. Hocart-Kennedy and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I must also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cameron and R. J. C. Maconochie for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1939.

[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurureek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 %, were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 %, maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the hords in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is in contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*kwet* plur. *kwenet*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cyeptur[1]; 2. Kelpai; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkoreon; 5. Sogoiyo; 6. Metetitet; 7. Mokogor; 8. Purot; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpai, Kipkoreon, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Metetitet. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kirondinket* — the councillor)

[1] C ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

S:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi
2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life
3. The Kiret
4. Crime and its Results
5. Religion and Magic
   a) Belief and Practice
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1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masai before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Moring used these words: *Ngot kepua tow Obiot kesy kumchuni Nandiek, kepua ak Ipkoopek*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisers for the Uasin Gishu Masai before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kepua* is plural, and the apparent subject *Obiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realise its significance.

[p. 123]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have added on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kaporpkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandorobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumciser by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.

2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).

3. Some relationship terms.

4. The age-set system, and circumcision.

5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.

6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minio regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[886] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minio has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
[224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [22].

[22] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

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7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Lalwor, The Wanderobo, the Dolotho and the *Jie*; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(With Plates XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. Wayland.

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I.—Introduction.

The following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

DJA [121]

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

DJA [177]

[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 190. Karamojo = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamojo.

[104]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

DJA 114 [177]

become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being extinguished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

DJA 123 124

Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected; great lacunæ remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

[191]

The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiswahili, for no English, or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Karamojan folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiswahili from the troops (IVth King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Abyssinian and other raiders. I had two such men in my caravan and an official Karamojong-Kiswahili interpreter; the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many odd occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings convened with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required; but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, whenever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced; for I had visited Karamojo on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1920 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1925 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Jok*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the hand of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

DJA [126]

Anthropometric data were collected whenever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to fee every individual measured.

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Karamoja was entered by an unusual route—one which, as far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Apala, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Keriita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FLA Dorobo FLA

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000 **Further Notes on the El Dorobo or Ogglek.** *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.* 21

114 In Man, 1903, 17, a few notes on these elusive people were published. Since that time the writer has been fortunate to twice come into contact with members of the tribe in different parts of East Africa: once on the occasion of a visit to Eldama Ravine, and recently during a tour through the Laikipia Plateau west of Mount Kenia.

The author in 1891 visited Mount Kenia, and while encamped on the lower slopes encountered a few specimens of a bearded race of men who were said to live in the

10: Hobley G-S ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on tat mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east sie of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pēs swamp, and it was then elucidated the the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongiboro who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sikirai, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler as features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen tht some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masi because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost al their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to subsisting life. It therefre seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri peoplemay be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated wit the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that or opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a lit of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamilili or Tinderit	Kipsangtan.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurusk.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pikabom.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldam Ravine	Kakimengiriu.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pēs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siniwek.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EnasoNyiro	Lalariok.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Marto, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongibore who is said to live near Nyeri or Kakerya in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalentsin the vocabulary.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

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—	Dorobo of Tiddeney (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Nandi (Doretti).	Nandi.	Masai.
Barrel cut	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Blanket	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Sheep	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bitter (sweet)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Butter	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bucks	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stick	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stomach	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stool	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Supreme being	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Teeth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Thing	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
To-day	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
To-morrow	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tongue	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Topi antelope	—	[illegible]	—	—	—
Tree	[illegible]	[illegible] also [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tsetse	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wart-hog	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Water	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wind	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Woman	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Woman (old)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Woman (young)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Work	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yes	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Zebra	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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NOTE.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Ensso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Masai.

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Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo :—

Arrow	Lagh.	Child (of either sex)	Leyo.
Bad	Etiteri.	Boy	Kuti.
Bird	Legei.	Come	Yato.
Blood	Sogo.	Cooking pot	Duru.
Note.—In Lur language sogo means bone; in The-Leo bone is chogu.		Cow	Gwit.
		Dog	Kube.
Bone	Motobo.	Elephant	Sogomd.
Bow	Paba.	Father	Abasi.
Buffalo	Piba.	Fire	Iku.

II: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

captured, and commandeered as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the ancestors of the *Baraga*, *Gekonyuki*, *Laitai*, and *Dumat* Masai. 173 614 698

Mr. Hollis spells these as follows:—Il-purko, Il-kak-oonyokie, 'L-oitai and Il-damat. [114]

Some generation later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Ruruguti in the direction of Nyanweni country; these people were like Masai and were under one Ndaraguto, the son of Ndaramuroni. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Ndaraguto was a clever leader, however, and he collected his beaten adversaries and welded them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamweni occupied the whole of the Nandi-Lumbwa plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Ndaramuroni, or his son Ndaraguto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain rude dams which are to be seen in some of the Nandi valleys; these were certainly not made by the Nandi, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then unoccupied by that tribe, but was one of the great hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. In those days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, cultivating shambas as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwizaga, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chaga. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins. 174 [136]

On the Essanagishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Elgeyo, there are remains of a past race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, circular in shape. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mokwan (possibly the people were called Sirikwa, and the kraals Mokwan) who peopled that region previous to themselves. This is borne out by the legends of the Aggiek, who state that the people who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Enjoe by the Kikuyu and Eberatta by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Purko, 'L-Aikipiak, and 'L-Oitai Masai, the branch of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggiek tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they bored a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to run they took out the plug. The form of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both knee caps in early youth. Be this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-horned cattle possibly points to an offshoot of some Hamitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migration might turn out to be contemporaneous with the Hima invasion of Uganda. Soon after the destruction of this tribe by the Masai the looted cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plague. 173 [174]

The Aggiek also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Mwalwal Chiana who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have averaged only 2 feet in stature.

They also tell that they heard from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white race (called Muchungu) existed in the world. Doubtless news of the white man's advent was passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen inland.

C. W. HOBLEY.

14:Huntingford I-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P.183, A]

[P 185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality.

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show.

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA*, *eiyo*.

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA*, *mama*.

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo*, *BABA*, as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA*, *eiyo*. "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*puhot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya.

18: Merker--S25 C-5 (1895-ca. 908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
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Asa

D 142 (28 D14 182

/386/ Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (1)

M *142 182 D14 182

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "En dorobo."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

M *142 Ol oruñgoti, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El ugumoi ♂ El bartimaro ♀ El masañgua

♂ ♀

♂ ol Oruñgoti.

Fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (43), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

Being some Notes on the Various Types of *Dorobo*[1] found in the Masai Reserve of Tanganyika Territory and Contiguous Districts

The name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torōbōsi*, *Il-Torōbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wangwe and Wasigwa of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa-Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuwa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 F L6 Dorobo F L6

GDO

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

EDITED BY DARYLL FORDE

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

PART VIII

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES

BY

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

LONDON

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

1953

[Title Page]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

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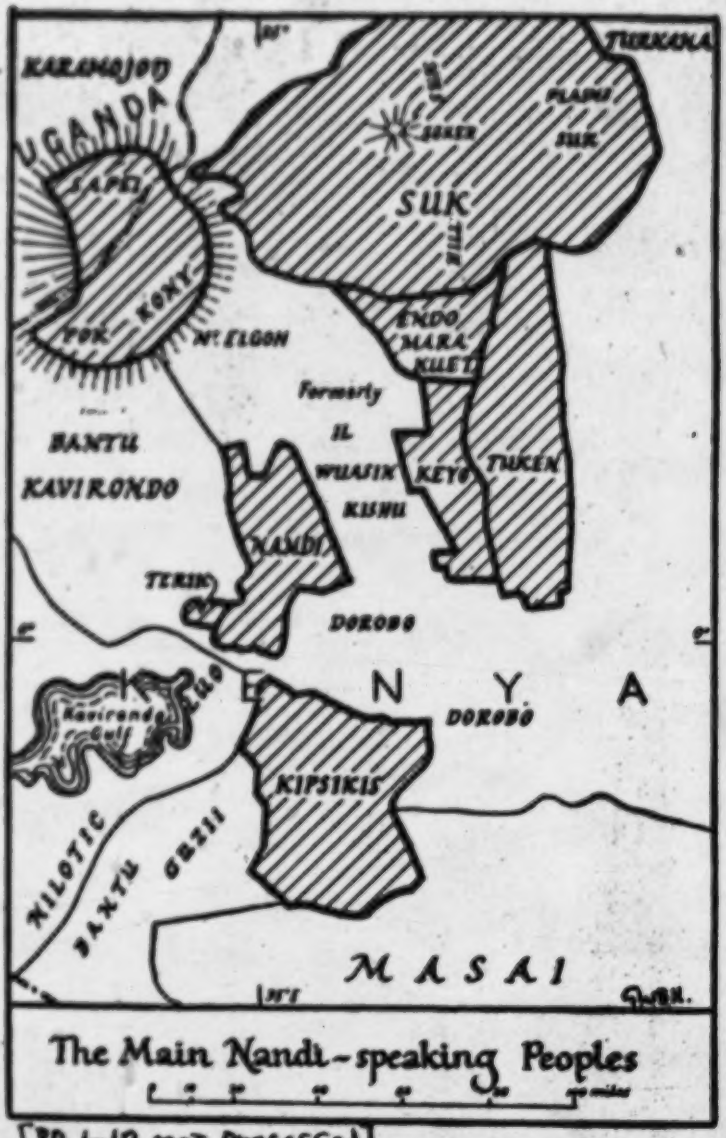

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1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDIRET FOREST (KIPKURERER)

HISTORY

It is clear from traditions of the Nandi, Masai, and Kikuyu, as well as of the Dorobo themselves, that the Dorobo (whatever their origin) were living in the Kenya Highlands when the Nilo-Hamites and Bantu arrived there. Since most of the Dorobo hordes lived on land which under the British Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were secured as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the western Dorobo, including the Kipkurerek, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became mainly Forest Reserve: hence their land rights were not considered.

About 1927 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dorobo, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by unadministered natives was undesirable, and in 1937 the Kipkurerek, the principal horde involved, were transferred to the Nandi Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months most if not all of those transferred had crept back to the edge of the North Tindiret forest, their old home, where they were living precariously when I did field-work among them in 1938–9.

DEMOGRAPHY

The Kipkurerek Dorobo of the western part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve numbered 226 when I made a census of them in 1938–39. Since part of the horde was no longer, as formerly, living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile at that time, and this resulted in the distinction of four " domicile categories ":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8,000 ft. and over.

B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly between 7,500 and 8,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.

C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve (Land Unit) within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.

D. Distant areas, i.e., the Keyo and Kamasya Land Units, and Laikipia; in the first two there is country similar to A.

People classed under C and D were still considered to belong to the horde, and were regarded as members of their original districts (*koret*), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by districts, with domicile categories, and (2) by districts, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Kipkorom	Soeuiyo	Kelpui	% of total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	23	59	46	61	128
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 F14 Dorobo F16

(2)

Karet	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkoreon	6	6	15	10	10	49
Kaplyo	23	10	20	16	10	102
Kalpai	26	10	17	9	6	76
	55	44	80	35	34	228

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidog (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east–west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, " hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen " high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent hofne, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *muainonik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

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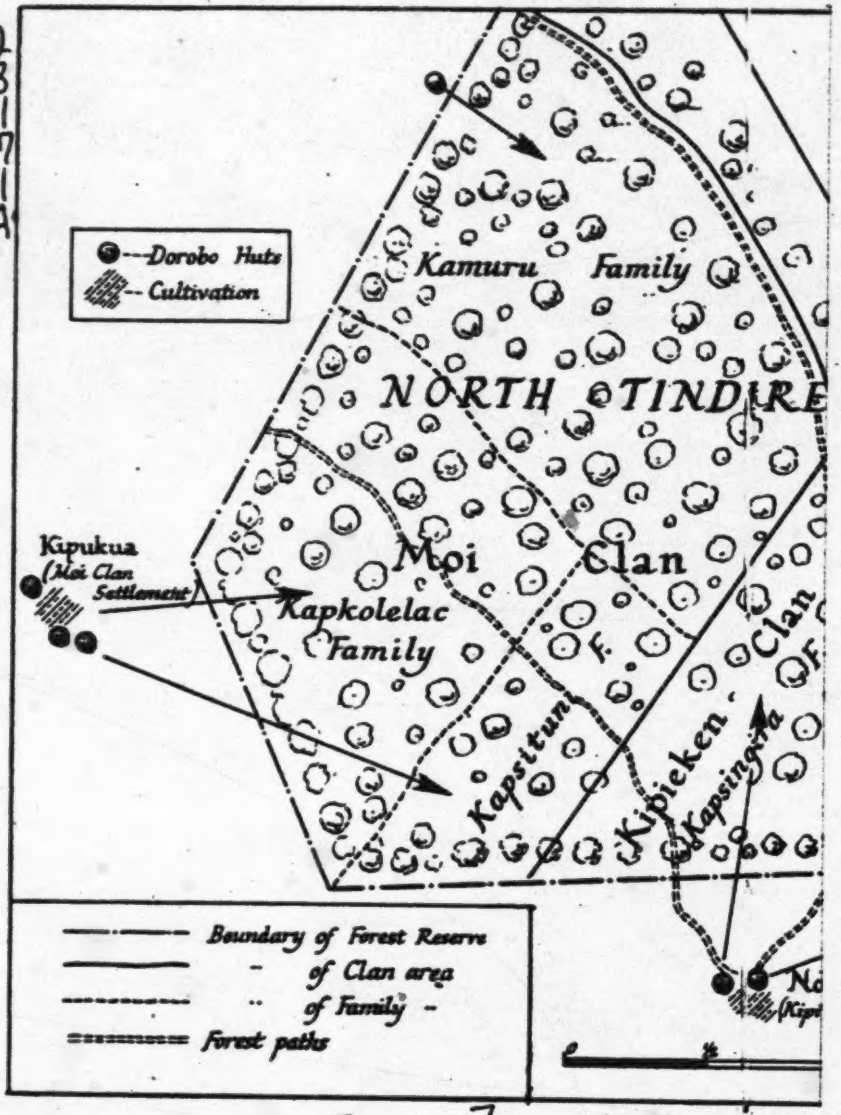

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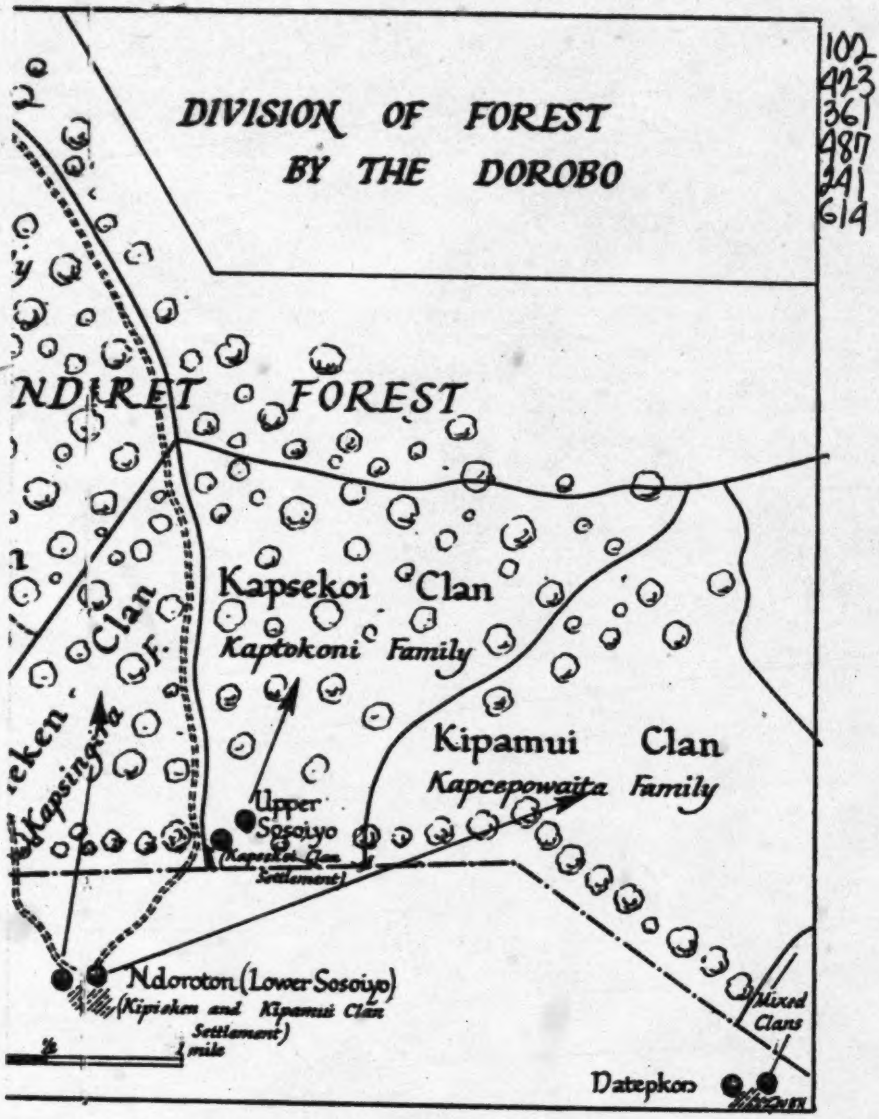

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1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *nguret*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *poronet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Agriculture

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbaroonik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble, but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paish*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *siuot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiphelinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[962] [273] tree," *rotinuet* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyah*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomsh*.

Trade and Exchange

439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were [648] almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, [177] the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and [582] there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [181] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as [186] rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and [437] honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[435]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they [177] have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted [648] from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

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Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *imbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 [304] [582] [880] [589]

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *murvaik*, circumcised men; and *apaiisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yosotik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engitokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Behaviour

602 [171]

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601

Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamoyo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiet;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

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A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncin cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *koroniot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

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585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *horosiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 C48 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women:	8	Dorobo and Nandi men:	10
Dorobo and Keyo women:	1	Dorobo and Keyo men:	1
Dorobo and Terik women:	1		

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [224] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [796] [883] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

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patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Coginich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoiinik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

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614 [171]

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeebei *	Kipkobee Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapii *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaiks, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Koqoc, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

[671] [673] The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, [694] homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the [554] oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

63 60 [623] Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sanalo. In 1930 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

681 Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

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cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *kocongei*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kocongei* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

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412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyaqda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*Ixodes* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *inot*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
278 made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *ossoiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[962] made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *soniot*, and sewn with bast made from
[824] a plant called *taparuriot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
385 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepengwet* (*amilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
480 earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

776 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyeh*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Araus* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *masambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

780 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
698 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
759 called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
789 reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *makupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

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legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *pesik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 39), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kapsoi, Kipkoreon, and Soudan, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *oskoyot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to sit the victim on the fore, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the Africans to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *emisit*, "affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the speech of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

THE AKAMBA OF KENYA (AKAMBA)

History

The group identified by Lambert as living at Kambu on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is first found on Kilima in September 1911.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Kamba as Mwanza (" place of lookout "), where, he says, a Kamba village was established for selling land bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the Kikuyu.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Di-nde who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Di-nde land completely lost their land by 1902 when Dundas passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership ; all partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and dishonesty."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Mwandiki, as among the Kikuyuand. Marriage is purchased, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Kamba-looking names beginning with the prefix kya- (which does not imply exclusiveness, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ai-ghanzi*, derived from the Masai *ai-ghata*, " clan," and *nzi*, as Lambert suggests, from *ai-ghata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Ywa*[4] is recognized, and the elements describing ancestral spirits as " active mediators " of a benign regime the existence of an evildoer cult.

Sources: W. S. Lambert, *The system of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit, Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 81, 86.

[1] MS.M1, p. 9
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 368
[3] Kenya Land Commission, Report, 1933, p. 46
[4] = Masai *ngai*, " deity."

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Bell, H. C. F. "Notes on the Nandi Tribe." *Journal of the African Society*, CLII, 2052-53, pp. 216-235.
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Bell, H. C. F. "Notes on the Nandi Tribe." *Journal of the African Society*, CLV, 2055-56, pp. 216-235.
Contains brief but useful information on Nandi-Dorobo relations.

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Contains brief but useful information on Nandi-Dorobo relations.

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Bell, H. C. F. "Notes on the Nandi Tribe." *Journal of the African Society*, CLVIII, 2058-59, pp. 216-235.
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1927. "The Kindiga." *TNR*, No. IV, pp. 8-12.
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Dobbs, D.
1931. "The sacred tree of Gi Dzonyoka." *Man*, 1931, 45.
An account of a fig-tree with supposed magical properties.

Dempwolff, O.
1916. *Die Sandawe*. Hamburg.
A detailed account of the Sandawe, with notes on the language and texts; does not always agree with von der Klaauwmuhle.

Dobbs, C. M.
1918. "Diseases of stock in Lumbwa District." *JEAUGNRS*, p. 481.
1931. "Lumbwa circumcision ages." *JEAUGNRS*, 14, p. 66.
A short account, and very accurate, of the age-sets of the Kipsigis.

Dundas, Hon. K. R.
1908. "Notes on the origin and history of the Dorobo tribes." *Man*, 1908, 38.
A collection of traditions, mostly obtained in Kikuyuland.
1910. "Notes on the tribes inhabiting the Baringo district." *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49-70.
Contains some notes on the Kapsu and Suk. Useful, but not entirely reliable.
1913. "The Wawanga and other tribes of the Elgon district." *JRAI*, XLIII, pp. 19-54.
Contains some notes on the Pok and Kony, pp. 46-8.

East Africa Statistical Department
1948. Census. (1) African population of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Sept., 1948. (2) African population of Uganda Protectorate, Dec., 1948. (3) African population of Tanganyika Territory, Dec., 1948. (Referred to as *E.A. Census, 1948*, the year in which the census was taken.)
Described as "Geographical and tribal studies from the East African Population Census, 1948."

Edwards, Rev. J. L.
1947. *Vocabulary of the Dorobeli Dialect*. Ludwigsburg.
A useful vocabulary (bearing in mind its age and the way in which it was collected), with a short account of the people.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
1940. "The political structure of the Nandi-speaking peoples of Kenya." *Africa*, XIII, pp. 250-67.
A survey of the literature dealing with the political organization of the Nandi group.

Fischer, G. A.
1884. *Die Massai-Land*. Hamburg.
A few useful observations on the Masai, their material culture and country; mainly geographical.

Fuhlrott, H.
1917. "Gottesanschauungen und religiose Unterlehrung der Masai." *Z. Archiv. f. Anthrop.* XV, pp. 227-42.
Refers to the Kisanbo of Tanganyika Territory.

Fortune, C. Dargie.
1924. *Habitat, Economy, and Society*. London.
Chapter XIV, pp. 307-804, contains a short general account of the Masai. Good as an introduction.

Fyfe-wales, H. A.
1948. "An administrative survey of the Masai social system." *TNR*, No. 26, pp. 1-40.
The best account so far published of the political organization and age-set system of the Masai.

Fox, D. Storrs
1926 (1). "Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony." *JRAI*, LV, pp. 447-68.
1926 (2). "Descriptions of Masai shields and spears." *JEAUGNRS*, IV, pp. 201-5.
1931. "Notes on marriage customs among the Masai." *JEAUGNRS*, 50-60 pp. 181-92.
Contains also some notes on circumcision and age-sets.

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Fraser, Sir James G.
1918. *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. II. Exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship among the Masai. Pp. 497-7[illegible].
A concise account based on Hollis and Merker.

Fuchs, H.
1910. *Sagen, Mythen und Sitten der Masai*. Jena.
A collection of folk-literature.

Gillo, J. L.
See Ger.

Hailey, Lord.
1938. *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. HMSO. Part I. Deals with Nandi and Suk, pp. 136-46; Kipsigis, pp. 147-48; Kenya Masai, pp. 147-77; Tanganyika Masai, pp. 383, 385, 397, 399; Moshi district, pp. 861, 868.

Hamilton-Rose, J. G.
1933. *Kenya Land Commission, Evidence*, Vol. II.
Memorandum on the Kaya, pp. 1,941-70.

Hemsted, C. S.
1932. "Tribal organization of the Nandi." *JEAUNHS*, 18, pp. 3-15.
Rather inaccurate notes.

Hemsings, R. O.
1931. *African Mowing*. London.
This is not an anthropological book; but it contains the fullest description available of Masai-land irrigation.

Hinde, S. L., and H.
1901. *The Last of the Masai*. London.
Unreliable; mostly half the book deals with wild animals.

Hobley, C. W.
1902. *Eastern Uganda*. London.
Useful, but must be read with caution; has some historical value. Deals with the Nandi, pp. 36-42, 64, 69; Masai, p. 68; Dorobo, pp. 11, 12.
1903 (1). "Anthropological studies in Nandi and Kavirondo." *JAI*, XXXIII, p. 329.
Contains some traditions of Nandi origin.
1903 (2). "Notes concerning the Elderobo of Mau." *Man*, 1903, 37.
1905. "Further notes on the Elderobo or Ogiek." *Man*, 1905, 82.
1906. "Notes on the Dorobo people." *Man*, 1906, 84.
This and the previous paper are mainly on language, and are useful as showing that the Kenya Dorobo speak dialects of Nandi.
1910. *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*. Cambridge.
Contains a short chapter on the Masai, somewhat confused.

Hollis, A. C. [the Claud]
1905. *The Masai, their language and folklore*. Oxford.
The best book available on the Masai; much of it is in the form of texts with translation; there are also the texts of folk-tales, and a full and reliable grammar.
1905. "Masai carving of stone." *Man*, 1905, 18.
1908. "The religion of the Nandi." *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*. Oxford, I, p. 97.
Absorbed into his book on the Nandi.
1909 (1). *The Nandi, their language and folklore*. Oxford.
A good account of material culture and a number of customs; has little about social and political organization. Mostly half the book is grammar and vocabulary, both reliable. Both his books are indispensable for a study of the Masai and Nandi languages.
1909 (2). "Some Dorobo beliefs." *Man*, 1909, 185.
Note on a Dorobo rain-maker between Nairasha and the Anglo-German frontier.
1910. "A note on the Masai system of relationship and other matters connected therewith." *JRAI*, XL, pp. 452-66.
The best account of the Masai kinship system.
1905. "The Masai." *JRAI*, XLII, pp. 116-36.
on changes in the Masai since the publication of his book in 1905.

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Huntingford, G. W. B.

1927. "Miscellaneous records relating to the Nandi and Kony." *JRAI*, LVII, pp. 417–61.
Includes notes on diviners, age-sets, marriage, names, texts, and a brief account of the Kony.

1929. "Modern Hunters." *JRAI*, LIX, pp. 323–78.
An illustrated account of Dorobo material culture (the hords described in this volume), with a short grammar and vocabulary.

1932 (1). "The Nandi military divisions and their bearing on the land system." *Kenya Land Commission, Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 2,045–60. Nairobi.
Memorandum presented to the Land Commission in 1932.

1932 (2). "The significance of bride-price, with special reference to the Nandi." *JEAUNHS*, 49–6, p. 51.

1932 (3). Memorandum on a suggested Reserve of land for the Tindiret Dorobo. *Kenya Land Commission, Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 2,039–45.

1934. "Some aspects of Nandi stock-raising." *JEAUNHS*, 49–50, pp. 280–82.
Notes on Nandi methods of cattle management.

1935. "The Nandi Purviet." *JRAI*, LXV, pp. 133–43.
A short account, with a Nandi text.

1943. "The social organization of the Dorobo." *African Studies*, 1, pp. 183–200.
Short summary of field-work done in 1938–40.

1944. *The Nandi.* (Peoples of Kenya series No. 11.) Nairobi.
A short account of social and political organization.

1950. *Nandi Work and Culture.* London.
A detailed account of economic life, with a chapter on Nandi history and topography, and a discussion of Nandi culture.

1951. "The social institutions of the Dorobo." *Anthropos*, XLVI, pp. 1–48.
Deals with kinship, family life, behaviour, age-sets, the clan, circumcision, marriage, and names.

1953. *The Nandi of Kenya: Tribal control in a pastoral society.* London.

Huntingford, G. W. B., and Bell, C. R. V.

1950. *East African Background.* London.
An introduction to East African ethnography for non-specialists, with sections on Nandi organization, age-sets, and warfare, and an analysis of the Masai age-sets.

James, L.

1939. "The Kenya Masai." *Africa*, XII, pp. 49–73.
An account of the Masai in 1939, and a critical discussion of their administration.

Johnston, H. H. [Sir Harry]

1886. *The Kilimanjaro Expedition.* London.
A useful account of the Masai before the coming of the European administrations.

1902. *The Uganda Protectorate.* London.
Though now largely superseded by other works, this book is still useful (with caution) for certain aspects of East African ethnography. It contains accounts of the Masai, pp. 796–838; Suk, pp. 841–43; Nandi group, including Dorobo, pp. 912–28.

1918. Article "Masai" in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. VIII, pp. 480–3.

Kenya Land Commission

1933. *Evidence*, Vol. III. Nairobi.
This volume contains material relating to the history and land problems of the following peoples: Nandi, pp. 1,948–81, 2,039–60, 2,066–79; Dorobo, pp. 1,888–73, 1,976–98; Keyo, pp. 1,931–47; Kamasya, pp. 1,781–94, 1,830–48, 1,862–82, 1,899–1,901; Suk, pp. 1,723–7, 1,733–55, 1,773–81, 1,839–49; Masai, 1,179–206. (Abbreviated as K.L.C.)

Kenya Land Commission

1933. *Report.* Nairobi.
Contains references to the Nandi, sections 1,030–73; and Kipsikis, sections 1,149–88.

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Krapf, Rev. J. L.
1854. *Vocabulary of the Enguturi Eloikob.* Tubingen.
Apart from its historical interest, the vocabulary is still useful. There is a short account of the Masai on pp. 3–31.
1860. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa.* London.
Krapf was the first European to travel through any part of the Masai sphere of influence.

Lambert, H. E.
1950. *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land.* University of Cape Town.
A useful study, with many references to the Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu. Short account of the Kerlita Dorobo, pp. 67–8.

Leakey, L. S. B.
1930. "Some notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony." *JRAI*, LX, pp. 185–206.
Based on information from Kikuyu-speaking Masai.

Lindblom, K. G.
1921 (1). "Mount Elgons grottor och folk." *Ymer*, p. 139.
Deals with the Kony.
1921 (2). *I vildmark och negerbyar a° Mount Elgon och omnejden i Ostafrika.* Stockholm.
The Nandi-speakers on Mount Elgon.
1924. "Some words of the language spoken by the Elgoni people." *Le Monde Oriental*, XVIII, pp. 46–55.
Contains some brief notes on the people and their religion (Kony).

Macdonald, Lt.-Col. R. L.
1899. "Notes on the ethnography of tribes met with during the progress of the Juba expedition." *JAI*, I, p. 226.

Maguire, R. A. J.
1927–8. "Il-Torobo." *JAS*, XXVII, pp. 127, 240.
An account of the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory.
1948. "Il-Torobo." *TNR*, June, 1948, pp. 1–28.
Reprint of previous article.
1928. "The Masai penal code." *JAS*, XXVIII, pp. 12–16.
1931. "Masai water trees." *Man*, 1931, 153.
Note on Dallas's paper in *Man*, 1931, 42.

Massam, J. A.
1927. *The Cliff Dwellers of Kenya.* London.
A superficial account of the Keyo.

Merker, M.
1903. "Religion und Tradition der Masai." *Zeits. f. Ethnol.*, XXXV, pp. 733–44.
Absorbed into his *Die Masai.*
1910. *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin. (1st ed., 1904.)
Valuable for material culture and descriptive accounts of visible features of Masai life; much valueless discussion of Masai racial affinities.

Obst, E.
1913. "Der östliche Abschnitt der grossen ostafrikanischen Störungszone." *Mitt. d. Geogr. Ges. in Hamburg*, XXVII, pp. 153–202.
Has some material on the Sandawe.
1915. "Das abflusslose Rumpfschollenland im nordöstlichen Deutsch-Ostafrika." *Mitt. d. Geogr. Ges. in Hamburg*, XXIX.
Has some material on the Sandawe.

Orchardson, Ian Q.
1919. "Supernatural beliefs of the Lumbwa." *JEAUNHS*, pp. 417–30.
Deals with the religion of the Kipsikis; useful.
1932 (1). "Religious beliefs among the Kipsigis." *East African Standard*, 13 Aug., 1932.
Report of a lecture to the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.
1932 (2). "Marriage customs of the Kipsigis." *JEAUNHS*, 40–1, pp. 99–112.

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Orchardson, Ian Q.—*continued.*
1983. "Religious beliefs and practices of the Kipsigis." *JEAUNHS*, 47–8, pp. 154–62. 113
1938. "The African explains witchcraft: II. Kipsikis." *Africa*, VIII, pp. 309–18. A useful collection of statements by three Kipsikis, with comments. The author has known the Kipsikis well for many years.
1938. "Future development of the Kipsigis, with special reference to land tenure." *JEAUNHS*, 5–6, pp. 200–10. Some useful notes on land tenure.

Orr, J. B., and Gilks, J. L.
Studies of nutrition: the physique and health of two African tribes. *HMSO.* London. A valuable description of the diet of the Masai and Kikuyu.

Page-Jones, F. H.
1948. "Water in Masailand." *TNR*, No. 26, pp. 51–9. An account of the water supplies in the Masai district of Tanganyika, their ownership, the related settlement pattern, and seasonal migrations determined by them.

Peristiany, J. G.
1939. *The social institutions of the Kipsigis.* London. The first full account of the Kipsikis; useful for material culture and legal processes.
1949. *La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya.* Ét. soc. et ethnol. jurid, sous dir. R. Maunier, XXVIII. Paris.
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Phillips, A.
1945. *Report on Native Tribunals.* Nairobi. Nandi, pp. 109–11; Masai, pp. 141–4.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1950. *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage.* London. Good analysis of the Masai kinship system, based on Hollis, pp. 18–22.

Reche, O.
1914. *Zur Ethnographie des abflusslosen Gebietes Deutsch-Ostafrikas.* Hamburg. Useful account of material culture of "Kindiga" (Hadzapi), pp. 4–23; Sandawe, pp. 24–31; "Fiomi" (Gorowa), pp. 103–7; Burungi, pp. 107–10; together with material on the Bantu neighbours of these peoples. Good for comparative study.

Ried, H. A.
1915. *Zur Anthropologie des abflusslosen Rumpfschollenlandes im nordöstlichen Deutsch-Ostafrika.* Hamburg. Physical anthropology; has some material on the Hadzapi.

Roscoe, Rev. J.
1924. *The Bagesu.* Cambridge. Chapter VIII deals unconvincingly with the Sapei, who are referred to as "Basabei."

Routledge, W. S. and K.
1910. *With a prehistoric people: the Akikuyu of British East Africa.* London. Appendix II (pp. 344–9) contains a short account of the Masai; not very useful.

Sandford, G. R.
1919. *An administrative and political history of the Masai Reserve.* London. A useful and valuable study, with good maps.

Seligman, B. Z.
1917. "The relationship systems of the Nandi, Masai, and Thonga." *Man*, 1917, 68. A short comparative study, based on Hollis's material for the Nandi and Masai.

Shelford, F.
1910. "Notes on the Masai." *JAS*, IX, pp. 287–9. Short account of a journey through Masailand.

Stigand, C. H.
1913. *The Land of Ziaj.* London. Sketchy account of the Masai on pp. 204–32.

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1933. Memorandum on the Dorobo. *Kenya Land Commission, Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 2,061–2.

Thomson, J.
1884. "Through the Masai country to Victoria Nyanza." *Proc. RGS.*, VI, pp. 690–712.
1885. *Through Masai Land*. London.
Thomson was the first European to traverse Masailand, and his book has an historical value. Besides many details of great interest on the Masai, he has a little to say about the Dorobo (chap. X), and the Kony and Suk (chap. XII). Indispensable in a study of the Masai.

Totty, L. H., and Chaundy, G. H.
1944. *The people and district of West Suk*. (Peoples of Kenya series, No. 17.) Nairobi.

Trevor, J. C.
1947. "The physical characters of the Sandawe." *JRAI*, LXXVII, pp. 61–78.
Though mainly on physical anthropology, there are some notes on ethnography.

Van de Kimmenade, Rev. M.
1936. "Les Sandawe." *Anthropos*, XXXI, pp. 395–416.
An account of social organization and religion; of some value.

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IL-TORŌBO

PART I

Being some Notes on the Various Types of *Dorobo*[1] found in the Masai Reserve of Tanganyika Territory and Contiguous Districts

The name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torōbōni*, *Il-Torōbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

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by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. "Tribe," *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

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race " without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name " Dorobo " would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] " The Dorobo," say the Masai, " live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo? " While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name " Dorobo " here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word " Swahili " cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[1] Hobley, p. 135. [2] Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore.*
[3] Masai: *En-dorōbōni; pl. 'N-dorōbo;* the tsetse fly.

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101 [124] of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balañgai	Il-Balañga
2. Ol-Kinyalañgati	Il-Kinyalañgat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro [3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added 101 197 incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo [4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their [614] relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the [193] type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve. [4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

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Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitëto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*: pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Ilaikipiak* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Ilaikipiak*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Ilaikipiak* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kieyaleknat

The *Kieyaleknat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Ilaikipiak* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kieyaleknat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kieyaleknat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kieyaleknat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kieyaleknat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kieyaleknat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kieyaleknat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *Ol-Odeap.* The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle. [2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] *Kwavi*, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

A Bloom (left) and a Bloom of the 'I-Aton Club. The Pennsylvania was taken at Kabete. Their suits Embroidered cases Wisconsin. (McCann.)

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cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kieyaleleyat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kieyaleleyat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Baleleya*. They are good herdsmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kieyaleleyat* elder of the 'L-almor age' named Mwanamunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aiguenani*[1] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Baleleya* or the *Kieyaleleyat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'I-Okiepe. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Baleleya* and the *Kieyaleleyat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and out of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Baleleya* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mbiro ; Il-Mdiak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mbiro* and *Mdiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Councillor.

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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mōiro* and *Mōiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mōiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mōiro* is at Talasmai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Jaw*,[4] but no living *Mōiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talasmai.

[illegible]

Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mōiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mōiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 133. [4] *Jaw*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as useless.

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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothcomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Méoiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Méoiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Méoiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Méoiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekito told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Méoiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Méoiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Méoiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Méoiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Méoiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a sizable patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Méoiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Méoiroi* has at his command an extensive

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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Méoiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulet* [2] which every *Méoiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Méoiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Méoiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and [illegible] as the Masai do, but they say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'suruya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Méoiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Indi*; the Masai call it *Ee-gokiroi*; the *Méoiro* name it *Chebenendet*; the Nandi, *Chepkondo*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okoroi* [Masai].

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

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224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

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[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwee*, is also known to the Kitêto Masai and is called by them *Ol-hiserimbwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

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palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumae* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I MUST confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen[1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balañga* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mósiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 229 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mósiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 257.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 132 in *Journal* for January 1928.

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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* 197 of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central 101 areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balañga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

226 The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not [268] eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, 224 both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable 282 from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] 181 They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of 123 establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their 194 language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would 192 seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro* [177]

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*. [161]

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

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tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigit*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósirŏ*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunōno*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunōno* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitokorda ; Il-Kisangara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyŏni* family of the *Il-Mōlelyan* clan (Hollis).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

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or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiah* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic [2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[1] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[2] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[3] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

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Kizigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balañga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balañga* and *Kinyalañgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porŏwet* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

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411 [386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kária*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inee*') is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootiet*) [2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kátik*; sing. *káte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandee*). The arrow-head (*sipelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunóno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Máisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ilé*) obtained from the *Ñgoisiandee* [4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Ara'chee*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikóitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mótian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 251.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngoswa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

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covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*nguane*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

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412 differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon.
411 They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1]
[507] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to
526 venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter
[517] than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

415 A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to
177 bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load),
487 by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

194 The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ŋg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{a}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ˚ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *illˈ*, the *ˈ* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

, beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *ṗ*, *ḃ*, *ṿ* and *ṽ* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeñge* or *epei*. 807 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajit*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 128

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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192 Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they
197 were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional
188 proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure
[177] Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

126 The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want "
[193] and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer
197 and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and
192 unscientific paper of this nature.

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No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	Mákoa.	Aramanik.
1	Kan	Ôno; m. Nuke; f.	Abodi	Akenge	Epol	Okokpi	Abatiga	Kindol
2	Labo	Anny; m. Apo; f.	Aroga	Aolig or Oolig	Ngora	Ogôndy	Aan[1]	Lanu
3	Sadeh	Ôkuni; m. Uni; f.	Conigge	Sonik	Ngorai	Sonok	Bhonik	Sonok
4	Afar	Ookigwan; m. Oigwan; f.	Angwa	Afgwan	Nimwana	Afgwan	Afgwan	Ongwan
5	Shan	Isayet	Siyet	Mat	Ekun	Mit	Mokt	Isayet
6	Lix	Ille	Ele	Ille or Kolle	Ekinol Isayet	Mat ngô[2] Okokpi	Ele	Ile
7	Toddeh	Ongidoana; m. Nanginkuna; f.	Attoch	Tiosp	Ekinol	Mat ngô Ogôndy	Sosi[3]	Nanginkuna
8	Sidad	Isyet	Ocsigwat	Sokt	Epolgwana	Mat ngô Ogôndy	Isyet	Isyet
9	Sagal	Ôsoki; m. Nasoki; f.	Ôsinagwa	Sokol	Ekun Isayeanun	Mat ngô Sonok	Sokosi[4]	Sokosi
10	Tobon	Tamon	Tomwa	Tamun	Tamunun	Mat ngô Afgwan	Tamwa	Tomwa
						Mat ngô Tamûn		

[138] The Somali, Latuka and Turkana vocals given above have been taken from Mr. Charles Eliot's Introduction to *The Masai Male Language and Folklore Studies*. The Masai and Suk vocals have been taken from Hollis and Sarah respectively. The *Mákoa* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mákoa* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *a* is an faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] The vowels, right and other in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word *Ekinol*.
[3] *Sosi* is often used for the Masai for other Sp. 10, Introduction to Hollis's *Nandi*.
[4] The Masai also use *Sokosi* for nine.

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	Masai.[1]	*Nandi.*[2]	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Goat	En-gíso	Ngoswiet	Ngwisio	Ofuti
Sheep	Ol-kerr	Kechériet	Kéjiria	Hasa
Ox	Ol-kiténg	Tota	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aiók	Kut	Kuta	Mukgo
Foot	En-gúa	Kokdo	Kokda	Yuli
Nose	En-gúme	Serut	Seru'	Kinga
Head	El-tughanya	Mettí	Metti	Kogo
Man	Ol-tokgani	Chilio	Chilio	Kindo
Woman	E-ngorróyani	Kurbet	Karubo	Mato
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Ge
Knife	Eng-aiem	Chephuswai	Sibii	Pandos
Bow	Eng-áso	Kwingot	Kwanda	Mato
Arrow	En-bao	Kitot	Kito	Gare
Sword	Ol-aiem	Retuet	Rétue	Ipa
Sun	Eng-ólóg	Asista	Asita	Ajit
Moon	Ol-apa	Arowet	Arabue	Lebuch
Day	En-dáma	Ekunet	Fetinda	Ajita
Night	En-gwárie	Kumbaat	Lakgat	Kwanua
God	Eng-ai	Asis	Turuttu	Oyet

[1] The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Zebra	Ol-oitigi[1]; s. Il-oitigiak; p.	Ngoiyet-ap-tim; s. Ngoiyik-ap-tim; p.	Sikiria; s.[1] Sirkua; p.	Sidjo
Elephant	Ol-tómo; s. Il-tómia; p.	Pilwet; s. Pilwik; p.	Pilwandet; s. Pilwik; p.	Pindos
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; s. Il-kondia; p.		Ondusi; s. Indusiskia; p.	Bojoro
Giraffe	Ol-ogiet; s. Il-ogiek; p.	Ingotiet; s. Ingotiik; p.	Tungkoyet; s. Tungkoye; p.	Gilimok
Rhinoceros	E-muny; s. I-muny; p.	Kipsirichiet; s. Kipsirichaik; p.	Kyun; s. Kyunsia; p.	Kiswok[2]
Hippopotamus	Ol-mabor; s. Il-mabain; p.	Mabaita; s. Mabaitik; p.	Mabaita; s. Mabai; p.	Dako[3]
Lion	Ol-ógetony; s.	Ngetondo; s.	Ngetondo; s.	Murok or Mujok
Buffalo	Il-ógetonye; p. Ol-mótwan; s. Il-mótwani; p.	Ngetonyik; p. Sust; s. Susu; p.	Ngetonyik; p. Sus'; s. Sususi; p.	Shitokat
Wildebeest	O-ongat; s. I-ongatin; p.		Ongatin; s. Ongatin; p.	Ongat[3]

[1] Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-nikiria*, *I-nikua*.
[2] Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.
[3] Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi, and *Mósiro* there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The *Aramanik* words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and *Mósiro*. [193]

In the *Mósiro* tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

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the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The *Mbúru*, despite their laxity in the use of their own article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p. xxii of the introduction to *The Isak : their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 32 of the text of that work.)

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SOME OF THE SIMPLER VERBAL FORMS IN MASAI, NANDI AND *MBÚRU*

	Masai.	Nandi.	*Mbúru*.
I follow			
I have followed			
He follows			
We follow			
You follow			
They follow			
I do not follow			
I have followed not			
He does not follow			
We do not follow			
Ye do not follow			
They do not follow			
I do not know			
I have known not			
He does not know			
We do not know			
Ye do not know			
They do not know			
I followed			
I have followed			
He followed			
We followed			
You followed			
They followed			

[illegible] Many Ns. used often in combined.

[illegible] The negative present of the Masai verb "to know" is analogical above it differs from the Nandian. See Beech's introduction to the Masai dialect, Masai Language and Folklore. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi names is identical with Beech's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mbúru* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are scrambled with difficulty. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mbúru* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the emphatic pronoun. Very few *Mbúru* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effect is curious that *Mbúru* seems to adopt form of tenses employed above much long I should have believed possible. The results are unintelligible for other they away the emphatic I suppose would for their necessary.

[illegible] Or I-ho-ang-a-ma?

Schlagintweit G-5 (ca. 1934) 1927-28
FLA Overdue FLA

SOME MISHMI FOLK-TALES, FOLK-LORE AND SUPERSTITIONS

"*Epilo dimdo bibii*" [1]

Thus answered a Mishmi Dravido whom I called on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tangsa-plain Mishmi Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ji-mudmiim* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dravido. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dravidos at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Mussi is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the Mishmi themselves and admitted by the Mussi to be Dravido in origin.

The Dibbili and the Elephant.—The dibbili, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thou am I inconvenienced by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in the manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one piece, and then in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dibbili-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Central tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." (2) the Mussi *Ji-dim* bush.
[2] *Abrus precatorius*, according to the authority quoted in Watts. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. (3) a highly prized fat the Mussi and a source in the Watts locations.

2: Magazine G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

539 donkeys. The tortoise was selected, after much discussion, as the one to kill the snake, because the snake did not fear him (for his house were outside his body) and would be likely to be off his guard in consequence. Neither did the tortoise (whose house were outside his body) fear the snake. While the tortoise and the snake were fighting, the hyæna made off with the cattle and the hare took the donkeys. The hyæna, being greedy, ate all the cattle and then stuck their tails upright in a muddy place. He then ran to the hare, *crying*: "See! all my cattle have fallen into this swamp and only their tails can now be seen! Woe is me!" The hare, however, refused to allow himself to be deceived by the hyæna or to part with any of his donkeys, and went off to live with them. He has now ceased to herd them, and they have become the striped donkeys[1] one sees on the plains. The tortoise at length succeeded in killing the snake after a long battle, and looked round only to discover that he had been cheated and deserted by his companions. To this day he has been unable to catch them, as he is such a slow walker, but he has not given up the pursuit and still goes through the bush, calling to them always: "Koo! Koo!" (the distinctive and bell-like note of the tortoise that natives say is so often heard).

The Sun and the Moon.[2]—The sun and the moon quarrelled. The reason for this was because the moon wanted to appear in the daytime. The sun refused to agree, and they fought. The moon was worsted and was also badly wounded, a big piece being knocked out of it. This is why it is not round like the sun and why it goes low down in the sky nearly always and is only seen at night. It wishes to avoid the sun, of which it is afraid. When the sun disappears from view at night, it awaits a favourable opportunity and then, when it is cloudy, rushes across the sky to the east again (so fast that no man can see it). It then rests until it is time to begin work on the following morning.

The Dikdik and the Eland.—Of those whose meat is tender, the eland is the largest animal and the dikdik is the smallest.

[1] Zebra.

[2] So we for the moon is here given. See Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 273, 274. Giese-Seidner: *Furnishing Tribes of Kenya*, pp. 273, 278.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibuya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. H. P. Shelvankar), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to moisturize the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the serene, perhaps of sexual impotence during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] Cf. *Kamp*: Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 298-298.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

2: Maguire G-4 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F'LA Dorobo F'LA
Wasso: F'L 15.

supported the roof with his bare arms, for he had no tools. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realized that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)*

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.* The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an almost light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was covered by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Wakwafi* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Masai as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Wakwafi* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Wakwafi* must

* [illegible] (cf. p. 91).
* For further examples of this see Hollis.

Ja Magaiva G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

have lived in the country of the Kitóto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not so friendly or so ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Wáito*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Wáito* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is spilt is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only effectual way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is reported as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Dalalíga* and no *Kinyalíga* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Dalalíga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Note: The Snake, p. 80. [2] Ibid., p. 79.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

[172] indget who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and Ti-Okiep, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and Ti-Okiep respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Meipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-mdjoko L'ulatwo,[1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Meipo and Lo'sokumot. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a [173] distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put [174] forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Dalatiga*.

The *Kitokwelo* and *Kimonjore* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mbiuru* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mbiuru* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mbiuru* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mbiuru*, who are busy [175] but far from unoccupied.

I believe the *Mbiuru* to have been very closely allied to the Masai at one time, if they were not pure Masai.[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

[1] Ngorongoro locations. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Aramanik*, notices about by Mr. F. J. Magdonnell (see note 1, p. 258).
[2] See Hobley: The Akamba, p. 6.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Médzo* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Médzo* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Médzo* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Médzo* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Médzo*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Baledga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Médzo* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Morans within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kavirondo, Congo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipkwonder* (Nandi). *Ekwanda* (Masai).

[2] When the Masai Morans go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Médzo*. The duties of the latter are to guide the Masai warriors' feet, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

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apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expresions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

Note.—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faru* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

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[Title Page]

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MODERN HUNTERS: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE KÀMELÌLO-KÀPCHEPKENDI DORÕBO (OKIEK) OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XXVI–XXVIII.]

By G. W. B. Huntingford.

[*With an account of the Physical Features by the* Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.]

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Preliminary Note.

This paper is based on information collected in Eastern Nandi (*pororbiek* of Kàmelìlo and Kàpchepkendi), where this section of the Dorõbo live. When visiting this district, I was accompanied by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the account of the Physical Features, which is given on p. 376. My information was obtained through the medium of Nandi—which the Dorõbo speak, even among themselves—and without an interpreter, chiefly from Dorõbo elders of the Kàpchelach age. The Dorõbo were told that I wanted to see them by Parfigotany arap Ngambigam, a former chief, whose acquaintance I made through his son Cheimbu, one of

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my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ñgamñgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

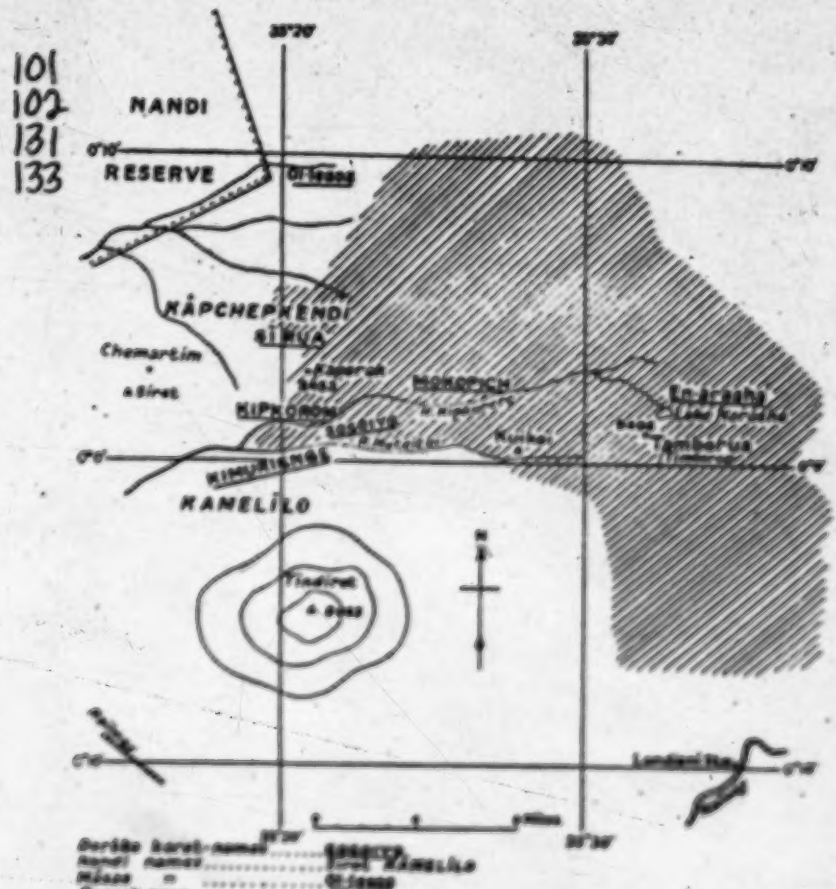

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KIPKOROS-KIMUGUL REGION (NANDI).

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiok' (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

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Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usualy given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsai words are marked thus: † (*engerasit*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timliret hill, above Mukroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N. and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmeldo (see Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (sm. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsai they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. En-Dorôbôni, pl. In-Dorôbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsai name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short) in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mugogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandorobo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [199] [195] 105

[1] or "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

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105 Wakuafi [Maasai] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of
114 African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the southern Maasai. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. ?/A

101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkunyek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Maasai.
6. Nalôtu.	
7. Kidolog.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Nsiwyk and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ngiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Arususik.[2]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Maasai and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africanæ Orientalis*, p. 108; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 120.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "El Torobo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxvii, pp. 127, 248.

?/A [See source number 2, this file--Analyst]

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Africa; in the Másai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 366); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

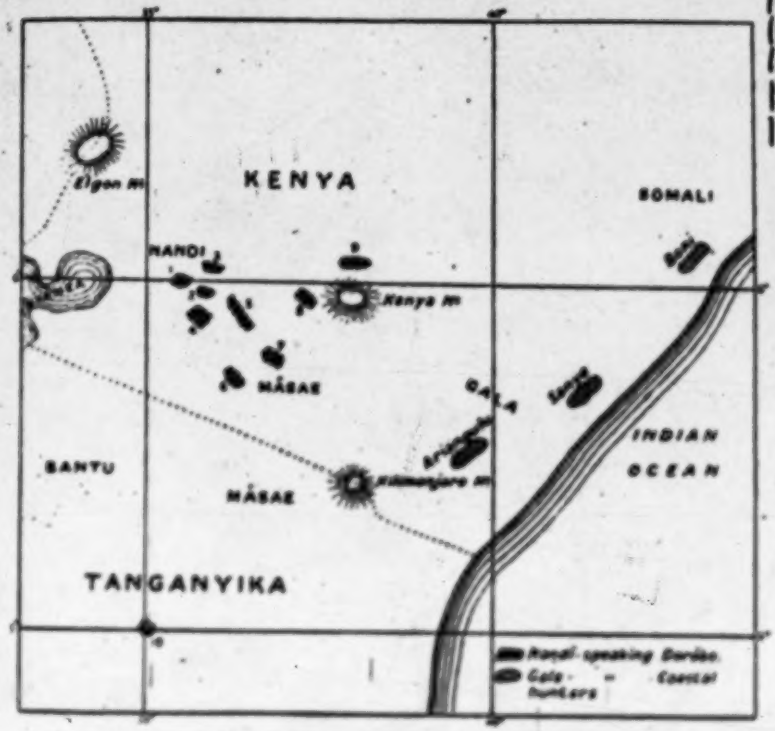

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 90) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kámelilo-Kápchephondi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Kolgunyet. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

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174 set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

[177] (1) That the Dorôbo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorôbo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Nandi group.

(3) That the Dorôbo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

174 190 To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorôbo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorôbo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk[1] is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorôbo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be so fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorôbo, if both Dorôbo and Suk were only offshoots from the Nandi Suk-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorôbo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorôbo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

000 In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,[2] Boni,[3] and Aringaulo.[4] These tribes are of a very primitive description.

[1] *i.e.* The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Kasia, and Marakwet.

[2] A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 36, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

[3] R. E. Seidel in *Man*, 1909, 96.

[4] C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. H. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1925, p. 21.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

The Sanye and Ariangulo have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bóni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bóni, Ariangulo, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume S.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Hinsti[2] to be connected with the Dorobo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UATAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA-, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	ulí-tak	kiremwe-eku	olokinye-takul,	kimí
We-dwell	here	country-these	of-old-always,	there-were
Monk	kemwa-i	kewanní	ak	Ipkwepek
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Masai
olgotet.	Olokinye	kimí	Kápchepkwen	olle-po
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Siokwo	there-of (-ot)
olle-kuní	po	Soiát[3]	ke-pek-ye	kony.
there-down	of	Soiát	they-are-lost	long-ago.

kemwa-eku takul
country-these all

Ma-ki-ere kíl'-eke.
Not-we-know thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country: the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Masai on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Siokwo' lived in the plain of Soiát below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kimollio-Kápchepkendi Dorobo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*comparatively up onward*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*kwoin*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the *Kápchelach* age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1880, when the Masai suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorobo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorobo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] R. Cavalli, "The Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I suoi trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Bull. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 3, vol. vi, p. 170.

[3] Soiát was one of the Nandi constituents, or "countries," which was cut off after the Nandi Punitive Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorobo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Mukoroni to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiát.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1918):1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Huts or Shelters.

Kenya.

242 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kwikenyet*, pl. *kwikenyeiik*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by sharp tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and but contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the *sleeping-place* (*ilibin*, N.) and the *fire-place*, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*metaik*; N. *meiwek*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kwokot*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place in the hearth (*mik*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones on the floor. A loft (*meinet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and shooting gear (Text-figs. 30-32). The only household utensils are a small broom (*sebutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of a hawk-hawk's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*saiget*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. long; a grindstone (*kitin*, I.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding shooting gear. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pitiet*; N. *pitwet*) (Text-figs. 33a, 33b). A thin rod of the sharwet tree (N.)[1] about 10 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*meiff* about 20 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pitiet*, the cedar stick *tamenet*. The *pitiet* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pitiet* and moving downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the *pitiet* drills a hole in the *tamenet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a bark-cloth which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is let on a small handful of tinder (*saiget* (dry grass) or fibre of the *pashwoff* tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] Not identified.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

411
412
415

[illegible]

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1948)329 FLA Dorobo FLA

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorobo, is hunting (*ngaa*: Kony., *kip-ngaa-tuo* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kipsoondi*; T. *ooit*), rhinoceros (*kipkoroi*), leopard (*ambbo*, T.), lion (*amdoi*; Agatuiak T.) giant pig (*sondo*, T.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorobo.)

[411] [298] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kapchpkh*, T.) and arrow (*kiisit*, T.; *ookoosit*), etc.), and spears (*chesoondoit*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the bulbs of tree (T.)[1]. Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tinderet region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorobo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind. (1) Pits (*ngoret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipsonjgiriet*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*pambet*; T. *maset*) (Text-fig. 10), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to the upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a looped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little loose above the bent stick A is fastened a snare made from the sinews of the buffalo, which is held in place by a short stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the snare is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the snare.

[33] Dogs (*kililiet*, pl. *kililiik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorobo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear bamboo collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary Nandi cur as common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their movements round the huts raise the alarm of anything in the neighbourhood of a Dorobo hut, and notice the elephant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

846 136 The staple foods of the Dorobo are honey (*koonin*, T.) and meat (*ponyet*, T.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Klipspringer (T. *kimoongor*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus equatorialis*).
Steinbok (T.).—Red duiker (*C. ignotus*).

[1] *Acocanthera friburgensis*.

[illegible]
Economic (E. gelsoni)—Black-back (Fregetta melena).
Indicator (E. indicator)—Boat-back.
Kingfisher (E.)—Kelly.
Kingsmouth (E.)—Prince-back (Calico albigularis).

Rockjays.

Rufous (E. leucogaster)—Whistler (Pachycephala gutturalis).
Pitohui (E.)—(Crinigerifrons albigularis).
Thornbill (E.)—(Crinigerifrons gutturalis).
Grantchester (E. rosea)—Robins.

Other Genera.

Fantail (E.)—White-gig (Rhipidura albiscapa).
Treegrip (E.)—Black-gig.
Mudlark (E.)—Longbill.
Grantchester (E. leucocephala)—Coles.
Raven (E.)—Redback.
Pitohui (E.)—Magpielark.

[illegible] Of other kinds of food, they use bananas (plantain (E.), fruit (e.g. bandicoot, such as those of the monocotyledonous (E.) plant), Indian rice-bird, sweetsop (cane (E.), Rhipidura gouldiae), and other wild grasshopper.

They make many kinds (peanut, E. gouldii), E. melanogaster (Cocos-fig, E.), in which the bee-eaters. The kernels are made either of rough skins of the bandicoot (E. bandicoot) tree, or of wide strips of bark bark. The ends of the kernels are made of slender blades of wood, which keep the skins in place, the skins being bored evenly with two-eyes. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the kernel and stuffed with a handful of leaves. The kernel is placed on folded branches, the hole being to the under side. If the bee is a tall one, a gate is bored in it with two-eyes, by which the lower blades in the kernel.

[illegible] To take honey, the Gnatbo first makes fire in a bee hall of wagon (Bee), he goes into under the garments, and taking some leaves of the Gigagaum (E.) tree in which to keep the honey, climbs up to the kernel. The wagon is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the kernels of leaves being there removed from the kernel, the smoking wagon is left in the hole in the kernel. Having waited a little, the Gnatbo leaves the kernel and removes the honey-comb (Gigantogaum) from the kernel, which he wraps in the Gigagaum leaves. Closing the hole, he hurriedly and everything about very hot-stings he may receive.

[illegible] In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning or midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and rest till more is produced. The women

[illegible]

[illegible]
grapes-leaf and rock upon the tree, themselves eating when the nuts have finished, for the present day the Dorothea are taking to eating chestnut-grain, which is crushed on grindstones (Nalla, S.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Kazuli, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called Kyhshuli (S.). Tobacco (nemaka, S.; or shuphukaka?) is brought from the Kazuli, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (zuri, S.) or smoked in Kirchmanic pipes (pothuli-ngo-kamaka, or kamaluli, S.), which are also obtained from the Kazuli. The men every tobacco (a-phukaka) have called Agwamti (S. Agwam) (Text-fig. 19), made from wood-pulp (kamaluwa), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorothea possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of them living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (zuhuwa, S.), in which they grow chestnut-grain (pikuzuli), or paizi (S. pili) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows, whose have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (phuzia; S. kapuzia). Warriors wear skin garments of leather (ngamanga,* S.) called shuzia; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (ngalilla,* pl. ngalilakuli) on the ankles. Grenadiers wear gloves of cotton-cloth (nagai, S.) dyed brown.* Old men wear back-back skins (phuzia) with the fur left on. Caps (ngazuli*) are worn, of fine leather skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (zaiwuli*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of shells (pimala, S.) or bone-wire (pulugai, S.) are worn; also various kinds of bone ear-rings (shaiwaziai) and bracelets (Text-figs. 13-17); S. bracelets are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Kazuli women. They wear skirts (shuphuigai; S. shuphuzi) and upper garments (kaliko, S.); both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Kazuli women. Their ornaments consist of bone wire armlets and leglets (nadi-ambuli and kanti, S.) and wire necklaces (pulugai, pl. aulugalakuli, S.). Married women wear

* Shuphululi means "skull" in Kazuli.

* These are similar to the Kazuli cotton-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

* As in the Kazuli, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorothea.

299
301 large discs of bone wire (bat, pl. ndi), which are hung from the ears by leather strings (nenike; X. nenike), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (ndenidi; X. ndendi) (Text-fig. 10). These ear-rings are, as among the Dandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear discs (ebenini) as cloth (engai). They have anklets (kenti, X.) and leglets (ndegudeni; X. ngudeni) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (neingai). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (ngadeni; Kamy ngadeni) is found in the top of the ear. This among the Dandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (kenti ng'ati, X.), as among the Dandi. Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being
[301] caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Dandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "so the forearm of girls" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (See V., "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (ngarua; X.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as men often do Dandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Dandi. In some old men the beard is even trimmed and painted. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Dandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

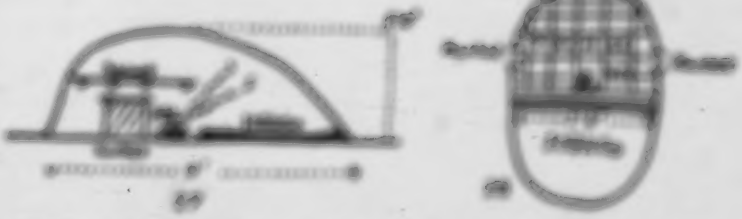
Arts and Crafts.

305 The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-
[439] lurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Dandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (ingerigiki), arrows (ilitoi, ingoritoi, ingoitigoroi, X.; and ndoroti); spears (ekeremokiti or ereremokiti); swords (nemiki; or ninti, X.); shields (ndigei, X.); and knives (ekenekitoi, X.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Dandi.

[illegible]



[illegible]

411 Bows.—These are made from the bamboo (P.) tree, and average 3 ft. 1 in. in height. The string (see P.) which is made from the sinews of the given (N) animals, P.) is tied on the bow (Form fig. 1).

[illegible] Arrows.—The bow heads (Kaddiyan) are bought from the Bhatti, and are usually of two kinds (known as [illegible]). Form fig. 2 and Kaddiyan (Form fig. 3) (P.G. Figs. 43, 44). They are from 2½ feet to 3 feet long. They are always bought, and are inserted in a slit made in the wood shaft (Form fig. 4) and bound with fibre or [illegible] powder. The shafts are made of the bamboo (bambusa) species, and [illegible] bamboo, and are on average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (Kaman) P.) which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a splendid [illegible] and (Form fig. 5). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with [illegible] thread, the same passed is [illegible] and bound over the shoulder with a [illegible] thread. The length of the feathers is 3 ins. to 4½ ins. Arrows are kept in a [illegible] (Form fig. 10) (number 5) , [illegible] of feathers, and about 2 ft. 6½ ins. long, with a [illegible] cap and a strap for carrying it round the body. (See the practice exercised by Kuvilis for shooting with the feet, see P.G. P. 111.)

412 Quivers.—The bow feathers are bought from the Bhatti. They vary in length from 2 ins. to 3½ ins., and one-fourth ½ ins. wide. The feathers are taken in the [illegible] of wood, with spiked handles and is fitted, and are cut with [illegible], which is generally cut by means of [illegible] they were brought for sale. The feathers are worked in feather [illegible] (Kaman) P.) which are obtained in two or [illegible] (Form fig. 6).

(2) Leather

[illegible] Bags are [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] varieties of these are [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called [illegible]. It is used for various purposes, [illegible] carrying [illegible] , for [illegible] bags, the [illegible] [illegible] bags for carrying other things are made of [illegible] skin, e.g. [illegible] [illegible] leather, [illegible] the fur left on, and bags in other forms, which are fastened by a [illegible] and [illegible] round the bag (Form fig. 14). They are strong from the [illegible] by a [illegible] [illegible]. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 4½ ins., others are larger.

(3) [illegible] (Kaman) (P.)

[illegible] These are made by the [illegible]. They resemble [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

together. The ribs is made of a single stitch band to an oval and the ends bound together; central to an [illegible] groove of knowledge? Saddlebrowse (Gallo, K.) have already been mentioned.

The Scarlet have an knowledge of metallurgy and they have an evolved bronze, gold, pottery, an apparently, objects of luxury. Metal work and pottery they had from the South?

Fruit and Crossovers

Fruits is by farmer. The Scarlet grow the South bushes, linseed skins, and have to exchange for [illegible], tobacco, pottery, foods, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market places, but guilds are taken to any place where there are South, and there exchanged.

Land

(i) Powers.—The forest is divided by the above two systems, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be garden or trees.

(ii) Geographical Divisions.—The Scarlet divide their country into divisions called lands (p. [illegible] (K.). The chief divisions appear to be called Highlands, Mines, Knowledge, Eastern (southern, N. wheat), and Midnights. The majority of the present place names are South.

The names of the emigrant are called as follows:—Knight and South; Mouse (K.); South; Fortress (K. attendance = age. Water; The lake as (= already the main) Seaward-Soldiers).

(iii)—Government.

The Scarlet-Schlesinghand Scarlet have over an chief. The last is held often was Parliament? every Figurehead, who was chief at the time of the South Pacific Expedition, 1840. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and his office was hereditary. The chief [illegible] (Commandfive) was chosen for "Nightingale Wife" (" tongue wife" = wives, ability and qualities). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (known as [illegible] K.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have a little power of enforcing decisions or their decisions, though they have

[illegible] is identical and Seaward, although it is a South we have K.K. have an analogy to.

[illegible] as of Cross, as K. "Beachhouse" [illegible] was hardly to maintain a town name a South.

[illegible] = Scarlet.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

3:Hastingford E-5 0921-1918|1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that had with (with the gods, X.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good minister has saved him. No offerings are made to the had with.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go underneath to the layer up with (X.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*yandinkit*, pl. *yandi*, X.) who are bad, and who persuade people how getting bad by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*ombajat*, pl. *ombaji*, X.)[1]. There is no equivalent of the modern Bantu system of "witch-smell" or ordeal by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the thorn tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kwenyeit" (X.), and rued's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "ngotin" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sukut*, X.), which is similar to that worn by Bantu children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lapogwonit tree (*E. lugwonit*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (*Text-fig. 94*). Old men wear a charm to keep away thunderbolts (*kwalbenget*, or *kwesin* (*kwesin*), X.); it is made of two small pieces of the stranded wood about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (*Text-fig. 19*).

V.—Marriage, Inheritance.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, X.), warriors (*murenik*, X.), and old men (*pesiotik*, or *ngotiotik*, X.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, X.) and women (*kwenik*, or *chepsinik*, X.). An elementary, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the adjoining (X.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kwafi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts' parents. If accused, charges in Kwafi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Kwafi, that is, they work on the land, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kwafi, originally it means a love-sweet magic "medicine-man" (Kwafi) signage.

[2] Explosive consonants.

3:Huntingford E-1 (1921-1938)/1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Clans.

614 The Dorobo have eight clans (*pet*, pl. *ortomik*, N.), which correspond in eight of the Nandi clans :—

Clans.	Totems.	Meaning.	Corresponding Nandi Clans.
1. Kut	Kakamega (S.)	Crested crane	Kut.
2. Kipkoiyo	Kimalel bird	Baboon	Kipkoiyo.
3. Kipsiyot	Tiyoret (S.)	Small grey	Kipsiyot.
4. Kipkemoi	Muyenyet (S.)	Bee	Kipkemoi.
5. Tuket	Kwalel	Lion	Tuket.
6. Kipsis	Kipsisiondo	Ants	Kipsis.
7. Kipsingol	Kongonindoi	Partridge	Kipsingolik.
8. Kimaiyo	Ainos (S.)	The sun	Kipsiro.

The Kut clan is the most numerous.

Circumcision Ages.

561 There are seven circumcision ages (*kiruka*, pl. *kiruwogik*), which have the same names as in Nandi ; the intervals between the ages are about 11 years, and they succeed one another in a recurring cycle of about 76 years, as in Nandi, except that the fourth intervals are 10 years (formerly 7½ years). The present order of the ages, and their names, are as follows[1] :—

1. Sawe (very old men)	...	...	...	Circumcised about 1877		
2. Kipkabaet	...	...	...	,,	,,	1887
3. Kipkitbak	...	...	...	,,	,,	1897
4. Kimnyike	...	...	...	,,	,,	1907
5. Nyongi (warriors)	...	...	...	,,	,,	1917
6. Maina (boys)	...	...	...	Circumcision due 1927		
7. Sawe (small children)	...	...	...	,,	,,	1937

The old men speak of an eighth age, Kipsyoiyo or Kipsoiyo, which has fallen out of use.

Each age is divided into three divisions (*mat*, pl. *matinwek* (N.) or *kit*), which are called :—

1. *Sawe*.—*Chemgisiek* | (N.) *Chelgisiek*, or (*Sawe-ngot*).
2. *Kipkitbak*.—*Ngaseik* | (N.) *Kipsikibeig*.[2]
3. *Kimnyike*.—*Kwondusiek* | (N.) *Kipsiro*.[3]

[1] In Nandi, *Kipsingol* is a "monthly" name for the Kimnyike class. It would have of no more than the eight class-names.

[2] "*Kipsikibeig*."

[3] See G. W. B. Huntingford, *J. R. A. I.*, 1929, p. 449 (6).

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Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] An elderly widow, a man becomes *Arap* (*asoma*), "father of (the-such-as)," e.g. a boy named Kipsei, whose father's name is Kimitilig, becomes Kipsei arap (Kip)imitilig, and is known as *Arap* (Kip)imitilig. Both the ascendine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Plate V.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about two years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father an unsh honey-wine: "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father rugs (*sambut*, pl. *sambutsiek*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Colobus abyssinicus*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyenas (*kimaridet*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo shoots a gazelle, he spits in the direction of the gazelle, with or without saying "*Kongoi*" ? (" Thanks ").

The Dorobo call each other to the forest by blowing horns of reed-buck (*kimalit*, ?).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Ingoi*"; answer, "*Chem-ik*" (*kwelik*). To girls and women, "*Ilikwongo*"; answer, "*Igi*."

(b) Of farewell:—"*Amuren*" (good-bye); answer, "*Amuren ak ingo*" (good-bye to them), or, "*Amuren ak ainek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chem-ik*" the answers to "*Ingoi*" there are the same as in Nandi.

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VI.—Language.

197 The language of the Dorobo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorobo language. Masai (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Mr. A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often lenthened to a *g* sound; in such cases it is written *k*; *t* sometimes lengthens to a *s* sound. There is in some words a lateral *s* sound, here written *ss*, for which Nandi has *s*; the lateral *ss* sound which Hollis heard in Tinganyiko appears here as *tl*". I could hear no trace of the replacement of *y* by *s* which he also heard. (*J.R.I.*, *p.* xxviii.)

194 *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) *sing.*, *-it*, *-ig*, *-in*, *-ik*, *-ir*; (ii) *pl.*, *-ek*, *-ok*, *-ik*, *-ek*.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-ig(a)*, the *pl.* ends in *-ech*:—

Singular		Plural		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	

(ii)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-in*, *-ir*, *-ik(a)*, the *pl.* ends in *-ech*:—

* Through *ss* normally, *s* in Nandi.

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(ii)

English	Plural		English
Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(iv)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(v)

(a) [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(b) [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(vi)

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(vii)

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

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(viii.)

193 The -ni, -ini, -ini, is sometimes followed by a pl. -wi-ki, as in Kwafi :—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(ix.)

Where -ding, -nde in -ne, -ne, -ne, or -ne, the pl. generally ends in -n-ki :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(x.)

The -ending, as in Kwafi, are irregular :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Adjectives.—The pl. of adjectives is usually formed by the suffix -wi-ki or -wi-ki, as in Kwafi :—

[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].

[illegible], long, [illegible], pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].
[illegible], -, pl. [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Pronouns.—(1.) Personal :—

Used absolutely.		Object : verbal suffix.	
Ane, *I*	Anikik, *we*	-ne, *me*	-nik, *us*
Inye, *thou*	Ainwik, *you*	-in, *thee*	-inik, *you*
Inendet, *he, she*	Inikinik, *they*		

(2.) Possessive, suffixed as in Kwafi :—The same rules for the changing of letters apply :—

With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.	With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.
-ak	-akik	*my*	-ank	-ankik	*mine*
-ak	-akik	*thy*	-ank	-ankik	*thine*
-ake	-akik	*his*	-anke	-ankik	*his*
-ake	-akik	*her*	-anke	-ankik	*hers*
-akiny	-akik	*our*	-ankiny	-ankik	*ours*
-ain	-akik	*your*	-ainy	-ankik	*yours*

(3.) Demonstrative, suffixed :—The same rules apply as in Kwafi for the changing of letters with the use of these :—

English.	Plural.	English.
(1) -ek, *this*	-ek	-ek, *these*
(2) -ekin, *that*	-ekik	-ekik, *those*
(3) -ek, *it*	-ek	-ek, *these*
(4) -ekin, *yon*	-ekik	-ekik, *those*

Nos. (3) and (4) are demonstratives of relative remoteness.

(4.) Demonstratives of place :—

English.	Plural.	English.
Here	-ik	*Here*
Yon	-ikik	*Yon*

(5) Demonstrative pronouns may be intensified by means of the suffix -ne or -nik, e.g. -ek-nik (*these very ones*) ; -ek-nik (*or these very plants*).

(6.) Relatives :—*Ring, -ne ; pl., -nik.*

(7.) Interrogatives :—

Kip ?	*How many?*	Kon ?	*How?*
Ka ?	*What? What are it?*	Kyi ?	*Why?*
Anyoto ?	*Who?*	Kaaro ne ?	*Why?*

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802 *Numerals.*—These are the same as in Nandi:—

Akonge or akonge	..	..	1	Tomon	..	..	10
Okeky	..	..	2	Tomon ak akonge	..	..	11
Ansok	..	..	3	Tiyion	..	..	20
Angwan	..	..	4	Gomo	..	..	30
Sibi	..	..	5	Ansok	..	..	40
Le	..	..	6	Kwanu	..	..	50
Tiony	..	..	7	Pokol	..	..	60
Aiabi	..	..	8	Pokol ainky 100 (anything over 60)			
Ankol	..	..	9				

803 *Verbs.*—The conjugation of verbs is very similar to that in Nandi. The present has a suffix *-o* or *-i*; and a minor change to *a-* in the present tense. The negative prefix is *ma, me, mo*. When the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. and pl. are used as the object, direct or indirect, they are suffixed to the verb:—

a-mark-in, I meet him
i-mark-a, then meetest me.
a-mark-ok, you meet us
a-mark-ak, I meet you.

When the verb-stem begins with *i*, the *i* is omitted under the same conditions as in Nandi.

Conjugation.

Active Voice.

ee 'I strike'—*kong* (*ki*) *fallen.*

Present.

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. a-kong'-i	P. 1. a-kong'-ok	S. 1. ma-kong'-i	P. 1. ma-kong'-ok
2. i-kong'-i	2. i-kong'-ok	2. mi-kong'-i	2. mi-kong'-ok
3. kong'-i	3. kong'-ik	3. mo-kong'-i	3. mo-kong'-ik

Past.

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. ne-a-kong	P. 1. ne-a-kong	S. 1. ne-ki-kong	P. 1. ne-ki-kong
2. ne-i-kong	2. ne-i-kong	2. ne-ki-kong	2. ne-ki-kong
3. ne-kong	3. ne-kong	3. ne-ki-kong	3. ne-ki-kong

Affirmative		Negative	
S. 1. a-kon	P. 1. a-kon	S. 1. ma-kong	P. 1. ma-kong
2. kon	2. i-kon	2. mi-kong	2. mi-kong
3. kon-ay	3. kon-ik	3. mo-kong	3. mo-kong

Imperative

Affirmative		Negative	
Sing. kong		Sing. kong, kong-ok	
Plur. kong-ok		Plur. kong, kong-ok	

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Adverbs are given in the secondary singular. Where words (N.) are given in the singular. Where a word is the same as in Greek, the letter (F.) is affixed. Where a word is apparently original (native), the letter (O.) is affixed.

Afternoon	... ...	Apógeo (O.)
Animal	... ...	Zóyo (Greek); pl. Zoyá (Zoyá) (N.)
Arabic	... ...	Arabiko (Greek); pl. Arabiká (Arabiká) (N.)
Art –		
Black	... ...	mavró (mavrón); pl. mavrá (mavrón) (N.)
White	... ...	leyko (leykon); pl. ne (leiá) (N.)
Arm-Chair	... ...	Kátho (kátoni); pl. Káthe (kátoni) (N.)
Astrology –		
Book-book	...	Astrenol (Astrenolá); pl. Astrenolá (Astrenolá) (N.)
Author	... ...	Syngrafeyo (Syngrafeyá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá), fm. Syngrafeyiss-ka
Author, fem	...	Syngrafeo (Syngrafeá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá)
Author, not	...	aftoto (aftotó); pl. aftotá (aftotá) (N.)
Avoid-book	...	Aftoto (Aftotó); pl. Aftotá (Aftotá) (N.)
Ancient-book	...	Syngrafeyo (Syngrafeyá); pl. Syngrafeá (Syngrafeá) (N.)
Axe	... ...	Ske (Skéne); pl. Skéne (Skéne). fr. Skéne = Sparing. fm. Sceipo.
Axe, fem	... ...	skéne (skéne); pl. skéne (skéne) (N.)
Axegal	... ...	skéfteri (skéfteria); pl. skéfteria (skéfteria) (N.)
Cancer	... ...	skéneni (skéneni); pl. skéneni (skéneni) (N.)
		Gáto (Gáton); pl. Gáti (Gáton) (N.)
		Agelláyo (Agelláyon); pl. Agelláyo (Agelláyon) (N.)
		Gáyaro (Gáyaron); pl. Gáyaro (Gáyaron) (N.)
Arrow-head		Agelláyo
Arrow-hunting		skeuf (skeúfo); pl. skeúfo (skeúfo) (N.)
Arbor	... ...	aftoyeyo (aftoyeyá) (N.)
Art	... ...	aftéti (aftéti); pl. aftéti (aftéti) fr. = Aftéti
Ash	... ...	aspro (aspro); pl. aspro (aspro) (N.)
Ass	... ...	aseki (aseki); pl. aseki (aseki) (N.)
Ash		
Agapito	...	gápito (= pl. gápito)
Ash	...	gápito (gápito); pl. gia gápito (N.)
Ash-Tree	...	gápito (gápito); pl. gápito (gápito) (N.)
Ashes	...	kónig (kónigo); pl. kónigo (kónigo) (N.)

Obs. An Italy is an ordinary Greek, a gloss to the regular.

Bar		Arrow (Arrowbirch) ; pl., Arrowed (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bard		Arrowbow (Arrowbow) ; pl., Arrow (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bell		Bell (Hollow) ; pl., Hollow (Hollowbell) (P.)
Bee		Hegemon (Hegemonic) ; pl., Hegem (Hegemonic) (P.)
Beetle		Homag (Hornagle) ; pl., Homagen (Hornagenbell)
Bell		Allowgen (Allowgenic) ; pl., Allowgens (Allowgenicbell) (P.)
Bell (big)		Orgbee (Orgbeenic) ; pl., Orgbeenic (Orgbeenicbell) (P.)
		Hyphlite (Hyphlitebell) ; pl., Hyphlitebell (Hyphlitebell) (P.)
Bellp		Hegelore (Hegelorebell) ; pl., Hegelorebell (Hegelorebell) (P.)
Bell		Arrowed (Arrowbell) ; pl., Arrowed (Arrowbirch) (P.)
Bongo		Grassorb (Grassorbic) ; pl., Grassorb (Grassorbbell). Reg. See Grassorb-Bell or Bell-Grassorb.
Bork		Bork (Borkbell) ; pl., Bork (Borkbell) (P.)
Bound		Abelia (Abelbell) (P.)
Bow		Bow (Bowbell) ; pl., Bow (Bowbell) (P.)
Bowdown		Bongo (Bongbell) ; pl., Bongen (Bongenbell) (P.)
Bow		Boywhip (Boywhipbell) ; pl., Boywhipbell (Boywhipbell). Bow Bow Boywhip-Bell. Reg. Boywhip-Bell. Bell. Boywhip-Bell. Bell. Boywhip-Bell. Bell

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Prasad ... ... Asatha (Asathaah); pl., Asathaa (Asathaalik) (K.).
Prag ... ... Chhaapraa (Chhaapraah); pl., Chhaapraa (Chhaapraalok) (D.).
Pradeep ... ... Ghar (Ghartan); pl., Ghara (Gharaalok). (Cf. K., bagaicha.)
Pramukha ... ... Ijala (Ijalaka); pl., Ijalaa (Ijalaaik) (K.).
Pranjaydhar dim. Jar (Jaraa); pl., Jaraaa (Jaraaalk) (K.) (for the pl. cf. Rag., Jaraaalk).
Rdh ... ... Jadidh (Jadidh-i); pl., Jadidha (Jadidhaalk) (K.).
Rat ... ... Jhuhaadara (Jhuhaadaraa); pl., Jhuhaadara (Jhuhaadaraalk) (D.).
Ja (Jagha); pl., Ajala (Ajalk) (K.) (for the secondary sing., cf. Ka., Jagha).
Rrao ... ... Jhajhaaraa (Jhajhaaraa); pl., Jhajhaaraa (Jhajhaaraalk) (D.).
Rdd ... ... Jala (Jalaka); pl., Jalaa (Jalaaik) (K.).
Chad-hya ... ... Jalaaa (K.).
Dhdo ... ... Jhal (Jhalaak). (Rag., gank. K., gank. K., dhgaak.)
Chaa ... ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaalk); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (D.).
Jaaaka (Jaaaakaka); pl., Jaaaka (Jaaaakaik) (D.).
Chaadhagga ... Jhaaaajjaaa (Jhaaaajjaaa); pl., Jhaaaajjaaa (Jhaaaajjaaik) (K.).
Chadda ... ... gaaik.
Chay bak ... ... Jaihaal (Jaihaaka); pl., Jaihaaka (Jaihaaaaik). (K., Jaihaaka.)
Chaadaaaa ... Jal (Jalka); pl., Jalka (Jalka-o) (K.).
Chaaa ... ... jaaka (jaaka); pl., jaaka (jaaaik) (K.).
Rjdh ... ... Jaaayaak (Jaaayaaka); pl., Jaaayaak (Jaaayaaik). (As K., except the secondary sing., where K. has Jaagh.)
Rbdh ... ... Jaaiya (Jaaiyaa). K., Jaaiyaa. Rag., Jaaiyaa.
Rbaad ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (K.).
Chaal ... ... Jaaaiyaa (Jaaaiyaaka); pl., Jaaaiyaa (Jaaaiyaaaik) (D.).
Chaddh ... ... Jaaya (Jaaaaa) (K.).
Chaadh ... ... Jhaaa (Jhaaaik); pl., Jhaaaa (Jhaaaaaik). K., Jhaaa.")
Chaaaaa ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaaa).
Chaal ... ... Jaaaaiiy (Jaaaaiiyaka); pl., Jaaaaiiyaa (Jaaaaiiyaaik). K., Jhaaaiiyaa. Rag., Jaaaiiyaa.
Rbaa ... ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaik) (K.).
Chdh, aa ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaka); pl., Jaaaa (Jaaaaik). K., Jaaaka; pl., Jaaaaik. K., Jaaaka; pl., Jaaaaik.
Chd ... ... Jaaaa (Jaaaaa); pl., Jaaaaaa (Jaaaaaaik) (K.).
Rby ... ... Jay (Jayka); pl., Ajala (Ajalaaik) (K., Jaka-o; pl., Jaaaaa. Rk., Jay; pl., Jajaaa). Jaaaa-ayaiga.
Chyaaaaaaaa ... Jaaaaa (Jaaaaaka); pl., Jaaaaaa (Jaaaaaaik) (K.).

Kid	.. ..	kwiteg (kwitegen) ; pl., kwitegon (kwitegindik) (N.).
Kidney	.. ..	kemis (kemsit) ; pl., kemsit (kemsik) (N.).
Kiss	.. ..	kwasis (kwasien) (N.).
Kiss and suck	..	kegwon (kegwonik) (N.).
Kissing-bird	..	kipkwirit (kipkwiryot) ; pl., kipkwirion (kipkwirionik) (N.).
Kissing-bird	..	kipkwiria (kipkwiriik) (N.).
Knee	.. ..	ciya (ciyot) ; pl., ciot (ciik) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	kwa (kwet) ; pl., kwet (kwek) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	kwekwogo (kwekwogot) ; pl., kwekwogon (kwekwogonik) (N.).
Kongoni	.. ..	delas (delasi) (N.).
Lake	.. ..	ongon (ongonik) ; pl., ongonon (ongononik). Ex. kip-ongon-ion, lesson.
Lantern	.. ..	kipkwanin (kipkwaniot) ; pl., kipkwaon (kipkwanik) (N.).
Leaf-bird	.. ..	mamindigwin (mamindigwinet) ; pl., mamindigwi (mamindigwinik) (N.).
Leopard	.. ..	kimoswek (kimoswekon) ; pl., kimoswekon (kimoswekonik) (N.).
Life goes o	..	chiito ne ogwon.
Lion	.. ..	kwost (kwostin) ; pl., kwostoa (kwostonik) (N.).
Alarm	.. ..	nai (naiet) ; pl., naiot (naiik) (N.).
Bull	.. ..	sendet (sendetion) ; pl., sendik (sendinik) (N.).
Child	.. ..	kilio (kiliot).
Dropsy	.. ..	ongwon (ongwonin) (N.).
Elevation	.. ..	chwi (chwiik) (N.).
Face Cleaner	..	kipkwamanik (kipkwamanikik).
Insect	.. ..	kwet (kwetien) ; pl., kwet (kwetik) (N.).
Iron	.. ..	kwesa (kwesen) ; pl., kwesa (kwesik) (N.).
Jackal	.. ..	kibos (kibosi) ; pl., kibos (kibosik) (N.).
Jar ..	.. ..	sciya (sciyot) ; pl., sciyon (sciyonik) (N.).
Jaw	.. ..	sosiningoiyo (sosiningoiyot) ; pl., sosiningoin (sosiningoinik) (N.).
Kidney	.. ..	somoiya (somoiyot) ; pl., somoot (somoik) (N.).
Knee	.. ..	kwelilig (kwelilgin) ; pl., kwelilgwon (kwelilgwonik) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	chwechwon (chwechwon) ; pl., chwechwin (chwechwinik) (N.).
Laughter	.. ..	kikoiyo (kikoiyot) ; pl., kikoiyon (kikoiyonik) (N.).
Leaf ..	.. ..	ongo (ongot) ; pl., ong (ongik) (N.).
Left	.. ..	kwiwon (N.).
Leg ..	.. ..	kol (kolik) ; pl., kolwo (kolwik) (N.).
Calf of	.. ..	ol (olwo) ; pl., olwo (olwik) (N.).
Paw	.. ..	sumelwin (sumelwiot) ; pl., sumelwiik (sumelwiikik)
Hind	.. ..	chiit (chiitik) ; pl., chiitin (chiitik) (N.).
Skin	.. ..	kwesh (kweshin) ; pl., kweshon (kweshonik) (N.). (D.).

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(A) Verbs

Verbs are given in their stem (i.e. the imperative sing.) only. The following affixes (–ish), means that it is a derived stem and conjugated as described in its respective table. Its starting vowel is affixed to it. (Trans. = transitive/active, Ipfv. = perfective/stative, Pass. = passive, Ref. = reflexive, Rp. = reciprocal, Sbg. = subjunctive)

abik-ibir	(v.)	babish (Pv.)	kayabish	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)
abuta	(v.)	abag (Pv.)	kinagh	(v.)	kin (Pv.)
angaz-ibir	(v.)	anabish (Pv.)	kuwan	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
asawa	(v.)	sawa (Pv.)	ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
atda	(v.)	tigish (Pv.)	kin	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
awwa	(v.)	h-ak (Pv.) (Trans.)	kitta	(v.)	tikan-ish (Pv.) (Ref.)
ayuwan	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)	kis	(v.)	ti (v.) = a-kis (Pv.)
ab	(v.)	t-ugish (Pv.)			ti (v.) = h-ak-kis (Pv.)
ayuta	(v.)	ayuwa (Pv.)	kiy	(v.)	gaat (Pv.)
ki	(v.)	ak (Pv.)	ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ibus-ibabi	(v.)	b (Pv.)	kinak	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ibat	(v.)	gik (Pv.)	kinak-ibir	(v.)	gikish (Pv.)
ikuhus	(v.)	tgukish (Pv.)	kaufi	(v.)	wasa (Pv.)
ka	(v.)	ak (Pv.)	kat	(v.)	ak (Pv.)
ikhab	(v.)	ahabish (Pv.)	kinagu	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
ikhu	(v.)	kuwa (Pv.)			
ikat	(v.)	ahaya (Pv.)	kanagh-ibir	(v.)	ana (Pv.)
ikut-ibir	(v.)	ugish (Pv.)	kunagabi-ibir	(v.)	ana (Pv.)
ikuyib	(v.)	ki (Pv.)	kuf	(v.)	gaa (Pv.)
ikuyib-ibir	(v.)	kuwa (Pv.)	kuagaat-ibir	(v.)	tigish (Pv.)
ikuwaha	(v.)	gaa (Pv.)	kha	(v.)	a-kan (Pv.)
ikuz	(v.)	a-kin (Pv.)			a-kan (Pv.)
ikhag	(v.)	a-k-k (Pv.) (Trans.)	kugh	(v.)	gi-kis (Pv.) (Ref.)
ikuhi	(v.)	kan (Pv.)	kha	(v.)	kuyish (Pv.)
ikuz-gaat	(v.)	gat (Pv.)	kha-uda-kan	(v.)	uda-uf (Pv.) (Rp.)
ika	(v.)	ut (Pv.)	kha-uda-kan	(v.)	[Pv.] u-f
ikuf	(v.)	kuz (Pv.)			
ikuda	(v.)	ki (Pv.)	kuda-gaat	(v.)	ku (Pv.)
ikhab	(v.)	ubag (Pv.)	kuzaha-t-ki	(v.)	kuzaya-gis (Pv.)
ika-uwaha	(v.)	ahawa-ka (Pv.)	kuf	(v.)	awaa (Pv.)
ikha	(v.)	kut (Pv.)	kahus	(v.)	kaya (Pv.)
ikuda	(v.)	ikhab-ka-ibir (Pv.) (Trans.)	kuagu	(v.)	yuda (Pv.)
ikuhi	(v.)	h-kuya (Pv.)	kuz	(v.)	ada (Pv.)

[1] (Pv.) = (v.) + kuwa

[2] Kuz-ibir (v.) = kuyish – kuz-ibir (v.) = kuz-ibir (v.) + kuwa (v.)

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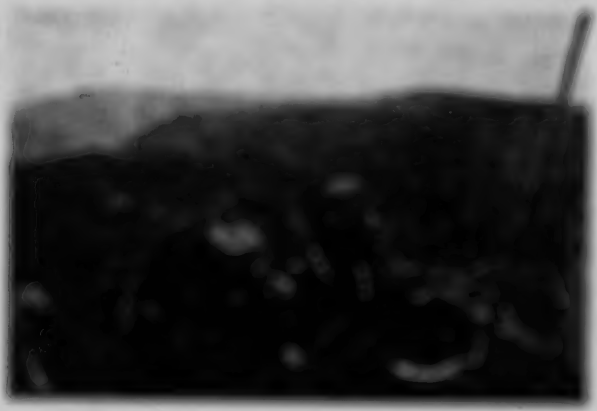

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ANTHROPOS

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The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By A. B. C. Anthropology, B. Ph.

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II. Origins
  1. The Most Interesting Arguments
  2. The Second Interesting Arguments
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  5. The Most Interesting Arguments
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III. The Origins and Structure
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  6. Polygamy
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I. Introduction.[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and timid, who live in small groups dispersed over the high forest lands of Kikuyu, Kilimanjaro, and parts of northern Transmontia Territory. They all speak dialects of Masai, the Lumbwanyika being more or less akin to Masai proper, to Masai dialects from the Masai proper, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] The account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done by the Anthropological Survey, 1908, and supplemented by a subsequent expedition in 1910. [illegible] The Dorobo are [illegible] Masai proper, [illegible] Masai dialects from the Masai proper, and many of their customs and institutions [illegible]

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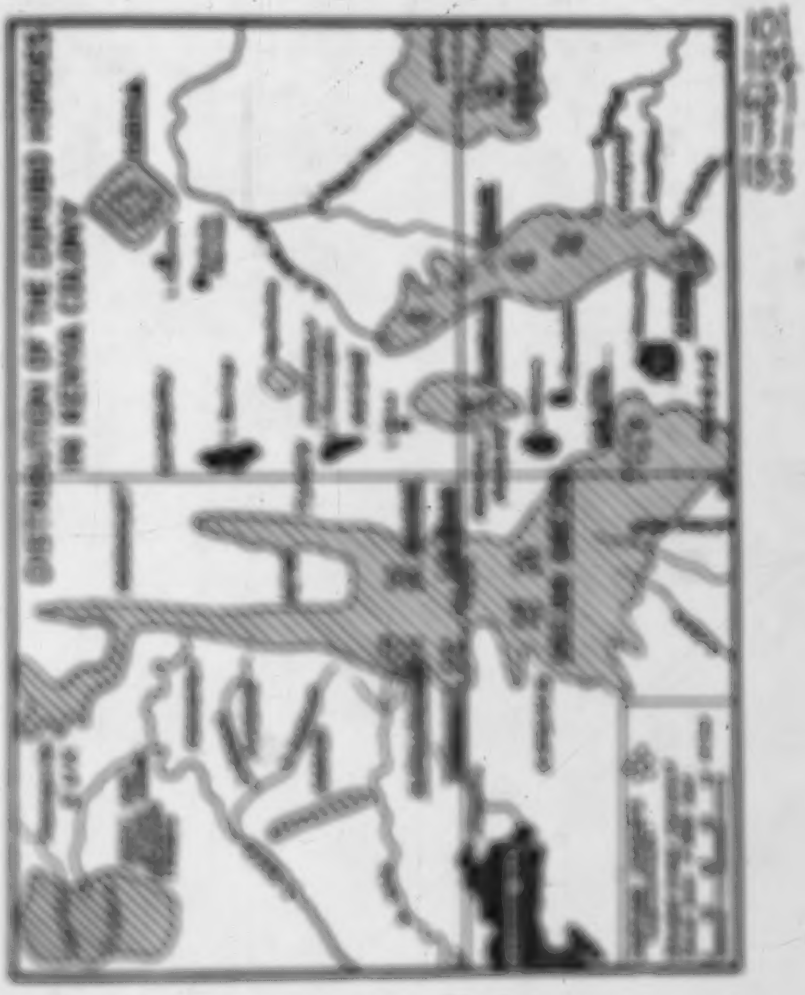

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DOROBO HORDES
IN KENYA COLONY

4/Huntingford E-5 (1928-1939) 193: FLA Dorobo FLA

[31] Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tangulbei [133] live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for early country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masai [77] of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masai.

174 We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. Sir Harry Johnston 177 believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masai who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masai group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy [144] strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masai and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Aringalo, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI^th dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

193 However this may be, both Nandi and Masai regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masai version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover Hollis quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[4]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

101 From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise [31] stated, with specific reference to the Kipkoyech horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[5]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an 133 average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

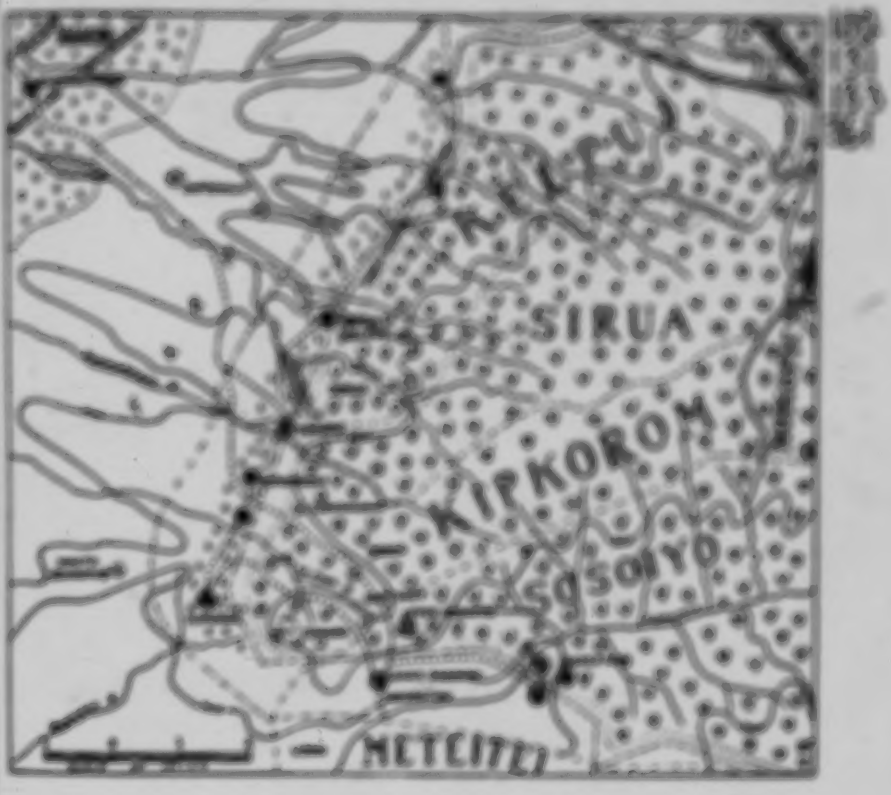
[4] Hollis: The Masai, p. 264; The Nandi, pp. 58, 111.

[5] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

The Great Institutions of the Nation

8

Sketch Map of the Kipkomoin Baseline Community



4.1 Der Markt als Ort des Tauschs

Ein Markt ist der gedachte Ort, an dem Anbieter und Nachfrager zusammentreffen, um Güter gegen Geld zu tauschen. Dabei muss es sich nicht um einen physischen Platz handeln; auch ein Online-Shop oder eine Börse sind Märkte. Entscheidend ist nur, dass Angebot und Nachfrage aufeinander treffen und ein Preis entsteht, zu dem getauscht wird.

4.2 Die Nachfragekurve

Die Nachfragekurve zeigt, wie viele Einheiten eines Gutes die Konsumenten bei verschiedenen Preisen kaufen wollen. Sie hat in der Regel einen fallenden Verlauf: Je niedriger der Preis, desto mehr wird gekauft. Dieser Zusammenhang wird als Gesetz der Nachfrage bezeichnet. Er beruht darauf, dass bei sinkendem Preis sowohl neue Käufer in den Markt eintreten als auch bestehende Käufer ihre Nachfrage ausweiten.

Verschiebungen der Nachfragekurve sind von Bewegungen entlang der Kurve zu unterscheiden. Eine Bewegung entlang der Kurve wird allein durch eine Preisänderung ausgelöst. Eine Verschiebung der gesamten Kurve dagegen entsteht, wenn sich andere Einflussfaktoren ändern, etwa das Einkommen der Konsumenten, die Preise verwandter Güter oder ihre Präferenzen. Steigt beispielsweise das Einkommen, so kann bei unverändertem Preis mehr nachgefragt werden.

4.3 Das Angebot und seine Bestimmungsgründe

Auf der Angebotsseite steht die Überlegung des Unternehmers, wie viel er zu einem bestimmten Preis produzieren und verkaufen möchte. Die Angebotskurve ist in der Regel steigend: Höhere Preise machen die Produktion für zusätzliche Anbieter lohnend und erlauben bestehenden Anbietern, ihre Ausbringungsmenge auszuweiten. Grund dafür sind steigende Grenzkosten, die mit jeder weiteren Einheit anfallen.

Auch das Angebot kann sich verschieben. Technischer Fortschritt, günstigere Rohstoffpreise oder niedrigere Steuern führen dazu, dass zu jedem Preis mehr angeboten wird. Umgekehrt verringert sich das Angebot, wenn Produktionsfaktoren teurer werden oder staatliche Auflagen hinzukommen.

4.4 Gleichgewicht, Überschuss und Knappheit

Im Schnittpunkt von Angebots- und Nachfragekurve stellt sich das Marktgleichgewicht ein. Der dort gebildete Preis räumt den Markt: Die angebotene Menge entspricht genau der nachgefragten Menge, es bleibt weder ein Überschuss noch eine Knappheit bestehen. Abweichungen vom Gleichgewichtspreis führen über Anpassungsprozesse wieder zurück zum Ausgleich.

Liegt der Preis über dem Gleichgewichtspreis, entsteht ein Angebotsüberschuss, weil mehr angeboten als nachgefragt wird. Anbieter reagieren darauf, indem sie ihre Preise senken. Liegt der Preis darunter, entsteht eine Knappheit, die Nachfrager durch Preiserhöhungen abbauen. Beide Mechanismen sorgen dafür, dass sich der Markt selbst reguliert.

Übungsaufgaben

Aufgabe 1. Ordnen Sie die folgenden Ereignisse jeweils einer Verschiebung der Nachfragekurve oder der Angebotskurve zu: (a) Ein Rohstoffpreis steigt. (b) Die Einkommen der Konsumenten sinken. (c) Ein neues Produktionsverfahren wird eingeführt. (d) Ein Substitutionsgut wird teurer.

Aufgabe 2. Gegeben sind die Nachfragefunktion $x_N(p) = 100 - 2p$ und die Angebotsfunktion $x_A(p) = 3p - 20$. Berechnen Sie den Gleichgewichtspreis und die Gleichgewichtsmenge.

Aufgabe 3. Erklären Sie, warum ein Preis oberhalb des Gleichgewichtspreises nicht dauerhaft stabil ist. Beschreiben Sie den Anpassungsprozess, der zum Gleichgewicht zurückführt.

Aufgabe 4. Diskutieren Sie, ob ein Mindestlohn auf dem Arbeitsmarkt eher einer Verschiebung der Angebots- oder der Nachfragekurve entspricht und welche Folgen Sie erwarten würden.

Aufgabe 5. Begründen Sie, weshalb die Nachfragekurve für ein lebensnotwendiges Gut wie Trinkwasser steiler verläuft als die für ein Luxusgut.

Aufgabe 6. Ein Markt befindet sich im Gleichgewicht. Die Regierung führt eine Mengensteuer ein, die beim Verkäufer erhoben wird. Skizzieren Sie die Auswirkungen auf Preis und Menge und begründen Sie, wer die Steuer letztlich trägt.

Aufgabe 7. Nennen Sie drei Beispiele für Märkte, auf denen Sie selbst regelmäßig als Nachfrager auftreten, und drei Beispiele, bei denen Sie eher als Anbieter auftreten. Begründen Sie jeweils kurz, warum Sie in der jeweiligen Rolle handeln.

0. Kinship

Kinship is the formal organization of relationship for social purposes [0.0] and depends for its effectiveness on a understanding system, which consists of a body of kinship relations and a set of conventions for social expectations. The Chumbo understanding terms show much resemblance to those of the Fourth, but there are certain significant differences. Enough the passing the Fourth of these into and each other by understanding terms from the other a relationship system, which is an exogamous descendant group, for which are theoretical exceptions to the dominant term actually may depend a given one should be or die with by a relationship term. It will be seen that though terms exist for the first ascending generation, there are none for the two descending generations, for the father's father has address and they may exist a term, but the son's son are may never exist to a person's children, and so on term is exists.

It would seem that as per kinship with a one-fifteen relationship person addition to connect with Fourth, as the result of which some of the original terms have been displaced by others of Fourth and also of these origin. The understandings categories within this show, showing the given relations, are as follows:

1. The First Ascending Generation

(more 0 reviews upcoming)

This generation comprises the father's father's father, the father's father's mother, the father's mother's father, the father's mother's mother, the mother's father's father, the mother's father's mother, the mother's mother's father, and the mother's mother's mother. The males in this generation are all called ancestor, and the females all mother. The word ancestor is found in Fourth applied to the son's son and daughter, and in Chumbo also to the father's brother's children, father's sister's children, and their children. The etymology of the word is uncertain, we may compare it with the Lao word *ooben*, 'father', which might give the term the significance of 'a collective of relations'. However unsatisfactory such a term may seem, it was the term used by the Chumbo. The females in this generation are all called mother, a term not used elsewhere by the Chumbo, and not found in Fourth at all, though it may be derived from the Fourth mother, "they are not granted", because though their names may be known they are seldom given to a person's children, and therefore he does not greet them.

2. The Second Ascending Generation

(more 0 reviews upcoming)

This comprises the father's parents and the mother's parents. Males are *fada* or *abei*, females *fada*. The latter is used only of this generation, but *abei* is applied by courtesy to father's father's brother and sister and to mother's

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ④

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[6.6]

- Father (Abbā) = mother(s) father
- Wife = mother(s) mother
  - Husband = father(s)
  - Parents = wife(s) father (in-s)
  - Elder = wife(s) mother
  - Elder = husband father (in-s)
  - Elder = husband mother (in-s)
  - Younger = wife(s) brother (in-s)
  - Younger = wife(s) sister (in-s)
  - Younger = husband brother (in-s)
  - Younger = husband sister (in-s)
  - Child = wife(s) son (in-s)
  - Child = husband son (in-s)
  - Father = wife(s) father (in-s)
  - Father = husband father (in-s)
  - Mother = wife(s) mother (in-s)
  - Mother = husband mother (in-s)
  - Brother = wife(s) brother (in-s)
  - Brother = husband brother (in-s)
  - Sister = wife(s) sister (in-s)
  - Sister = husband sister (in-s)
  - Son = wife(s) son (in-s)
  - Son = husband son (in-s)
  - Daughter = wife(s) daughter (in-s)
  - Daughter = husband daughter (in-s)
  - Child = wife(s) child (in-s)
  - Child = husband child (in-s)
  - Father = wife(s) father (in-s)
  - Father = husband father (in-s)
  - Mother = wife(s) mother (in-s)
  - Mother = husband mother (in-s)
  - Brother = wife(s) brother (in-s)
  - Brother = husband brother (in-s)
  - Sister = wife(s) sister (in-s)
  - Sister = husband sister (in-s)
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  - Son = husband son (in-s)
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  - Child = husband child (in-s)
  - Father = wife(s) father (in-s)
  - Father = husband father (in-s)
  - Mother = wife(s) mother (in-s)
  - Mother = husband mother (in-s)
  - Brother = wife(s) brother (in-s)
  - Brother = husband brother (in-s)
  - Sister = wife(s) sister (in-s)
  - Sister = husband sister (in-s)
  - Son = wife(s) son (in-s)
  - Son = husband son (in-s)
  - Daughter = wife(s) daughter (in-s)
  - Daughter = husband daughter (in-s)
  - Child = wife(s) child (in-s)
  - Child = husband child (in-s)
  - Father = wife(s) father (in-s)
  - Father = husband father (in-s)
  - Mother = wife(s) mother (in-s)
  - Mother = husband mother (in-s)
  - Brother = wife(s) brother (in-s)
  - Brother = husband brother (in-s)
  - Sister = wife(s) sister (in-s)
  - Sister = husband sister (in-s)
  - Son = wife(s) son (in-s)
  - Son = husband son (in-s)
  - Daughter = wife(s) daughter (in-s)
  - Daughter = husband daughter (in-s)
  - Child = wife(s) child (in-s)
  - Child = husband child (in-s)

Terms of address

The terms given in the foregoing list are those of reference, each often applying to a person. In many cases the term used when speaking to a person is the same as the term of reference, but in others there is a difference:

Reference	Address	In many instances	Same (in-s)
			Grandson (in-s)
	Father		Son
	Husband		Gentleman
	Angel or Angel		Angel
	Princess		Administrator
	Secretary		Correspondence
	Uncle		Children
	Other		Children or Grandson

Other terms have the same form for both reference and address. So, for, for is still to select that names and ways, though strictly terms of address are used by the Swede for terms of reference as well. The terms college is an exception (i.e. the Administration process or, that, and is common). Grandson means boy child.

[6.7]

Grouping of terms

In the following classification of terms, an asterisk * means terms used by both sexes, and (m) means terms used by males.

Grandson

(Third ascending generation:) father's father's father*, father's father's mother*, mother's father's father*, mother's mother's father*. (Two ascending:) father's brother's son*, father's brother's daughter*, father's sister's son*, father's sister's daughter*. (First descending generation:) father's brother's children's children*, father's sister's children's children*,

Ada

Recent ascending generation: father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, father's father's wife, mother's father's brother, mother's father's wife. First ascending generation: father's father, mother's father, father's father's son, mother's father's son, mother's father's daughter, father's father's son's children, mother's father's son's children. Recent descending generation: father's brother's children, father's son's children, mother's father's son's children, son's children's children, mother's brother's children's children. Ego.

Ego

Father, father's brother, mother's sister, husband.

Ego

First ascending generation: mother, father's brother's wife, mother's sister. First generation: mother's sister's children. Ego.

Female

First generation: brother, sister, mother's sister's children. First and second descending generations: mother's sister's children's children, mother's sister's children's children's children.

Kiai

First and second descending generations: son, daughter, brother's son, brother's daughter, son's children (s), daughter's children (s), wife's brother's son, wife's sister's son.

Kadai

Father's sister's son, father's brother's wife (s), husband's brother's wife (s).

Kana

First ascending generation: mother's brother, mother's brother's wife. First generation: mother's brother's son and daughter. First and second descending generations: mother's brother's children's children, mother's brother's children's children's children.

Kalekaya

Father's brother's wife (s), mother's brother's children (s), husband's sister's children (s).

Kaga

Brother's children (s), sister's children (s), brother's children's children (s), sister's children's children (s).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

601 C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).
191 D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

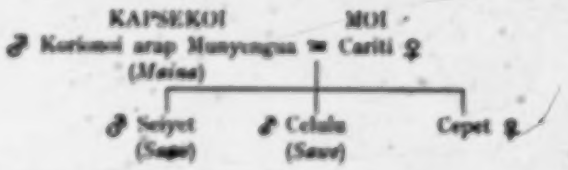
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupsat* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakwet* and *akwi*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tilist*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *mahikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic 596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sowiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[*]:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timupo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

[*] In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets agnates.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

596

MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati — Cemiemit ♀
(*Kimayiki*)

♂ Kipenimo
(*Ussma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamogam
(*Kapiolac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim — Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo — Cematia ♀
(*Maiua*) (*Nyungi*)

Cemesundei ♀

♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo
(*Ussma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939).1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the pariah. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* [10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[10] The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lahuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 148.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

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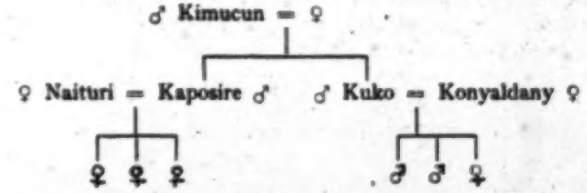
ficatory mother, *eiyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiye*, and they answered, *E'pa, papa*. (Here *leiye* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukot*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

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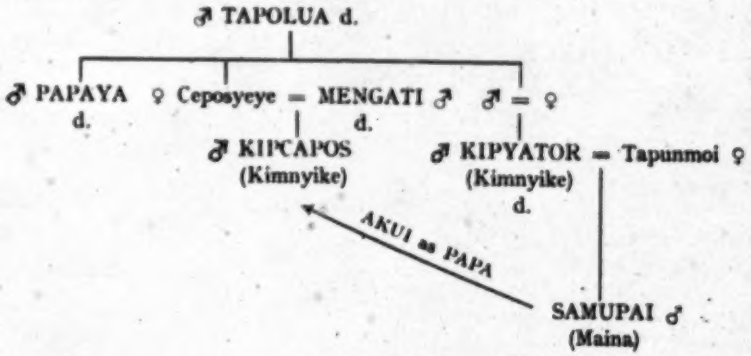
he respected and feared both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both oiled him [11]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

When a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *akui*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *akui*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipukua where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cesundil a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kipungei, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimutai

[11] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who oils his head and face in token of consent.

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arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tiliet*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

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867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[571] [561] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

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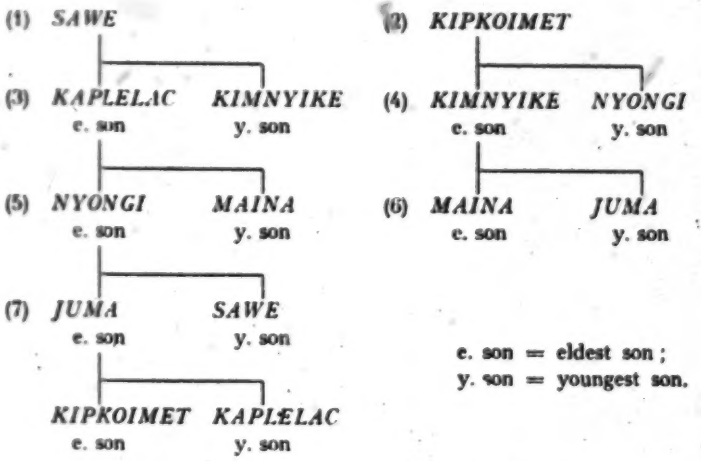
The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipkoimet*, *Kaplelac*, *Kimnyike*, *Nyongi*, *Maina*, *Juma*, *Sawe*.

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the oldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1939, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their precdeessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1939, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1939 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

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142
291
301
854

a: Arap Mining.

b: Cepkumuren his Wife.

c: Cesikirikat his Mother.

d: Situni his Daughter.

e: Kiprotic Tiongoi Kiptuma his Sons.

f: Coimim. Pilo.

[Facing P. 32]

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561

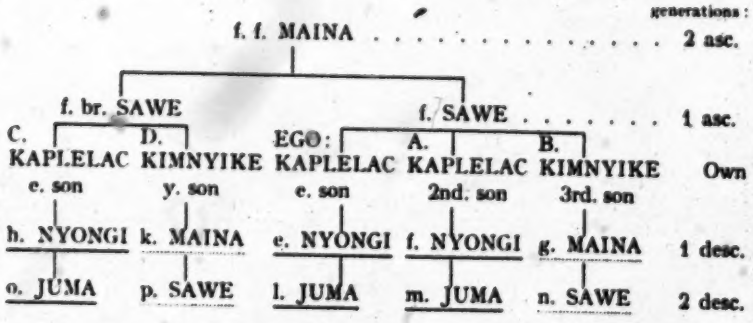
1923	1939	Ages	
7 *Sawe*	*Kiphoimet*	95	Old men : four sets.
6 *Kiphoimet*	*Kaplelac*	80	
5 *Kaplelac*	*Kimnyike*	65	
4 *Kimnyike*	*Nyongi*	50	
3 *Nyongi*	*Maina*	35	"Men" : one set.
2 *Maina*	*Juma*	20	Initiates : one set.
1 *Juma*	*Sawe*	7	Small boys : one set.

In the third column are the maximum ages in years of the sets in 1939. By 1939 there were no *Sawe* alive, and the age-name started over again at the bottom as the name of the small boys' age-set. The times for changing are known by carefully watching the Nandi, and the Dorobo regulate their age-set periods and times of circumcision by the Nandi, having no method of time-reckoning of their own. [177] [805]

Each set is divided into three sub-sections called *mostinuek* or "fires", a Nandi term, which the Dorobo call

Conginiek, the senior sub-section ;
Taparik or Kipalkonyek, the middle sub-section ;
Ruwakanik or Kiptoiinik, the junior sub-section.

These 'fires' seem to have no particular function among the Dorobo, but to have been taken over along with the rest of the system when the Dorobo borrowed it from the Nandi, among whom the age-sets have first and foremost a military function in which the 'fires' have a definite part. To the Nandi the behaviour aspect, however important it may be in practice, is secondary. But the Dorobo are not a fighting people and have no sort of military organization, and the adoption of an age-set system means that patterns of behaviour may, under certain conditions, be transferred from kinship to age-set stratification, the function of the age-set being reduced to one of behaviour alone. A new stratification of the society is thus introduced, which has to work in with the existing kinship stratification : [199] [721]



In this diagram, Ego is an eldest son, and a *Kaplelac*. His two brothers are *Kaplelac* and *Kimnyike*, and according to kinship rules all three

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are *kesonda* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kapielac* and *Kimnyiki*, who are *macokor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *macokor* C, when his other brother B and *macokor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *natik* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.

First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective *mostinuek* may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakwat*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo walek ce somis, amu ya, ngut walek ap kumisiat*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

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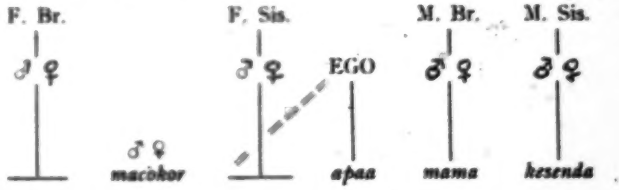
Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngul kum kamat', ana ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, beween brother and sister, between *macokor*, *mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor*, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mothers side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

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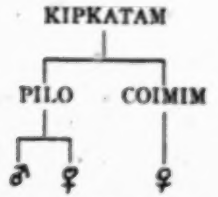
603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

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the other hand, there should be no *wesiet*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu mavipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomnen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

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603 752 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaasutuk ako ra ebaipaitiwa* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si kosu lakui* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaeda used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaeda and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore *mama* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *ord*, plural *ortinuek*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap ord*, or simply *tiondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [199] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

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descriptive, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its attributes. Each clan corresponds to a Nandi clan, with the exception that one, the Kapserkoi, corresponds to both Nandi Kipkoben and Moi, and that the Dorobo have also a clan called Moi corresponding to Nandi Moi. This apparent confusion indicates that the Dorobo have borrowed the Nandi clan nomenclature and added it to their own clan system without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deep-seated a part of their organization. The lax appreciation of the significance of the clan animal has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

A. Attested by genealogies and census

Name by which commonly known to Dorobo	Corresponding to Nandi clan(s) also by Dorobo	Nature	Dorobo clan(s) or clan animal (totem)
1. Kapserkoi	Kipkoben Moi	subsidiary name of Nandi clan Kipkoben	kwanyet* to
2. Moi	Moi	Nandi corresponding clan	1. kwanyet 2. anie* 3. kipkamoiet
3. Kipcheo	Kipcheo	Nandi clan	kemokut
4. Kipamoi	Kipamoi	Nandi clan	ngwanyo
5. Kapil	Kipgirkoi	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	kwast
6. Toiyoi	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	ruptie
7. Kongor	Tungo	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	kimaroket
B. Attested by genealogy from Tindiret			
8. Talai	Talai	Nandi clan	nemkit

The following are reputed to exist or to have existed, though I came across no members of them, either in person or in genealogies; the names were mentioned to me, however, in 1937:

9. Kipsogoi, corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaiko, of which Kipsogoi is a subsidiary name; totem, *sangwortiet*.
10. Kipsiou, corresponding to Nandi Kipsiou; totem, *anieta*.

* Animals marked thus * do not correspond to the Nandi clan-animals.

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11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiting; totem, *kipuskwiat*[a].

The clan-animals are: *kongoyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiot*, buffalo, called *sout* in Nandi; *kipkomoiot*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *kouskout*, baboon, called *mout* in Nandi; *sawaywo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *sawaiyon*, Nandi *cepkwaiat*; *kwost*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *kwost*, Nandi *kwot*; *ropta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimarokat*, hyaena, called *kimakatiat* in Nandi; *sowbit*, lion, called *sotondo* in Nandi; *cawwotiat*, partridge, called *taiyout* in Nandi; *soiita*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipuskwiat*, snake, called *swout* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *owt* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap owt*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *No owaawa?* "what is your *owt*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *No tiond ap owaawe?* "what is the animal of your *owt*?" Clansfellows are considered as *tilowotik*, relatives; marriage within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Owaya*, or else as *Ar i apa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasising the theoretical relationship between clansfellows.

There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito makiowe kitio, kiowe tinuik tokol* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiitwai cepto nepo Moi cago po kut ako ne mawa kwot ako a mukwai tilial*; *agul kiitwa nepo tiond ako, mapile* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

> one whose totem is Kongonyot may marry one with Soiot or Kipkamoiot;
> one whose totem is Soiot may marry one with Kongonyot or Kipkamoiot;
> one whose totem is Kipkamoiot may marry one with Soiot or Kongonyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongonyot man married a Soiot girl.

There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Kongot, for instance, may marry Kapsiki, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

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though in Nandi, such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [1]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masai in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masai or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [2].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1929-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*tuet*) is that it makes

[1] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 33-49.

[2] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

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[831] [illegible] if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

834 [835] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [839] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 839 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word *moubain*. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of *moubain* as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often [837] being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sibirotiet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [824] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

580 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

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on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [16] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[16] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

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585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoat* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoat* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoat* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Keipuncin cicoto, meiwendi* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sekutiet* grass (Sporobolus) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words *'keipuncin'*, etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sekutiet* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the base is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyon tiec*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage
[842] beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectio phalli, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children
[302] should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, he by the *Pa-tum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *korosiot*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *oltamiyoit* (olive), *ceptuiyet*, or *masaita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *korosiot* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *korosiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

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4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ka*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*eiyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaacen amu uuanit kamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *cesorpucot*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *eiyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *somoti ceko*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *koskosit* (Nandi, *ketemuet*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

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597 [848] Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on the rare occasions when it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the but", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very [848] [847] long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

5. Adultery and divorce

684 Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

586 When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kaail katunisiet kuu kiil poroanni, ui ka, pakaktan* ("I have broken our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; [581] once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

595 In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the 587 occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

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7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *kainet ap cesowilok* (or, *oiik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (*a*) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (*b*) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (*c*) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipoo	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimopo	Kipoo
His son:	Tiongoi	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet born (will be)	Kimopo
		Tiongoi

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*kainet am musarek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikwrin Sioncu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (*a*) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (*b*) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetuny, "lionkiller".

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551 (4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

[553] On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

582 177 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

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[Title Page]

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The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masae before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Mining used these words: *Ngut kepua tum Okiot keny komekomi Nandiek, kepua ak Ipkuapek*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisors for the Uasin Gishu Masae before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kepua* is plural, and the apparent subject *Okiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realize its significance.

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in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [3], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[3] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

Sketch-Map of the Kipkurerek Dorobo Country.

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terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

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and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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614 to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually
623 do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the
684 man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is
[848] nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingoruiyo cī ok cept ap tiliet, caluokto ne oo kut, amu mecome apaiisiek ngut mecome cesowilōk*, "if a man
[M5] lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilōk*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

614 Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the
648 time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi
162 in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and
[561] most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan
614 settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:
162
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At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans:	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

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These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *uetik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *uetik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

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634 [161] [178] To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kaïpai, Kipkoreum and Soeniyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *koroonik* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *koroonik* correspond with the Nandi *koruinuk* (sing. *korut*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *korut* had its council, *kiruokut*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyot*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *saliepta kilio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

634 623 628 [186]

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkoreum was one Cemuren arap Cepoiku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Soeniyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Nzascas arap Meirica, a Kipkolimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

634 633 623 [182] 177

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

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were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *kwet* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1937 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *kwet* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kirwokindet*, though the *kwet* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *kwet* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *kwenonk*. The functions of the *kwet* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kerwa nakit ni kwic ce miyac ak ce yar, ni kokac pik tukul. Ingwenic ok ake tukul, kwen ni kwa cwat ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kirwokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mamwa ramwinti*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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623 live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a
687 path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days
341 shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth
existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much
time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council
was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its
seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision
of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution.
623 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men,
691 and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa,
disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much
of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his
knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and
dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when
questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him,
and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as
not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans
are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort
the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their
decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation,
persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could
be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical
force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just
could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed
against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders
is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it
is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into
673 two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and
private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more
serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also
674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse
with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see
below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because
their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal.
Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing
to the *ceuwiloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people
may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is
really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations
of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a
crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself
and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e.g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *kowt* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokiondet*, who passed word round the *kowt* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *iliat* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (*see above, p. 127 f.*), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *kowt* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*ser*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *kowt* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *kowt* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at *nine* head of cattle (*male or female*), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

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682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *kowé* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*tonsit*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mopase*).

609 682 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies [701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore [783] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemaas tokot*) with stripes of white earth (*emeriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespass can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

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681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognizes a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

5. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of men, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both horde and individual.

796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Arawa*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Arawa* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Arawa*, but pray to them for help:

Kipendi samak si kesakas kiilencin Asista, Asista, ipiiyec omdit, ngul Asis, ipiiyec kumik, ngul Asis, ipiiyec panyek, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Arawa Arawa, ipiiyec omdit*, etc.

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The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *commisiriet*, is his arm, *ne naiyo pŝk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilet*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilŝk*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit".

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you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii lakuet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*urnet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilōk, okónec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okónec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korīpe, korn ne korue cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

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a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*suan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

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783 or goat where the Dorobo are concerned); *muait ap tangina*, lit. the fat of
789 cow's udder, or butter, i. e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit,
753 to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi
[748] diviner of the kind called *sakeyuot*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 2/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *korvilu pne*, and did not consult a diviner.

[754] If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the
[755] sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and oil So-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *muait ap tangina*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *koret*.

754 A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1939 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

787 The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi diviner (*sakeyuot*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *orkoiik* are not, like the
[759] Nandi *orkoiik*, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with *kericek ap ketik*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kipkericinik*. These *orkoiik* (sing. *orkoiyot*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *lepuyuwet* seeds (called
[751] *lapuonik* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *rerendet* tree, each about 3 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

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Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then oil their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omanda anyun, otuiyo ok lakok*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (dracaena sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

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the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphunkun* or *kiphoukon* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

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A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

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Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

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an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1939 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *comiet*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue keliek cepo tukul. Come Okiek si koswen
They-know the-feet which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see
tiouik. Ma yaacen tiouik, amu kimenye tukul kuakenge samakia.
the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomnot ap tiouik ma uu nepo pic, ako ma loo, amu uomen
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent
ok icek tiouik. Kerke tukul tiond ap samak. Kiome alak, makiome
also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not
alak; ako kicome tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(-are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

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different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense groupvalue, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

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the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepwyuwet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arawa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

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A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [12], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[12] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

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[Title page]

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The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

1. The Economic Framework [1]

The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12', the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17' and 35°32' respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 8300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 8000 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit [2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 7000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 6300 to 6800 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkurere valley, whence there is a rise to be crossed before the river Meteitei is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkurere, "the hollow river", in allusion to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Narasha near Timboroa. It crosses the southern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1951. pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 49. 1954. pp. 123-148.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

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This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work[8].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*lovsia*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hour-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cerwet, ficus sp.
Kelet, acocanthera Schimperi.
Kipaspust, tilia sp.
Lemetiyust, ximenia americana.
Mindetiyust, polygonum senegalense.
Mukuspust, dracaena sp.
Olkemiyuit, olea chrysophylla.
Orwust, ficus sp.
Pwust, Dombeya sp.
Rawudat, euphorbia candelabrum.
Sapist, podocarpus sp.
Sawwist, musa ensete.
Sewutust, canna didymobotrys.
Seutust, acacia robusta.
Supeitit, ficus sp.
Sweniyat, arundinaria alpina.
Tust, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkoreon to Soaniyo, the other parallel to it from Kipaboa to Soaniyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[8] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

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The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muaiswek*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwet*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muaiswek* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwet*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronise[*]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipirirus	*Kipsondet*	October	
Kipsondet	*Kipsondet oiss*	November	
Kipsondet ale	*Mulkul*	December	Muaiswek
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwet kut*	March	
Iwet kut	*Wakat*	April	
Wakat	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iwet
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Puretio	*Epesu*	August	
Yepsut	*Mulkul oiss*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 39.01. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

* Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign ŋ, representing the "long-tailed n". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

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The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or 592
domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, 594
and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with
most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those
to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food.
This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both 262
wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of
cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old [224]
days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a
relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in
order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought. [263]
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: *eleusine* and *maize*, grown; *maize*, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

*Ngoswoyet**, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipurkeut, the blue duiker (*C. aequatorialis*).
Mindat, the red duiker (*C. [illegible]*).
Irukutet, the reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kwepiet, the oribi (*Ourebia montana*).
Kipsumwet, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Saiwa, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiwiet, Sykes' monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Cawwet, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwenkwet, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Tawat, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumia, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Mulilit, the leopard.
Nowbit, the lion.
Soiat, the buffalo.
Paliet, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor [184]
have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *ainoiñ*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mamweyet*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuat*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sesuriat*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *ainet*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiuat*) [illegible] is in very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *sipsyapat* bush (*pamilia integrifolia*), or of the *sawagiat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little alcoholic beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkirirsik ne kwonik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the ostinaut tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kireere ratik, kipkele saat ai kobwor;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft.
Kiteer chuto ai kipkele kobak ee ganaiser ko
they are washed in the water that they may be hot the things which are dirty till
kipsomboneik. Kiree ai kayonsis. Kilinde tarat
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ale saal kwonisat pur, ai kwonsuuik, kilinde ongwet
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the water

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kopatok. Kiinde tapot kut korurio. Pani-e ebosiek ee can si korurio 273
so-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one as much through [illegible] and although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minio, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

262 224 177 262 464 466 693 476 224 476 888

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

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224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba [1].	Cultivation — all [illegible].

[857] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such [438] men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Minin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to do

[1] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

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it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyut (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyuwet: traps.
Kimoluet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipseputet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Marorta: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

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313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Ollamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapararict:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapararict* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1)[2/4]. The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

2/4 [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

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wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *motoket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] [283] [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

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435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kewiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [7], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[7] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Past: →	Past: →	Ideal: (In most cases)
[462] [594]	Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest		
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Some: working for wages		
		Women:	Preparing the results of trapping		Stock
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Housework and food collecting		
[857]		Children:	Weeding		
			Herding		
			Housework		
[462]	Men Living Alone:		Trapping Making things Preparing the results of trapping Cooking, housework	Cultivation of shambas	Stock

[556] Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

262 [778] [231] 264 Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minio said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be [789] either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

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through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lakok ap Kapkolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Mahicome
They-burn the-children of Kolelac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mepele Okiek timdo ne tinye tukuk ca kiome,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngui ne mii pasanet ap sekemik: ngui hololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sekemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sekemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sekemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sekemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

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described as *cemmenmenswet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniat*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kotil kätit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uaruwet*).
Olololyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wamasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiririlit = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

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that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mocet* and *rerendet*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tenetuet*, *silipcet*, *lopokuet*, *kipsepuat*, and *maroito*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, liana is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mocet* and *rerendet* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the endpieces and bound together with liana, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

d) and *e)* Needles; *d)* for boring, *e)* for basket work.

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [13]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather unnatural, high-pitched tone:

Sekem, sekem, ce mii ew emotinnecu tukul, wa pusi [13] *anyun, ocololion,*
Bees, bees, who are in countries-these all, come here now, pour-in-(honey),
ocololion [14].
pour-in-(honey).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[13] New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[13] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Onyon yu*, "come here".

[14] The Nandi have borrowed this formula, and altered it to *Opua ocololion temenai Sot ne lalaw*, "come ye, pour wax into the warm hut".

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

231
232

[222]

Fig. 2.
Slat Honey-barrel.

of enemies, which eat either them or their eggs. Three birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees, a small brown bird called *cephwaskon*, a small green bird called *listet*, and a small blackish-grey bird called *mutuktet*. The *kecciat* bird (cuculus indicator) cries '*tew-tew-tew*', and when it says that near a tree people know that bees are there; this is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Dorobo regard it as an enemy of the bees because it gives away their natural hiding-places. Soldier ants (*pirecik*) eat the eggs and grubs (*narek*) in the barrels. But no steps, either practical or magical, seem to be taken to protect the bees beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Dorobo say that bees know their owners by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are stung but little when they take honey from their own barrels. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not recognized and gets stung badly. People claim also to be able to recognize their own bees; for if, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the barrel along with the original swarm, they can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the barrel from which they come. Whether or not this is true, does not matter very much; but there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees know their owners, for I have seen Dorobo take honey without the paraphernalia put on by a European for the purpose, and get stung but little and with no ill effects from the few stings they did receive.

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When a barrel is put in a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, since many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the owner climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles lashed together is tied loosely to the tree trunk with liana (Fig. 3). To put his barrel in the tree, and to take honey from it, the Dorobo has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts, rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Dorobo makes fire in a loose bundle of tinder. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (preferably of *kipsepuet*, tilia sp.) and putting them and the tinder inside his garment, he climbs up to the barrel. He blows the tinder till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

[417]

Fig. 3.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder on a 50 ft. Tree.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Keliek ap tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinet, punu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniw, a ma miniw misiw, tinye lakuennyi kitekin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecok cuto tiowik, mii samaktannyon ; acome cepo samak.*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest ; I-like (the things) which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingesuwen ulinto timin, apēre mii tiond ake. Ne ni ne kuikuioti orūl?*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What (is) this that creeps-about inside ?

A. *Apēre tumta.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, asuweni metit. Inguatinye kuyanda apēre no. A mamii kuyanda.*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingesuwen ole muw.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 [805] [224] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minip told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [18] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. [231] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [239] Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumia*; the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromendet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[18] Better known to Europeans as Kibolos and Kapsagol.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*wokto*, pl. *wokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *porost*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.

[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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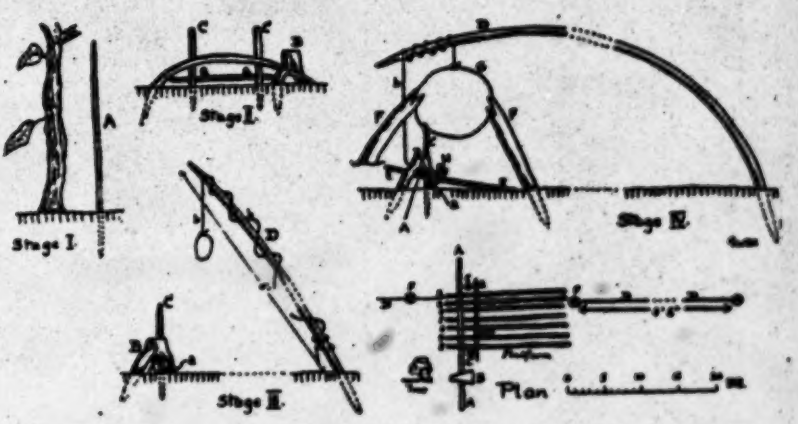

Fig. 4. Stages in the Making of a Springe.

The first step is to cut a stick, A in Fig. 4, about 21 ins. long, chop the thick end to a point, and plant it firmly in the ground in a suitable position where it is more or less concealed by bushes. The second stage is to cut a peg B, bend over the stick A and fasten it down with the peg. Two short sticks CC are then placed 8 inches apart up against A, and another stick *a* is laid on the ground beside them to form the base of the platform. A pliable stick D about 6 ft. long is then planted in the ground 5 ft. away from *a* and a piece of liana *bb* is tied to it. Next, a number of sticks, EE, about 12 ins. long, is laid at right angles to *a* resting on *a* and underneath A to form the platform. Two split sticks FF are fixed on each side of the platform to hold the noose. Stick D is bent over, the noose G is slipped into the cleft sticks, and a length of liana from the end of D is tied to peg H which is placed against A and *a*. Finally, *a* is raised off the ground, and the platform, now set for action, is covered lightly with grass and leaves to conceal it. When an animal treads on the platform, the pressure on it pushes *a* to the ground, and the lower end of peg H is thereby released, with the result that the bent end of stick D is allowed to spring up. The animal as it treads on the platform simultaneously puts its head within the noose which quickly tightens round its neck as D springs upright, and the animal is thus suspended and unable to escape. Frail as such a trap may seem, it is strong enough to catch animals and hold them till the trapper comes to see what has been caught.

The wood used for making such traps is cut from one or more of the following trees: *himoiwet* (vangueria edulis), *ceptaiyat*, *hatwyawat* (Nandi, *martit*); the liana is taken from the *ndoroktat* tree when possible. A simpler form of the same trap is shown in Fig. 5, in which there is no "trigger-peg" like H in the preceding example, but instead a short upright stick to which is attached the end of the liana; the stick is pressed back by the platform

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Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana b is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April:	preparation of the land.
April-May:	planting.
September:	reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *paint*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *ipandet*, maize. Millet had not been [195] adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *rejemnik*, are grown to a small extent.

[112] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mokowhet*), axe (*ndebet*), and [195] ordinary knife (*pawhetet* or *ratwet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top [illegible] smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [194] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [196] squatters on the nearby farms[*]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has then to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[197] Each shamba is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some [191] Dorobo of Kipsikon, noticing the European practice of stooking maize to dry before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[*] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 20. November, 1938 the Kipsikas people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[*]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs [illegible] for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiat*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a stew of vegetable food (*ingwek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[*] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. grocery bag used in East Africa, holding just less than 4 gallons.

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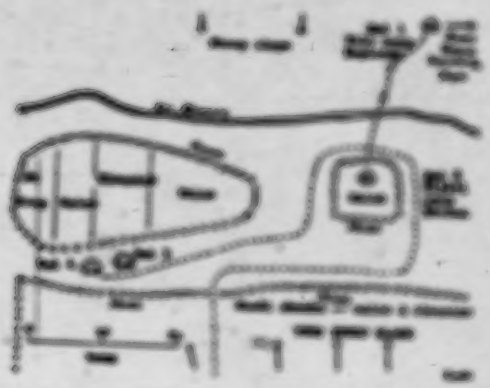

Fig. 4. Plan of a Dorobo thornbo or kitpat ainoptin a Nandi thornbo.

at Kipsbon in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kwoniet*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area beside a town, each contributing to the labour of making it; [248] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a looted shamba with Nandi (Fig. 4).

847 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Tinderet (or *Tawkeron*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [862] stick, *kwost*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in [923] large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be 459 verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 485 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ombeit*, is used 503 mixed with fat (or sometimes cassava oil) for rubbing on the head; white 769 earth, *emeriet*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

251 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 277 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have continued 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [558] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

A.Huntingford B-5 (1926-1929) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and as too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Koter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cosom and Tapsimbe were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Tapsimbe to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Koter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cemet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and then the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Mimo became the friend of a Nandi at Obware called Kapkilo, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fat cheek; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Koreyo in his youth hunted at Kapkyet in Nandi, and shot many monkeys, from which he made fat cheeks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkurto arap Soyon on Farm 1070: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Koreyo being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi were willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they sell sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep. In 1929 some possessed any.

By the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1929 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (until have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

284 mined in the count, but they are used even to-day so much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three *koroosek* of Kipkoreon, Kolpsi, and Sunaiyo were:

		Cattle:	Goats:	Dogs:
Kipkoreon:	Arap Koter (Cassoddi)	10	—	—
	Arap Mosoi	—	10	2
	Arap Korwa	5	—	—
	Arap Misio	—	5	2
	Arap Koter (Kipsoo)	5	—	—
Sunaiyo:	Arap Silindo	20	—	—
	Arap Esoi	2	—	—
	Arap Singiro	—	—	2
	Arap Cornlyo	1	—	—
	Kibon arap Sibon	05	—	—
	Kortosoi arap Menyenwa	05	—	—
	Kiptoo arap Ngomwon	—	5	—
	Kimeto arap Langat	—	10	—
	Kosio arap Ngomwon	—	4	—
Kolpsi:	Arap Matoko	5	—	—
	Nemapoi arap Yator	6	—	—
		90	36	7

5. The Economic Division of the S.W. Corner of the Forest

413 The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the *koroosek*, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the trees cease to an end forms a natural boundary and within that boundary was Dorobo ground where few strangers, except the occasional outlaw or fugitive, cared to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A section of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and entitled by a pronouncement of the *koroo* council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation sanctioned by public opinion: a man's section was automatically taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

[414] The forest appeals to the Dorobo in four ways: (1) In the trees they find their homes, and they know no manner of living in which there were no trees; trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land, but as something which bears trees. The cutting down of one or two trees on a man's section is his own affair, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them: *ogot koroo Oloiel ai kotil kotil ee ore, meromo Oloiel alak*, "if a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them. 423

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkoreun and Soeniyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkoreun to Soeniyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipsikwa to Soeniyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Metatitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them. [187] [231]

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tinet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkoleloi (I), Kapeitani (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group № I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipsigei, and Kipsan, three brothers; № II by Arap Misia; and № III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipsikwa, and of III at Soeniyo. The Ain ap Tinet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Koruru who lives at Kipkoreun, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area № V is held by the Kaperpenuita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepenuita who live at Ndoretun. Above this is area № VI, held by the Kaptokuni, represented by Kwimai who lives at Upper Soeniyo in the forest. And finally № VII is the enforcement area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatopkow in the forest and Lower Ngatopkow outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamumetik, represented by Tatt; Kamuruu, represented by Nebai; Kaplaragan, represented by Kibaiyo; Kapkimuruai, represented by Arap Rami; Kapkipsan, represented by Kipiwo; and Kapkoilel, represented by Sulle*. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of № VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkoleloi	Clan Mol.
II. Family Kapeitani	
IV. Family Kamuru	
III. Family Kapsingira	Clan Kipsikwa.
V. Family Kaperpenuita	Clan Kipsomai.
VI. Kaptokuni	Clan Kapsokol.

* The genke *kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e.g. *Kapsokwai* = named from *Sokwai* the wife of Arap Misia's father's father. 429 n1

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minio regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minio has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *kwongat*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *kwongat* were occupied there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

[1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	Average
Jan.	0.00	4.12	0.89	0.55	1.58	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.43 [35]
Feb.	0.05	1.97	0.80	1.56	0.51	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87
Mar.	1.86	9.42	7.89	8.00	0.12	2.33	0.98	8.78	6.35	5.03
Apr.	9.54	15.57	7.16	5.35	0.91	5.22	5.61	12.25	13.13	8.30
May	9.47	7.65	10.30	12.26	2.86	10.15	12.37	4.49	9.52	8.78
Jun.	3.85	5.07	3.39	3.16	4.50	5.54	8.26	5.87	6.96	5.08
Jul.	5.83	4.02	11.34	5.53	5.32	6.19	5.04	3.11	5.92	5.81
Aug.	4.80	6.12	6.88	4.76	5.15	6.68	5.12	6.21	8.66	6.04
Sep.	2.86	3.78	8.40	8.57	2.67	3.06	5.49	4.20	1.96	4.55
Oct.	3.76	3.80	3.17	2.42	2.88	3.02	6.13	2.72	3.03	3.43
Nov.	5.63	1.66	2.29	1.44	1.22	3.47	2.02	1.40	8.87	3.11
Dec.	5.25	1.29	3.66	1.88	0.89	2.70	2.87	1.66	1.32	2.39
Inches	52.90	64.47	66.17	55.48	28.61	48.71	53.89	50.69	65.72	54.09

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

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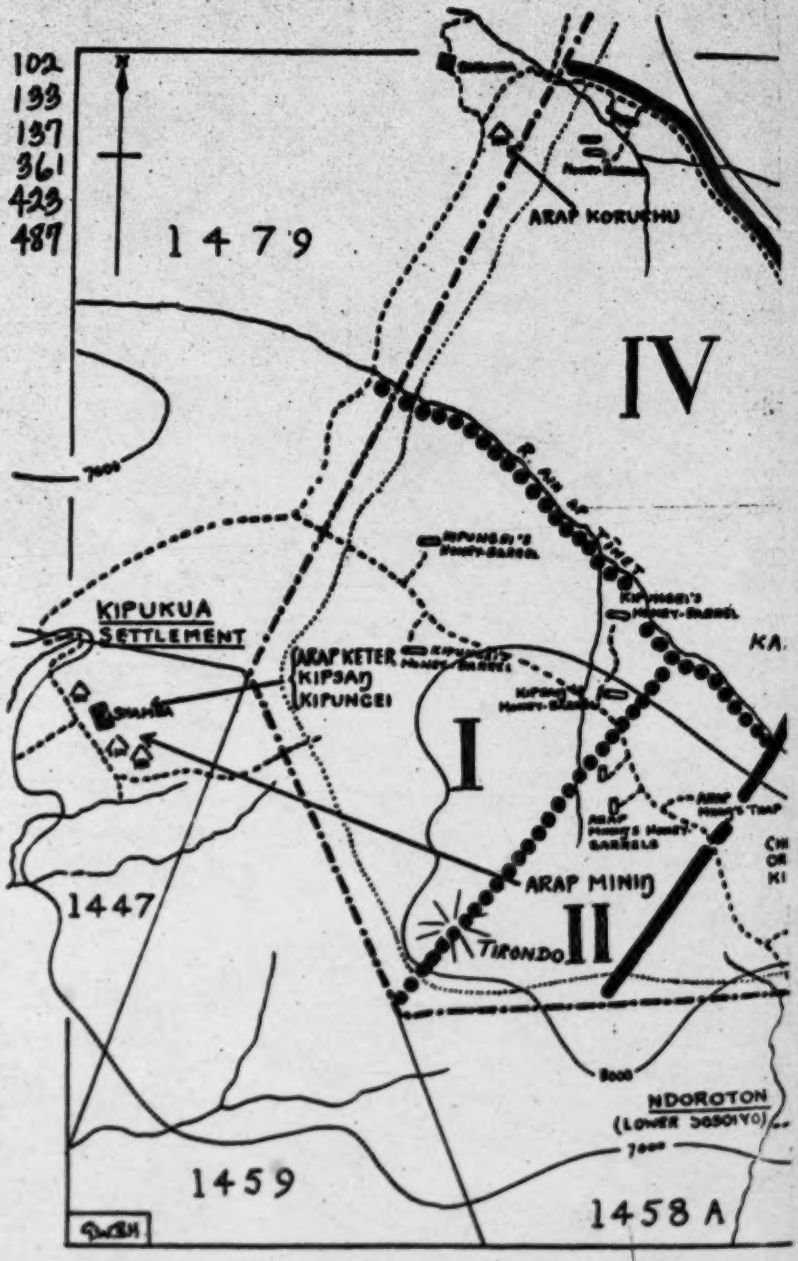
Area No:	Class:	Families:	Domicile:
I.	Moi	Kapkolelach	Kipukua
II.	Moi	Kapsituni	Kipukua
IV.	Moi	Kamuru	Between Kipukua and Kipkorom
III.	Kipieken	Kapsingira	Ndoroton
V.	Kipamui	Kapchepouaita	Ndoroton
VI.	Kapsekoi	Kaptokoni	Upper Sosoiyo
VII.	Kipieken	Kamnasutik	Upper Ngatepkon
	Kipieken	Kapkipopo	
	Kapsekoi	Kapkimancari	
	Toiyoi	Kapkuikoi	
	Kipieken	Kamnasutik [34]	Lower Ngatepkon
	Kapsekoi	Kapkorongos [34]	
	Kapil	Kamereua [34]	

[35] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1930: a more accurate average would be about 0.75 ins. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cockman for providing these figures.

[34] These families, represented by Tote, Nekoi, and Kilanya, are not shown on the map: their area lies east of Upper Ngatepkon.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



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6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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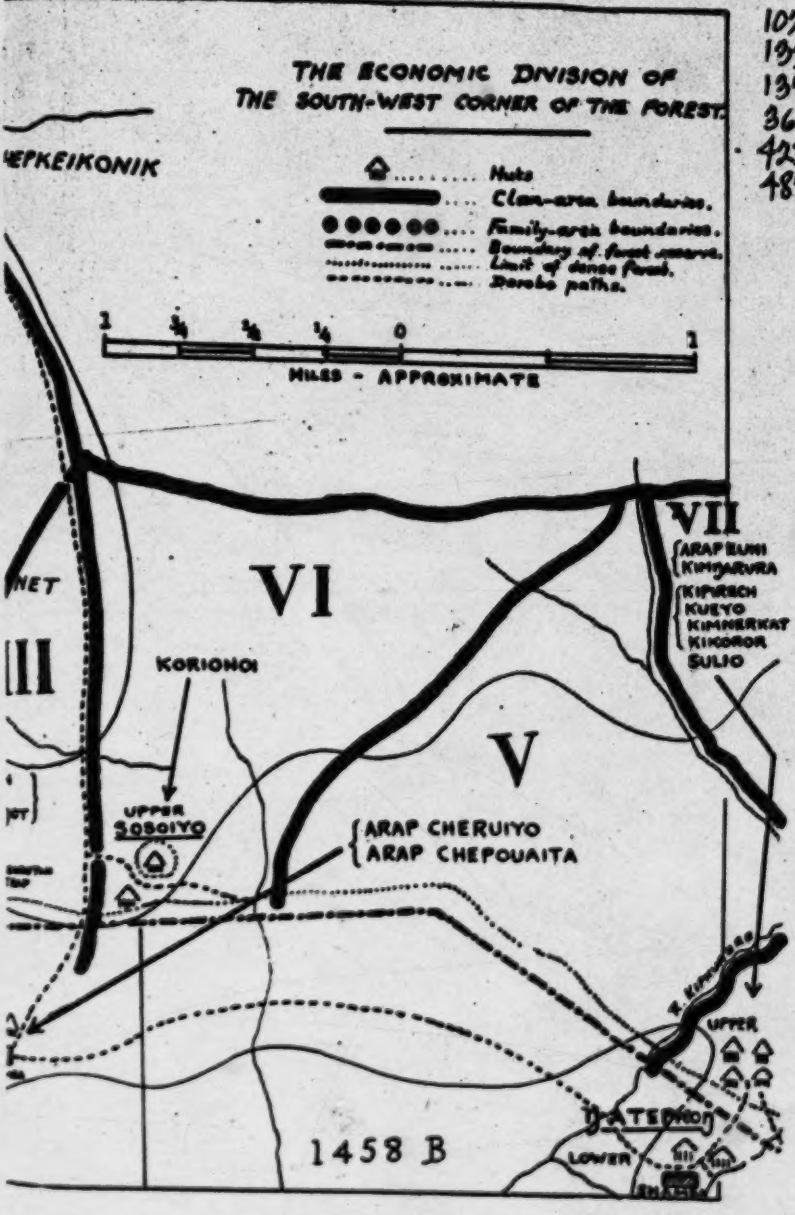

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6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

162 361 621 The people contained in these settlements in 1939 were:

Kipukua:
Arap Minin, his wife and 5 children.
Arap Ruto, his brother.
Cesikirikat, his mother.
Arap Keter, his wife and 2 children.
Kipsan, Malakuen, Kipungei } brothers of A/Keter
Cepkoiec, sister of A/Keter.
Arap Teltony, clansman.

Upper Sosoiyo: Arap Cepouaita.
Arap Ceruiyo, his brother.
Kipor, his brother.
Kipkutik, his brother.
Simotua, clansman.
Kiptanui, cousin of Arap Cepouaita.
Kesimo, brother of Kiptanui.
Kimitei, his brother.
Cepotip, his sister.
Arap Lengei, relationship not established.
Korionoi arap Munyengua, his wife and 3 children.

Ndoroton: Arap Singira.
Orinyi, his brother.
Kipkernot, his brother.
Arap Ngelil, Arap Keme } clansmen
Arap Cemualta.
Mother of last two.
Widow with 2 children.
Widow.

Isolated: Arap Korucu, alone.

Upper Ngatepkon:
Kipirec (Kipieken).
Kueyo, his brother.
Kimnerkat, clansman.
Daughter of Kimnerkat.
Kikoror (Kipieken).
Arap Euni (Kapsekoi).
Kimnarura (Kapsekoi).
Sulio arap Silimbo (Toiyoi).

Lower Ngatepkon[34]:
(1) Tote arap Nasutik, his wife and 3 children.
(2) Nekoi arap Mereua, his wife and son.
(3) Kilanya arap Korongos, his wife and 3 children.

[34] Note that (1) is Kipieken, (2) Kapil, and (3) Kapsekoi.

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[Title page]

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Labwor, The Wanderobo, the Dodotho and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(WITH PLATES XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. WAYLAND.

1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tracts of behaviour.

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 190. Karamojo = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamoja.

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become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being extinguished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

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Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected; great lacunæ remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

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The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiswahili, for no English, or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Karamojan folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiswahili from the troops (IVth King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Abyssinian and other raiders. I had two such men in my caravan and an official Karamojong-Kiswahili interpreter: the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

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Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many odd occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings convened with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required; but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, whenever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced; for I had visited Karamojo on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1920 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1925 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Jok*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the hand of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

DJA

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Anthropometric data were collected whenever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to fee every individual measured.

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Karamoja was entered by an unusual route—one which, as far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Apala, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

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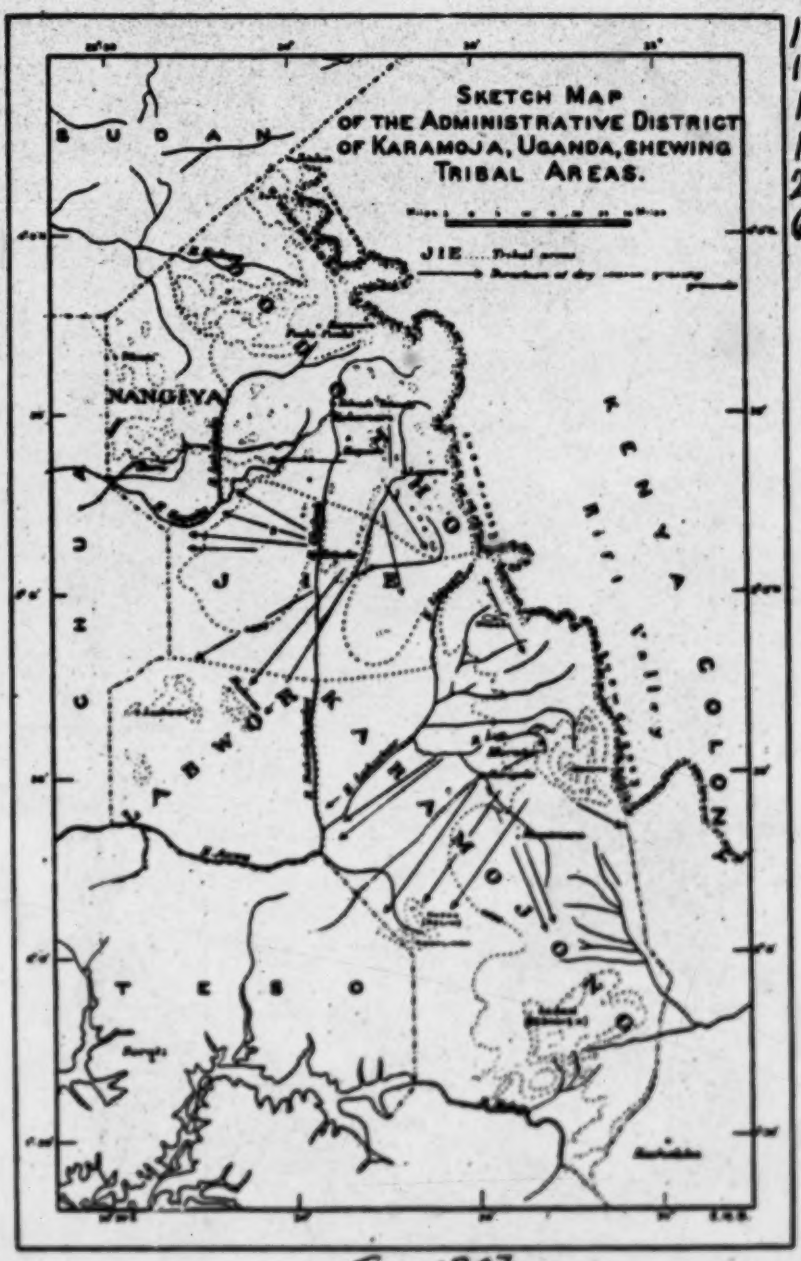

[p. 189]

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part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kaknauri, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Renny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimchanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kibeke River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lobor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1920 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamoja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] *See Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

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either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamoon and Loyoro are known. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamojo from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamojo District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as *Jie* and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodoths).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamojo District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlow Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karamojo.	Area.
Ng'imoro	Magwi (to Moroto).
Ng'imositabei	Moroto
Ng'iopoe	"
Ng'ipiau	Mossi-Mossi and Kilim
Ng'ikadamo	Debasien Mt.
Ng'imoru	Bokora
Ng'imoringo	"
Ng'ingokotok	"
Ng'imorimoung	"
Ng'ikapo	"
Ng'ipei	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ng'iwapea	Jie central.
Ng'ikotiango	" "
Ng'iwatia	" "
Ng'ikotido	" "
Ng'ipenyangapea	" "
Ng'iwetakow	" "
Ng'idiwaga	" "

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(3) Dodoths.	Area.
Ng'ikurikituk	Loyoro
Ng'imorio	Tokodi-Tokodi
Ng'iliti	Chiluk
Ng'kwimori	"
Ng'iwuso	Pudo-Pudo

(4) Nangiya and Nipuwa :—Area, Lomalil Hill.

For a reason to be stated shortly, two important subdivisions, one of the Jie people and another of the Karamojong, do not appear in Capt. Childhur Roberts' list; nor is mention made of a highly interesting folk calling themselves Dorobo (Wanderers) who live on the Karamoja-Turkana overpassage, north of Kanawon.

The people are very similar both in appearance and dress throughout Karamoja, and it is difficult to discover their tribal relationship. According to one tradition they and the Turkana folk were originally one great tribe, and their present dissociation is due to disputes over grazing-ground rights; while some aver that the tribes were always distinct and separate. But, inasmuch as it is found that considerable differences exist in important matters of procedure and belief the Karamojong, Jie, Dodoths, and Dorobo are herein regarded as separate tribes.

2.—THE LABWOR

(1) *Environment.*—The Labwor hills are situated on the western border of Karamoja and are unlike those of the rest of the country (except those of Nakwai, that lie a few miles to the south-east of them) in that water can be obtained among them all the year round. On this account the history of the inhabitants differs from that of what may be called the more typically Karamojan tribes. (*See* map p. 188.)

(2) *Physical Characteristics.*—The people of Labwor though decidedly Karamojan in physiognomy and build, and typically so in dress, appear to be somewhat mixed in type. Of recent years they have intermarried to some extent with the Acholi and have acquired a little of their astonishing high spirits. The figures in the accompanying plates (Pl. XIX-XXIII) will give a better idea of the appearance of these people than a verbal description would do.

(3) *Mode of Life.* (a) *The Village.*—In construction the Labwor village (*pang*) is almost exactly that of the Lango as described by Driberg,[1] except that it is enclosed by a palisade (*kpel*), and that the grain stores (*dwon*) are not ornamented.[2]

(b) *Dress and Adornment.*—The first point of difference that strikes one between the Labwor and their neighbours, the Acholi, is their mode of dress. Among the latter the men are seldom completely nude and the women very generally so, except for a few beads or a diminutive apron; among the Labwor, however, the men go about practically naked while the women are more or less clothed.

[1] *The Lango*, London, 1923, p. 71.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, plate opposite p. 112.

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As already stated, the Lakwor are typically Karamojan in dress, and for that reason remarks under this heading need not be repeated elsewhere in this paper. A 291

Among the men no attempt is made to cover the genitals or the buttocks, and in many cases no clothes of any kind are worn; in others, however, a rope is worn over the shoulders. A common form is essentially a spine-pad of dressed hide, but is used during a shower to protect the head-dress. It is usually about 5 feet long and shaped like a Y, except that the part where the three arms join is the widest. Ordinarily the two upper arms are worn over the shoulders, but during rain they are brought round the sides of the face so that the thickest part of the rope covers the head, thus imparting a very sphinx-like appearance to the wearer. This type is seldom seen in Lakwor, and is commonest among the people of Dodoth (Pl. XXV). Another and perhaps commoner form is that of a prepared skin similarly worn but unshaped (Pl. XXVI, Figs. 2 and 3.) Sporrans of hide are worn for the purpose of covering them-selves ground. J [291]

The women wear in front a short kilt of dressed hide ornamented, as a rule, with locally made iron or wooden beads, cowry shells or trade beads, while behind a larger and separate covering of dressed hide is worn (Pl. XXI, Figs. 2 and 3, and Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1). The distal portion of this covering is sometimes cut, particularly among the Lakwor, into three square-ended lobes from about one inch of the margins of which runs a single line of beads. A hide rope, generally a complete goat's skin, but sometimes an ox hide and rarely a bushbuck passing over one shoulder and under the other arm completes the women's dress. A 302.
The modes of dressing the hair are peculiar and interesting. The elder men of Lakwor and most men in other parts of Karamoja adopt a chignon. There are two kinds of chignon known as *ewoder* and *etiout*. The former may be described as a bun (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3) and the latter a spine-pad (Pl. XX, Fig. 1). In the production of these the hair is allowed to grow long and is caught up behind and moulded with a mess of clay sometimes mixed with fat or grease. As the bun or *ewoder* begins to sag, on account of the growth of the hair over the forehead and temples, the hair is teased out with a wooden comb and remoulded. Little wooden or moulded sockets of string, made from wild aloe fibre, are let into the chignon so that ostrich feathers or other ornaments can be inserted or removed at pleasure. The hair immediately over the forehead is shaved off. In the case of the *etiout*, waste hair from previous chippings together, perhaps, with contributions from a friend, are collected and matted into a long loaf-shaped pad about an inch thick. Pulverised clay is then worked into this felt to stiffen and set it. A half hoop of wire is fixed into the *etiout*, which is then carefully woven into the wearer's back hair and plastered in, and a pocket is contrived in the undermethod. A similar half hoop of wire is frequently to be seen inserted into the *ewoder*. These structures are not removed at death. A [301]

Among the Dodoths and Jie the *ewoder* is frequently ornamented with blue clay obtained from Turkana. This was not seen among the Lakwor. A "pom-pom" of ostrich feathers or a tuft of fur is sometimes suspended by string, thong, or chain, about 2 feet long, from the *ewoder*; an old man was seen in Jie with what appeared to be a thick lock of Burra hair on his head, kept in place by a strip of hide tied under his lower jaw. A thick felt of hair ornamentation in shape is frequently worn over the spot where the frontal and parietal hours meet. A J 302 [301]

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1924) 1931 F'LA Dorobo
Achol FK4
Jiye FK6

A 302

Often it is worked up with clay and covered with little beaded marks; and on occasion it is coloured blue or red by means of clay. Among the Lakwee these head-dresses are disappearing, but in other parts of Kavirondo practically every man and youth who has passed the stage of adolescence wears either the *combed* or *shaved*.

Females adopt two kinds of hair dressing, and these are indicative of their status. Young unmarried girls have their heads shaved, except for a patch on the top covering the junction of the parietal and frontal bones, where the hair is plaited into string-like ringlets (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1), and on occasion (more particularly among the *Jiye*) one or two thin rings of tiny cowrie shells round the crown. Married women, on the other hand, keep the head covered with hair which is plaited into ringlets. In Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1, both types are seen. The second woman from the left of the picture is newly wed, and is for the first time growing hair all over her head. It is not yet, however, long enough to be plaited.

A [142]

No bounds are seen, but, so far as my observations go, there is a much stronger tendency among the *Jiye* than among the other tribes to the growth of hair on the face.

A 301 304

Of the Arimbidzie ornaments the following may be noted: The pinna and lobe of the ear in both sexes is usually pierced by the exception of split iron rings, and when these are not worn, their place is taken by little wooden plugs (Pl. XX, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV). Occasionally other and more massive rings are suspended from the split ears above. Ear-rings (*shungu*) are more frequently seen among women than among men. The bottom lip is frequently pierced and a peg-like plug of metal, stone, or occasionally glass (part of the bottom of an old beer bottle) passed through the hole. Very generally the plugs are made from limestone, which occurs at Kisumu and in some other parts of the district (Pl. XX, Fig. 1, Pl. XXI, Fig. 1, and Pl. XXIV). Frequently the upper lip is pierced and a small ring is passed through, while some men have the septum of the nose pierced in order to suspend an ornamental bone (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1). Iron finger-rings are common, and among others may be noted the hook ring (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1), and the knife ring. Certain shell necklaces are common (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1), as, too are iron rings and cowry shells (Pl. XXI, Figs. 2 and 3); high collars and armlets of wire are not uncommon, while some old men of Luyeno, in the Dudoma country, wear a circlet of sheep's teeth round the crown of their heads (Pl. XXV, Figs. 2 and 3).

A 304

Circumcision.—This is indulged in to a considerable extent, especially by women. Numerous patterns are to be seen, but they appear to have no significance other than that of individual choice. Among other forms, a single ring round the navel is, perhaps, commonest in Lakwee than in other parts of Kavirondo (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1). The men, however, adopt a form of circumcision that has a definite, and to them readable, significance. Lines of little scars over the right shoulder and down the right breast indicate that the wearer has blooded his spear by killing a male (not necessarily a fully-grown man), while similar lines over the left shoulder signify that the wearer has blooded his spear on a female (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1). The lengths of such scars are permitted to run the title *Ring*.

* A series of split (and healed) rings, not a continuous lobeset spiral like that adopted by the Masai, etc.

A Ashell F V-II
31/51 F V-E

A practice common to the inhabitants of Ennenyia, but a dying one in Lubwe, is that of removing the two middle bottom incisors, various reasons have been alleged for this, but the origin of the practice seems to be lost in antiquity. It is a curious fact, however, that among those who still have the full complement of incisors a marked hiatus commonly exists between the two first. It seems just possible that the practice of removing these teeth was originally introduced in order to increase the width of the gap.

(c) *Livestock.*—The following animals are kept:—cattle, sheep, goats and low dogs for hunting. The Lubwe herds are not as large as those of their neighbours to the east, but on the other hand they have taken much more to agriculture.

(d) *Agriculture.*—Unlike their neighbours to the east, the Lubwe are industrious agriculturists. They grow sorghum (*bel*), millet (*bhel*), pennisetum (*ngwa*), common (*ngu*), ground nuts (*nandu*), beans (*ngwore*), maize (*ngwore*), and many other minor foodstuffs. Like the Ashell and Lungo, they use the long hoe with the "broomstick" handle fixed solidly with the blade and long. Most of the work in the fields is done in a bending posture, and because of this Ennenyia gradually are all very common accompaniments.

The Lubwe insist that there are no ceremonies connected with planting the crops. I have little doubt, however, that this is not strictly true, for it would appear that the sacrificial meal (*ngbla*) is considered as this time. (e) harvest time (*nwore*) there is great rejoicing. Men and women work together in the fields.

The following are the lunar months with their approximate English equivalents:—

Ongwe ...	*March.*	*Gwenk* ...	*July.*	*Ngwe* ...	*November.*
Gwok ...	*April.*	*Mbwankkim*	*August.*	*Mbeke* ...	*December.*
Gbwong ...	*May.*	*Kabwore* ...	*September.*	*Ongwe* ...	*January.*
Gbwogo ...	*June.*	*Kwoni* ...	*October.*	*Gwoni ashell*	*February.*

(Planting starts in green. Harvest is in orange.

(f) *Food.*—Besides the crops already mentioned, it would appear that a few wild fruits are used for food. One such is the fruit of a tree called *ga*, from which an oil is obtained. Wild honey (*ure*) is of course eaten. The bee (*kish*) is encouraged to build its comb in a long (*kogi*), which is a hollow log fixed in the branches of a tree. The open end of the log is blocked by means of a straw (*ze kwy wyl*) with a hole in the middle. This trap is placed in position soon after the close of grass burning. It is left there for about three months, and the combs, of which there are usually five, are removed. These are boiled and the honey extracted. Other food substances are saved (*ringa*), chicken (*gwoni*), eggs (*nogi*), and milk (*nbeli*). There are no food prohibitions, except that women may not eat chicken. But would anyone think of eating hyaena flesh.

(g) *Division of Labour.*—A man's chief occupation is, or was, fighting; but in times of peace he joined in the common task of cultivation. In the civil capacity his special work is

[1] Compare Gollong p. 20, footnote.
[2] I did not see an ear of these crops. In other areas a plug of wood is used.

?: Wayland IX-5 (Jan., 1938) 1931 WLA Brooks
Acholí FKG

building timber for huts and enclosure building, and thatching the huts. A woman's work, more and above that of the common task of cultivation, is to gather firewood, prepare food, and to cut the grass for thatching. Boys tend the cattle, while the young girls grind grain, fetch water and, if there is time for it, give assistance in the field.

(g) *Currency.*—All the present day goods are bought and sold by means of the shilling standard of East Africa, but till recently the following units were adopted for purposes of barter:—

1 hoe = 1 spear = 1 goat.

6 hoes
or
6 spears
or
6 goats
} plus 5 bells = 1 ox.

20 spears (or equivalents) = 1 cow.

Cows are seldom sold; exchange and barter is done usually in terms of bulls.

(h) *Musical Instruments.*—The Lakwa have no musical instruments of their own invention, except perhaps the skin. This is the top of a gourd about 1 inches long (see Text-fig. 1). It has an aperture enough that at the end; but in spite of this the natives manage to extract several notes from it. For the rest musical instruments are rather rare possessions. Two horns of hard are to be seen among them; one of these (the *ayodi*) commonly known to the Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic Peoples as the Bunga horn is, in these parts, frequently made from a tortoise carapace, etc. (Text-fig. 2). The other horn (the *Bungai*) is carved out of solid wood (Text-fig. 3).

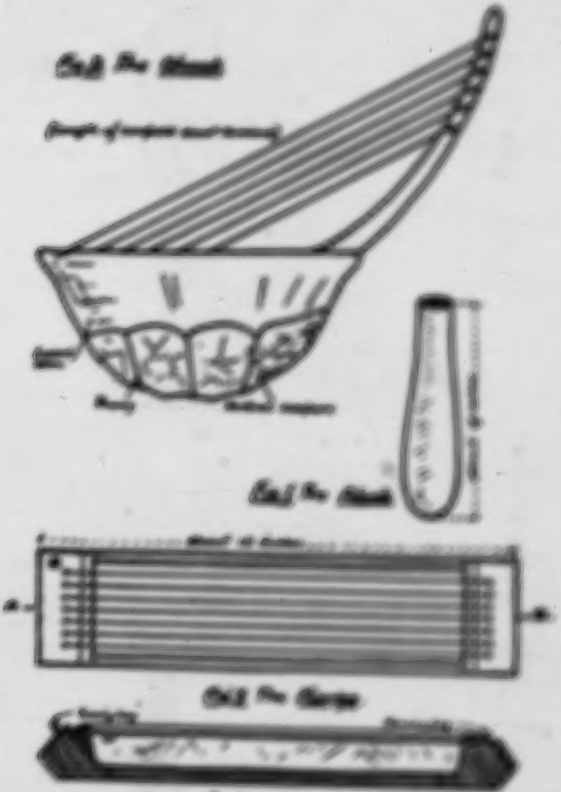
(i) *Drums and Drums.*—Little information was gathered under this head. A drum very similar to the *ngoli* (described by Driberg, p. 180) is very frequently indulged in. It consists of standing on "attention," rising on the toes and keeping into the air, still at attention, almost without bending the knees at all. Men will do this together in line opposite a line of women who, when the men sing, will keep in their turn; occasionally a man wishing to exhibit his skill will rush into the space between the two opposing lines, leap into the air repeatedly and turn round before landing. All sing during this performance, and while members of one line keep those of the other line clap hands. In some usual for the women to turn to the left, or right, and progress as they keep. Men and again both lines keep together, approaching each other very closely for the while.

The only game witnessed was identically that described by Driberg under the name of *ekele ewala*. It is played by small boys who attempt to "spear," by means of long sticks a small hoop which is rolled by another boy to provide through the air, or to run rapidly along the ground.

The game known as *bao* in Kenya, *omweso* in Uganda and by several other names in different parts of Africa and the Near East, which is a game of skill and depends upon the disposition of small stones or beans among a number of holes (16 for the player and 16 for his opponent) is also played

[1] Generally known as *omweso*.

(2) *Manufactures.*—Apart from purely domestic manufactures, such as basket-making and pottery, there are some simple iron-work. Leibeno is known among the surrounding tribes as the home of the spear and bow industry. In the old days the blacksmith's work, like that of the medicine men, was hereditary, and the noble Gwandelow were held in great veneration.



Figs. 1, 2 and 3.—Leibeno weapons and accoutrements.

Even to-day they are regarded as a people somewhat apart from the common folk, and nobody will stand from them. The smithy and the working brass are the only two habitable structures that are not weakened among the Leibeno. Not only is iron (spear) worked into spears, bows, and knives, but the metal is extracted from the ore.

[illegible]

[illegible]

36 The ore (title) is a [illegible] which, contrary to a view frequently expressed by [illegible], is not structural locality. It is dug in a valley among the Tinnen Hills, in the [illegible] valley east of Lytton. Which handles ore ore in Coronation in search of title.

225 The smelting furnace consists of a solid stone-shaped mass of clay, about 4 feet high and 3 or 4 feet in diameter at the base, grooved in the top with a channel about a foot in width and 10 inches in depth, running about three-quarters of the way across the "stone," and open at one end (Fig. 1). When smelting is to be undertaken, this channel is first filled with

[illegible]

[illegible]

dry grass, closely packed to handles. Into the open end of the channel, then front, the end of an old tube (sheep) is inserted. The stone is built up of from sections of pottery tube, each about 12 inch in length, about two ends other and fitted on the grass with clay and grass (Fig. 2).

Over the furnace the stone, supported on 3 shaped sticks, slopes downward so that its left-hand end comes to rest on the ground near the bellows. An ground at this point is dug out with rock range from the floor. Beneath the stone at the point where it covers the "stone," a slot of stone is wedged into position to secure of a long stick. This is

is one day's work in his garden. Two spears are beaten out in one day and not sold. They 427
are finished on the second day. Should the blacksmith have a spear on hire "a week," it may be purchased outright. The rent of a hoe as purchased in six shillings, while a similar article can be purchased from a small Indian store, as may hoe day's work every, for one or two shillings. Natives, however, will not purchase these cheap articles if they can afford the locally made equivalents. They say that while the cheap hoe (made in Europe) sold by the Indian last only five or six months, those made by the blacksmiths at Lukwor last three or four years. In the old days the rent of one hoe was one goat.

Old spade-irons have are repaired in the following manner:- The old implement is heated to 325
bright redness, and the sides of the blade are then beaten over to the width of the top of the tang, the whole is then quenched in cold water. Next, made by mixing with water a powder

[illegible]

Fig. 3 (1)—Lukwor bamboo pellet.

obtained by grinding up old tuyères, is then affixed over the old iron and on top of this has a piece of sawhead metal is placed, and the whole is covered with dry earth and heated till the iron reaches bright redness. It is then withdrawn from the fire and placed on a large flat earth stone and beaten out till the two pieces of iron are completely welded and the resultant bar is roughly shaped. The heating is done by means of a large bellows. The completed bar is returned to the fire, heated to redness, withdrawn and hammered out.

The spears and bars of the Lukwor have a wide distribution, but their bamboo and pottery 326
are for home consumption only. The bamboo pellets which are shown 10 inches in length [illegible]
but little in shape, and the accompanying figures (Text-figs. 3, 4, 10 and 11) will serve to show
what they are and give a better idea of the pattern and construction than a verbal description
would do. The Lukwor have three kinds of pots (pellets (Text-figs. 10, 11 and 12). They 323
are rather thick, but display a fairly high degree of symmetry, and are ripe. It should be noted,

7:Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FLS Dorobo
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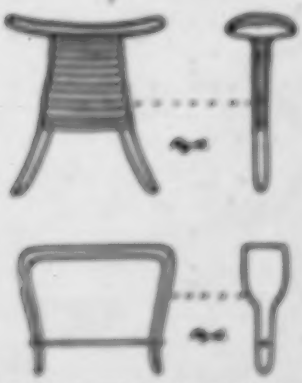
323 is without a rim. The pots are of the built-up class; some have a string pattern impressed upon them.

352 Among other articles that are made are the head rests (*ma*) of which there are two kinds (Text-figs. 15 and 16), and several varieties. These are made by the individuals who use them, and there is no trade in these articles.

[323]



(b) *Hunting.*—This is undertaken by parties of men accompanied by dogs. The latter put up the game and the men pursue it and bring it down by means of throwing-sticks. Game-pits are dug.

(c) *War.*—In the old days every able-bodied man—except the wizard—was a warrior,

[352]

7: Wayland N-5. (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo
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received instructions in tactics, however, from the old men in the villages. Among the Lalwere, war has been a thing of the past for a decade or more. As the tribe was never a big one, and as their country was attractive to the neighbouring peoples on account of the permanent water in the valleys, the tactics seem to have been defensive rather than offensive; and soon after their arrival the people were forced up into the hills, where they appear to have lived in comparative peace, descending to the valleys only when the Kavirondo or Acholi withdrew with their cattle during the rains. Their weapons are spears (*tong*) all of which are long and socketed. Their shields are identical with those of the Acholi and Lango[1] (Text-fig. 17). They do not use the bow and arrow; nor have they the throwing stick or throwing knife.

FIG. 61.—LALWERE SHIELD.

4.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

(a) *The Tribe.*—The Lalwere claim to be a section of the Jie. They admit no relationship with the Lalwezi who live at the base of the Nalwezi Mountains, six easy marches to the south-east of the Lalwere Mountains. The latter folk are said to be a section of the Kavirondo[2]. These two peoples are subdivided as follows:—

Lalwere.

Sub-section 1.—*Ol'ganeere* .. Living in the central valley of the Lalwere hills.
" 2.—*Mwerabwa* .. Living on the bottom of the eastern side of the eastern range of the Lalwere hills.

Lalwezi.

Sub-section 1.—*Bugwa* .. Living on the eastern lower slopes and flats of the Nalwezi.
" 2.—*Ogogong* .. Living on the western slopes and flats of Nalwezi.

[1] Seligman, p. 40.

[2] One hears, from time to time, in Kavirondo, of the Great Drought which occurred, the natives say "very long ago." It is probably the same Great Drought which (according to W. D. M. Bell—*The Wanderings of an Elephant Hunter*, London, 1923, p. 72) brought into being the so-called Elephant [illegible]

7:Wayland N-5 (ca, 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo
Acholi FK4

619 [262] The Lakwi will not be further dealt with. The Uiyawee and the Maraken are not totemic divisions, there being no totems, and the only taboo on food is the prohibition of chicken's flesh for women. The two sections are neither exogamous nor strictly endogamous with regard to each other, but the marriage of "close relations" (cousins or closer relations as far as I could gather, but this point is uncertain) is looked upon with disfavour, and used, until very recently, to be prohibited.

643 [791] The head of the Lakwee people is the chief, who does not combine with his functions those of the witeel. Both the chief and the witeel hold their positions by right of heredity, but a chief is not necessarily the eldest son or the first son of the principal wife of his father; for should such a one be considered ill-fitted for chieftainship, another of the sons will be chosen by the people, or failing that, the old chief's brother succeeds to the position. A chief is never expected to abdicate. In old age his successor elect will act as regent.

611 562 Descent is strictly in the male line, and a woman owns property and attains position by virtue of her husband, and only during his lifetime.

(b) *Birth.*—Expectant mothers are not dieted. It is believed that a woman will be rendered barren if any one steals her kilt (apeto) and that she will remain barren until the kilt is restored to her. When a child is about to be born two elderly women—whose duty it is to attend all births, and who are chosen by consent of the tribe in the first instance—arrive. One of these holds the expectant mother (by the shoulders) in a squatting position, while the other receives the child. No attempt is made to deal with a breech presentation. If a child comes into the world feet first it receives the name of *ajiok*, but appears to be otherwise treated as an ordinary person. The after-birth is buried beneath the grain-store by one of the "official deliverers" mentioned above.

855 As soon as a child is old enough to leave its mother it sleeps at night in a hut set aside for other children of the family—the father's family—who are members of the same sex. The

895 birth of twins is a cause of great rejoicing (see under Miscellaneous Beliefs and Ceremonies).

58 (c) *Betrothal.*—A lad must be about 15 years of age (that is to say he must have attained puberty) before he can secure from his father consent to marry. This obtained, and the object of his desire having been intimated, the boy's father approaches the parents of the girl, and if they and she give a consent a marriage is arranged. When agreement is reached, the boy's father chooses an intermediary who takes the gift of 100 objects to the girl's father. The value of these articles (spears, hoes, cows, goats, etc., etc.) varies with cases, and depends upon circumstances—such as the "value" of the girl, the ability of the purchaser (prospective husband) to pay.

734 (d) *Burial.*—In the old days when the people were forced to live up in the hills, a dead person was laid on his or her right side with the knees drawn up to the chest, the palms of the hands placed together in such a position that the right cheek rested on the back of the left hand. The corpse was sewn up in an ox-hide and thrown over a precipice, except in the case

760 of a chief. All dead chiefs were placed in a cave, after being carefully dressed and sewn up. It is to be noted that the soil is thin and quickly disturbed on these hills. The wizard was

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo
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never buried, but was treated after death as at the present day (see under "The Wazee"). Now that the people live in the valleys, the dead, after being dressed and sewn up in skins, are taken out of the door of the hut and carried round by a clockwise route to a position of "four o'clock" (the door of the hut being at twelve) and buried. No special shrines are built to the dead, nor is a fire kept going by the grave. No sort of property is buried with the dead. There is no death dance; but the widow of a man indulges in wailing, etc. The period of mourning is 3 or 4 months, during which time the widow takes off her ornaments and wears string in place of them. At the end of the period of mourning a goat is killed, cooked and eaten, and beer is drunk. The widow is now free to go to live with her late husband's brother, if she chooses to (but he is not permitted to marry her), or if she has a son she may stay with him—to whom passes all the dead man's property, including the wife's ornaments. If there are young children and the widow goes to her brother-in-law, he looks after them and treats them in every respect as though they were his own.

766 764 765 768 [589]

(n) *Inheritance.*—The laws of inheritance are simple, and I have little to say under this head. As already stated no woman owns property of her own; as an unmarried girl, her ornaments and other "belongings" are the property of her father, and they pass to her husband on marriage. On the death of a woman, her husband, or nearest male relative takes all her temporal belongings. When a man dies, all his property passes to his son or nearest male relative.

428

(l) *Age Classes.*—It is very doubtful whether true age-classes exist among the Lakwor. While they consider different stages of life as sufficiently distinct to warrant recognition in nomenclature, they maintain that these various states are attained without initiation. Circumcision is not practised, and at no time are the genitals of either sex tampered with. The following are the distinctions recognised:—

561

Suckling	= *Latin.*
Child	= m. *Latin-nandi.*
	f. *Latin-ngadu.*
Age of Puberty	= m. *Andoi.*
	f. *Ngadu.*
Full Age	= m. *Lachow* (a Lachow is supposed to have bloodied his spear).
	f. *Dako* (a dako is a married woman with a child).
Middle Age	= m. *Andoi-nandi.*
	f. *Dako-nandi.*
Old Age	= m. *Ladit.*
	f. *Dakowati.*

(q) *Crime and Punishment.* (a) *Murder.*—The penalty for murder is:—

662

(i) Fine of 6 head of cattle, and

(ii) the murdered man must be replaced by a son of the murderer's. If no son murderer's family.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo
Acholi FK4

684 (b) *Adultery, etc.* (a) *Unmarried girl.*—The penalty is one bull to the girl's father, and if a child eventuates, 20 sheep in addition. (b) *Married woman.*—A fine of 20 cows and 20 oxen to be paid to the woman's husband.

It frequently happens that the husband of the wronged woman seeks out the offending man and endeavours to wrench away his genitals. This practice always results in very serious injury, and often in death. The Administrative Officer in charge of the District is doing all he can, I am told, to stamp out this procedure, but has not yet been completely successful.

In the event of misconduct a woman can be made to become the wife of the man with whom she misconducted herself, and he can be made to pay the husband to the extent (or more) of the presents given by the first husband to the girl's father. Should a husband be guilty of misconduct, his wife has no case against him.

5.—RELIGION AND MAGIC.

776 (a) *The Idea of God.*—The name of God is Lubanga. He is the original creator of all things, but is mostly silent these days. It is he, however, who sends the rain. His realm, in which he lives permanently, is that of the spirit-land which is vaguely supposed to be in the sky. The spirit-land, however, is not confined to the sky, and nobody knows where the 776 spirits of the departed may or may not go. Sometimes they may enter the bodies of animals, particularly hyænas, or trees for some purpose of their own, but they are not supposed generally to do so.

(b) *The After-Life.*—It is believed that man has a soul or spirit (chpoo) that leaves his body when he dies and goes to the realm of Lubanga. The spirits have ghost-like bodies, but no eyes. They are blind—though nobody knows why—hence the wailing noises they often make. Neither punishment nor reward is expected in the after-life for deeds done in this world.

[787] Spirits of the departed frequently appear to the living in dreams, and sometimes they may call the persons to whom they appear. Should a man by act or word offend any of the spirits of his dead, the spirit (or spirits) will chastise him with sickness, madness, or death.

(c) *The Wizard* (Nyakirina Nam).—The official title of the wizard is *Ajuka*. His calling and title are hereditary in the male line only. His wife, or wives, need not have *Ajuka* blood in their veins. Should an *Ajuka* die without male issue his line dies too. It is feared that the present *Ajuka* will be the last of the wizards of Lubwar, for he has no son. He is not the chief of the tribe, and no chief has the powers of the *Ajuka*.

791 The *Ajuka's* functions are:—*Augury and foretelling*; healing of the sick; propitiation 792 of the spirits for those who are oppressed by them. He is by no means first and foremost a rain-maker. When a man sees a spirit in his dream repeatedly, it is taken to mean that a sacrifice is called for, and since the *Ajuka* is the only person in the tribe who can speak to the spirits directly and at will, he is consulted in order to discover what all the trouble is about, accurately slaughtered and eaten. Should a man displease a spirit by word or action, the

7; Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo
Acholi FK4

spirit will chastise him with misfortune, sickness, madness, or death, unless proper sacrifice is made. Should a spirit call a man he will die, unless sacrifice is accepted by the caller. In such circumstances the called consults the *Ajoka* who, by means of throwing sandals (*wua*)* determines the path by which the departed spirit left the village (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1); along this path a goat is taken and slaughtered at a spot selected by the *Ajoka*. Its throat is slit and its stomach pierced by means of a spear. It is then thrown aside for the spirit to devour; none of this meat is eaten either by the called man or the *Ajoka*. The *Ajoka* also provides medicine for the called man. It does not appear that a spirit will always accept the sacrifice; if it does not the man will die, and the wizard cannot prevent it. There is only one *Ajoka* at a time. He is not superseded, however old he may be, but remains in power till he dies of old age, disease or accident. The *Ajoka* is not buried, for it is thought that if he were interred there would be no rain, and famine would come upon the land. His body is hidden in the bush, and when the flesh has disappeared the skull is recovered and brought back to his house. There it is put into a pot, and it this receptacle it is removed to a cave in the hillside, where the skulls of his predecessors have been placed. On no account must the sun shine on the skull, or devastating drought will come upon the land. The entrance to the cave is blocked up.

(d) *Rain-making.*—When rain is badly needed the old men, or elders, meet together in council and decide to approach the *Ajoka* with regard to the matter. Three men, who are officially named Ungaiwa, Okello and Owango, are despatched by the council to the wizard informing him that the time has come when he should exercise his powers in rain-making. The function of the messengers appears to be limited to this and is hereditary. They are the eldest sons of others who have borne the same names and office. The origin of the custom of sending these messengers to the *Ajoka* in these circumstances is said to be lost in antiquity. When these approached, the *Ajoka* runs the seed to see if the time is propitious or not; and if not, to find out when it will be. In the course this point is settled and all the men of the tribe meet under the leadership of the old men. No women are present. An individual is called upon to supply a black goat (called *kimoy*). This he may not refuse to do. Then one of the men present must volunteer to supply, free of charge, a goat to replace the one given in sacrifice. The black goat is speared in the presence of all taking part in the ceremony, a fire is kindled and the goat is cooked. Two men are chosen by the elders to cut up the cooked meat and all portions of it. These all present thrust their hands into the air and call upon Lebanga to send rain. The *Ajoka*, although present, displays no apparent activity in connection with this function. If the rain does not fall within ten days the ceremony is repeated. No ointments are used; nor is a particular type of spear used in killing the goat.

(e) *Miscellaneous Beliefs and Customs, etc. Stone Circles.*—In Lolwese, as in many other parts of Uganda, one notes small circles of stones, twigs and grass, situated in passes through

* The practice of throwing the sandals is not the prerogative of the *Ajoka*. Others may indulge in it, but in this matter he is considered the expert. A detailed account of the signs to be read from the dispositions of the thrown sandals will be found in Dobbeg, p. 866. These are the same in Lango. I was unaware of it, however, when I obtained the necessary information in Lolwese, as I had not then seen Mr. Dobbeg's book.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926)-1931 FL6 Dorobo
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769 the hills. It is difficult to obtain concise information with regard to these, but it is, it seems,
778 "asking for trouble" if, when starting on a lengthy journey, one passes such a heap without adding to it a stone, a twig or two, or a few blades of grass. When doing this the contributor spits on the material in his hand that he is about to add to the pile and exclaims, "Ajok!"
[777] "Ajok!" This is a way of insuring good fortune, or rather averting misfortune (just as some Britishers walk round a ladder rather than under it). Esoterically, it is a mode of soliciting unseen powers—that is the spirits of the departed—and in this respect is rather like genuflection in some Christian practices. The act is performed in the hope of insuring good health and a sufficiency of food when away from home. It is not a practice among the tribes of Kavirondo,
[764] for it is among the Baganda, to pile stones on the graves of their dead; indeed, burial is uncommon in Kavirondo and some tribes never inter their dead, but all have this cult of the cairn, and curiously enough, one occasionally comes across a cairn dedicated to some departed hero. I shall refer to this matter again when dealing with the Dodetha.

845 *The Rik.*—The birth of twins is regarded as a fortunate occurrence, and a special shrine
[343] is erected, in this manner:—The umbilical cord is placed in a pot which is then lodged in a fork of a very low tree or shrub and a grass thatch is built over it (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2). The whole structure is known as *rik*. A chicken is slaughtered by the *rik* and eaten by the parents of the twins, the ashes from the fire being heaped up at the base of the bush, which holds the pot. The same *rik* may, should occasion require, be used repeatedly, but only by the same parents. In the event of the parents moving from one compound to dwell in another, they take the *rik* with them.

224 *The Abila.*—The chief function of the abila is to secure good hunting (Pl. XXII).
782 Before setting out, hunters spit upon their spears, lean them against the abila and call upon the dead to insure good sport. Should any one among them believe himself to have an enemy capable of injuring him by witchcraft so that the hunter may be
[784] wounded or killed during the chase, he pulls a blade or two of grass, spits upon this, then taps the abila with it taking it round the structure with a sweeping gesture, and cursing his enemy. He then tears the grass and throws it away. On their return from the field the hunters, if they have been successful, pour some of the blood of their kill on the ground at the base of the abila, and, when the meat has been taken from it, place the skull in the branches. If no kill has been made the huntsmen peg a chicken to the ground on its back at the base of the abila and drag their spears lightly across the body till blood appears.
[252] The bird is then killed, and at a little fireplace on the site (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1) it is cooked with
[273] beans, and stirred during the process with a twelve-inch stirrer (Text-fig. 10); beer is then drunk after it has been stirred with a certain stick (Text-fig. 10). A new abila is built every year in the place of an old one. When the rains cease, chicken and beer are prepared and eaten near the old abila, which is then demolished.

595 *Secret Societies.*—I have no definite information to give under this head. I have reason,

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo
Acholi FK4

Physical Measurements.—My measurements are few in number, but so far as they go they show the following:— 141

	m.m.
The average height of the men is	173·4
The tallest man measured was	180·1
The shortest man measured was	162·3
The average height of the women is	161·9
The tallest woman measured was	168·3
The shortest woman measured was	149·6
The average cephalic index of the men is	73·31
The average cephalic index of the women is	74·62

[412]

Fig. 47 Fig. 48.

FIGS. 47 AND 48.—WOODEN CHAIRS OF KAVIRONDO, SOUTH.

The cranial indices obtained are probably of very little value, and have therefore not been included in this paper; the great majority of cases were so fat that it was impossible to say exactly where they started, and so, for the sake of uniformity, they were taken as starting on a point on a line joining the pupils of the eyes when the line of sight was horizontal. According to classification of indices adopted, the measurements taken indicate a strong platyrrhine condition.

No.	Name.	Tribe.	Cephalic Index.				Remarks.
			L.	B.	I.	Height.	
1	Ogwang	Upsorom	75·00	55·0	73·33	170·0	Man of about 30 years.
2	Olwak	"	80·00	58·00	72·50	165·0	
3	Ongoi	"	82·72	60·00	72·50	172·0	Young man, 20 years.
4	Ohia	"	77·00	56·00	72·00	167·0	Boy about 12 years.
5	Obwolo	"	82·72	60·00	72·50	172·0	
6	Ongwayo	"	81·81	60·00	73·33	168·0	
7	Ochieng	"	82·72	60·00	72·50	172·0	
8	Ochieng	"	83·00	60·00	72·00	170·0	

FIGS. 1-20.

7: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 W.L.G. Dorobo
Acholi FK4
Jiye FK8
Lango FK9

A
141

No.	Name.	Tribe.	Cephalic Index.				Remarks.
			L.	B.	I.	Height.	

A
2
1971
192

Lotuko.

Here follows a short vocabulary in regard to show the relationship of the Lotuko tongue to those spoken by the peoples on the East and West of the area here dealt with. The materials collected is seen to be guaranteed.

Short Vocabulary.

English.	Lotuko.	Lango.	Kumam(pa).

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Acholi FKd
Jye FKE
Lango FK9

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(Short Vocabulary—(contd.))

English.	Lotuko.	Lango.	Kumam[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The Wanande.

Of all the tribes living in Kavirondo the Lowe are the most primitive and the Wanande the most so. It will be convenient to deal with them next.

Environment. The Wanande are a hill tribe. They live in rough mountainous country on the edge of the Kavirondo Plateau overlook, on the north-east of the district, to places altitude of seven (F. 5700, Fig. 1, and F. 5700). They are hemmed by the neighbouring tribes who, however, make use of them in many ways. Till very recently, the Wanande acted as a "go-between" during raids, and the Dakotho for traders for them, as the Wanande were very "cunning" or "ruthless with regard to stealing goods as the other. The Dakotho often refer to the Wanande as "monkey men" on account of their agility. The Wanande claim that they have never been raided.

[illegible]

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Physical Characteristics.—The Wandorobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dadoths and other tribes of Kavirondo (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 2 and 4). A few measurements are appended.

The Village.—The Wandorobo village (above) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, within the which every hut (lo, gulai) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Smaller doorways, easily closed by means of a sack of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact town. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 30), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens on the side, for storing grain and property;

Fig. 30.—*An abandoned hut (Tulwa).*

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the entry, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains.

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Lulwos, except that circumcision, apart from the aspirs, seems to be but little practised.

Livestock.—The Wandorobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dadoths, and they keep dogs.

[illegible] to be a recent event, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wandorobo are the richest growers of Kavirondo, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*bako*). In addition to this they grow a little sesame (*simsim*), bulrus corn (*nyabwanga*), and millet (*ngogo*)—a form of

A form of

[94] [177] [182] have called man's lowered hour-rigs. Planting is done in a season called *Lambeneng*, when there are, as should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemera*, a time of rain; and *Lelobeto*, a time of much rain.

825 *The Calendar.*—The Wambeetie are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lelenge *Lemeiko* *Lelem* *Lemm* ?	*Lenkeneng* *Lelenge* *Lemeiko* *Lelem* *Lemm* ?	*Lelenge* *Lenkeneng* *Lemeiko* *Lelem* *Lemm*	*Lelenge* *Lenkeneng* *Lemeiko* *Lelem* *Lemm*	*Lenkeneng* *Lemm* *Lelem* *Lelenge* ?

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned goats the Wambeetie will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of carrion or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyenas; nor do they eat chickens (the Dubdubs say that this is because they—the Wambeetie—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and beverages are not [222] the cool wide to the bees.

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is usual nothing 48.2 and circulates on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On not ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and tending water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

277 *Recreations.*—The Wambeetie have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

[238] *Slaughtering.*—The Wambeetie are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither [239] leathers nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using [240] goods as nothing pots). The latter is obtained from the Dubdubs in exchange for tobacco, [241] [Illegible] [Illegible] [Illegible

Social Organization.—*The Tribe.*—The Wanjohi are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kahuwan	Kahuwan	40
Ngaro	Kahuwan	30
Lukuma	Kahuwan	30

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not intimate, but they are congenial, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kahuwan (north of Kamanga). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Chiyuna and the Lukuma are both governed over by a headman (*gutchakalima*).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relatives. There are no official midwives, as among the Lukuma. The Wanjohi allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come into existence into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child accepts his father's fate, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usually among the Lukuma, except that the preparatory betrothal goes to the girl's people direct, without representation to the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents as both alike is necessary, and the number of gifts is five specified as 5 *n* among the Lukuma.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast to which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which the woman with him to his own village. Here to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partners, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief abuse is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty [illegible] of this is dealt with by her husband, other parties [illegible] being settled in private by the husband. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lukuma practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the dead always in all burials.

776 Mangwiro and Magwiro (Ana), the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called Chipindi. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Others say he is the man we sometimes [illegible] by means of sacrificing a goat to intercede in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

777 The wizard is known as Ngwenyeni. His functions are the same as those of the Ajuju of Loliondo, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wankonde a great rain-maker whose name, Lungulesi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wankonde themselves, but also by the Dadetha, the Ab. the Kamwanjiwa and the Tonkawa peoples, but not, however, by the Shellaga of the Kafue.

787 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Lungulesi, who would sit quietly smoking, as it is reported, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would betake himself to the centre of the village. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then perform themselves in a spot called Kalagwira, in a ravine that runs down into the Kiti valley, where grows a great fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and its blackest to the water, but not allowed to drink. After this it would be ignored in such a way that the memory of the occasion could be extracted without damaging its carcass, which would have to be killed with assegai. The procedure then was to fasten the goat to the top of the fig-tree, while Lungulesi called upon Kalunda to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's incantations, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, shake out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and hurl it away to a fire already prepared and ready. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in the course the rain would fall.

791 Lungulesi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a long among rain-makers. He is vaguely remembered by the Wankonde, who say that since his death (in the Tonkawa country) the rains have been great and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in the land. His son is, or was, a chief in Tonkawa. It is to be noted that Lungulesi was not a chief, but only and but a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of rain-specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[illegible] I recently conversed with the present Wankonde chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the great tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, or took I suppose me, for he disappeared and I met my escort party halted in their tracks. I never saw him again.

9 Apr 40 A few announcements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. These serve to indicate differences between the Wankonde and their neighbours. The most marked difference is perhaps in their speech, for although the Wankonde speak "Kunwanjiwa" the tongue which

(Both with dialectal variations, in common to the rest of Eumaeus [except the left tribes of Mount Belvedere (Parkland) and Mount Bunting, they form a language of their own.

Wisconsin Mountaineers, Hunter and Explorers.

Name	Occupation	Work				Height	Remarks
		Jr.	Sr.	Co.	Average Co.		

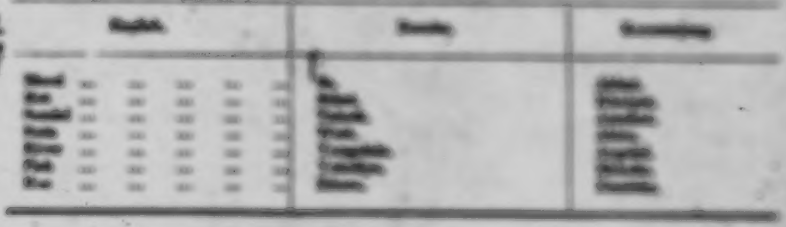
The word pronunciation tribes on this account.

Height Publishing

Height	Name	Surroundings

Y/Wayland H-3 Jan. 1932] 1931 P.L.S. Question P.L.S. P.L.S.

(Ennenjin Proficiency—Journal.)



The Dwellers.

The Dukeiba resemble the Lukwee and the Wandawiba in appearance and dress. Their country, like that of the Ila, is that of the plains; and, like the Ila and the Ennenjin, they are "cattle people" and possess enormous herds.

The Village.—The Dukeiba village (see p. 2227, Fig. 1)—unlike that of the Wandawiba, except that there is but one outer enclosure (a very strong one), and the interior enclosures round the best groups are to a greater or lesser extent omitted. There is also a special compound for cattle. The huts, too, are peaked and well made, and the entrances are larger than those of the Wandawiba.

The *pargings*[1] of the hut walls is done with clay and is rendered with cow-dung. A well-built hut has a little portico to the door and two upright supports, also pargied and rendered, are placed in front of this (Text-figs. 11, 12 a and 12 b).

Each village is the home of a patrilocal clan, his wives, sons and grandsons, and their wives and children. The villagers occur in widely separated groups, each group being occupied by a section of the tribe. The sections are exogamous and non-totemic.

Clothing and Adornment.—Little need be said under this head, for what is true of the Lukwee is also true of the Dukeiba in this respect. It may be mentioned, however, that the people are very fond of ornaments of all sorts, and not infrequently one sees old men whose heads are surrounded by a circlet of sheep's teeth (Pl. 2227, Fig. 2).

Food.—The essential food of the Dukeiba is blood, milk and meat. The first two they swallow raw. Now that they are growing grain this is eaten too. Very frequently it is mixed with fresh blood taken from live cattle bled at intervals for this purpose, or from a sheep or a goat, the body cavity of which is used when the animal is killed as a receptacle into which the warm blood is allowed to flow. Several kinds of grain have been introduced, but millet is by far the commonest grown. An attempt on the part of the District Commissioner in 1929 to introduce bananas proved a failure, owing to the long droughts from which the country suffers.

[1] "Parging" is an old-fashioned technical term for a process of covering the inside of chalk-work with cow-dung. Its modern equivalent is "rendering".

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Plate XX.

The Dx. Like the Dalatiks, whom they resemble very closely indeed, both in physical appearance and dress, are "white people," and this fact, coupled with the long annual [illegible] evolve these remarks. As they are under protection by the Kings [illegible] Rajas, they are becoming more agricultural and settled than they have been in the past. Down the [illegible], they are forced to abandon the plain at certain times of the year in order to secure dry weather growing grounds for their [illegible]. As they sometimes like Dalatiks establish temporary villages, each consisting of a number of [illegible] on the plains, often within every three miles.

The Village.—The Dx village is the same in construction as that of the Dalatiks.

Livestock, Agriculture and Food.—In respect of these the Dx practices are essentially the same as those of the Dalatiks, except as the land. The Dx will eat any flesh (including the [illegible]) excepting that of the snake. Certain birds are not accepted, and it is said that there is an association with regard to Abraham's flesh. There are, however, no [illegible] to the country.

Manufactures.—As with the Dalatiks, so with the Dx, except that the latter do not make flints and spears and bows. Also they obtain these the Lykans. They make both things, but no arrows. Some magnetite flints, as the Dalatiks do. Women make pottery of the kuih-ng class, and occasionally baskets. The latter are extremely [illegible] every [illegible]. Their spears are, of course, the long throwing [illegible] kind, made by the Lykans; but their shields are [illegible]-made. They are rather small and even [illegible] in shape, smelling [illegible], and are frequently ornamented with [illegible] dogs.

Social Organization.—(a) The Tribe.—The tribal [illegible] have been (p. 101), and for the rest, what is true of the Dalatiks is also true of the Dx, except that to the "old [illegible]" there exists, in addition to the [illegible] two chiefs. Especially was the name of one of these who lived at Lungatikam. The other was called Lungatiking, and lived at Batang. Under each of these chieftains were grouped certain sections of the tribe, so that it was virtually divided in two. It is to be noted that neither Duanyok or Lungatiking was a [illegible]. Both were [illegible].

(b) Kindred.—The [illegible] [illegible] with both on the same as those found among the Lykans.

(c) Marriage.—The arrangements for [illegible] are essentially the same as those of the Lykans, but the old man [illegible] gives [illegible] for his bride to his [illegible] amount is not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The woman's consent is essential, and in that of the parents as both sides. When an engagement is [illegible] made the prospective husband goes to the girl's village and brings her back to his own. There they are met by a [illegible] escort and conducted to the hut especially built for the couple by the husband's [illegible]. The escort [illegible] [illegible] the girl into the house and the [illegible] [illegible]. A lengthy speech is then made by the [illegible], who [illegible] the duties of married life. He then [illegible] the house, the door and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Should this [illegible] be [illegible], the marriage would be [illegible] [illegible].

without issue. On their ends the sandals (apparently) to refer to Scottish Inquisitor events by the young knight's future. On their soles [illegible] & ground sighting and hunting. Should they guess the reason to be Lunch, the Sentinel returns her to her parents and relieves the apprehension, or receives the explanation or confirmation.

(2) Sword.—Unlike the Dakotas, who do not have their land, the Ox invariably practice Circumcision. They do not, however, like the Indians. The corpse is laid out on its back, thoughts out of the hut to a distance direction, and buried over the hut, in such a way that the hut grave is the same direction as that upon which the face of the hut opens. The belongings are buried with the dead, and are always hanged on the grave.

(3) Age Classes.—A world likewise an infinite recognition of Sons.

(4) Crime and Punishment.—The chief crime appears to be adultery, for which the punishment by tribal law is death to the offending men. As to the minor evils, all the belongings are taken from him, also is turned loose and has cast into the bush. There also is left to die, and nobody would think of attempting to rescue him. He is an outcast.

Religion and Magic.—The name of God we shall bring, as with all the tribes of Sovereign & Police (all the Dakotas agreement). When a man dies, his spirit (ogaire) flies into the bush, whether the agreement proceeds to caution it, by guardian, back to the village. In the village a fire grave (on which food is erected), and small offerings of food are put into it every day. The spirits of the dead are black, and they are one with Jah.

Among the Lutons, it will be remembered, there is but one wizard (the Ajaire). As the Sovereign (and the Dakotas), have several. While there are male wizards, as many wizard is, they are not their and foremost and remarkably wide-awake as Laughter the Dakotas men-can to the guardian, when walking was, to bring a wonderful and wizard black goat from a tree top. Their performances appear to have been the peculiar prerogative of Laughter, of any rank as for as Sovereign is concerned. Among the Ox, one is brought by the guardian and completed writing of a gaze. Ox wizardness are each. It is considered that delinquent ob-tain easy by the wizards of certain graves graham the one from killing it with [illegible] that the agreement has waved the wizard or gaiters. In this case, if the attacks of [illegible] to a god to death.

The functions of the agreement are essentially the same as those of the Bride of Lutons. In the case of the Dakota Sovereign, he may not marry except in to the daughter of another agreement, one that is in any way has treated them. Likewise, as in a wizard's grave are concerned, a son succeeds to the agreement, and in the absence of his wizard he will marry on his face, and may continue to be a office by them. There do not appear to be any restrictions or gradations provided in the Lands of the agreement.

(5) Co-operative Associations.—It is said that a agreement were the best handful of wizard, but no data are obtained on the merging of the grave.

Page 3 of 3

Exercises

1. Physiology is the study of the functions of living organisms and their parts. Explain why it is important to understand physiology before studying pathology.

2. Define the following terms:

Anabolism	Building up of complex substances from simpler ones
Catabolism	Breaking down of complex substances into simpler ones
Metabolism	The sum of anabolism and catabolism
Homeostasis	The maintenance of a relatively stable internal environment
Negative feedback	A control mechanism that reduces the output of a system when it exceeds a set point
Positive feedback	A control mechanism that amplifies the output of a system
Set point	The value around which a variable is regulated
Stimulus	A change in the environment that can be detected by a receptor
Response	The reaction of an effector to a stimulus

3. Explain why a thermostat is a useful analogy for homeostasis. Identify the receptor, control centre, effector, and set point in a thermostat.

4. Classify each of the following as negative feedback or positive feedback:

(a) Sweating when body temperature rises above normal

(b) Blood clotting after a cut

(c) Contraction of uterine muscle during childbirth

(d) Shivering when body temperature falls below normal

(e) Production of more red blood cells when oxygen levels are low

5. Explain why positive feedback is rare in biological systems. Give one example where it is essential.

6. Describe the difference between a receptor and an effector. Give one example of each.

7. Explain why the body's internal environment must be maintained within narrow limits. What would happen if core body temperature rose by 5 °C and remained there?

8. Distinguish between the terms *anabolism* and *catabolism*. Which of these processes releases energy? Which requires energy?

9. Explain why the control centre in a homeostatic mechanism is usually located in the brain or spinal cord rather than in the effector organ.

10. Describe how the body responds to a fall in blood glucose concentration. Include the receptor, control centre, effector, and the hormone involved.

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[illegible]

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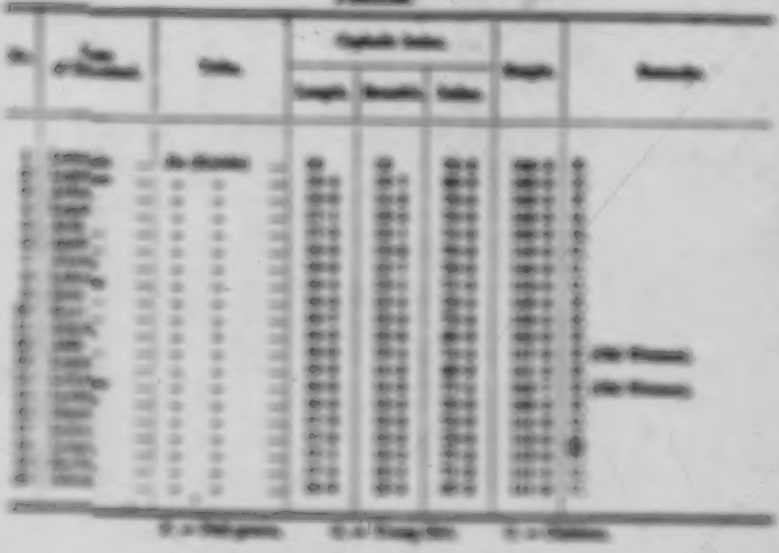

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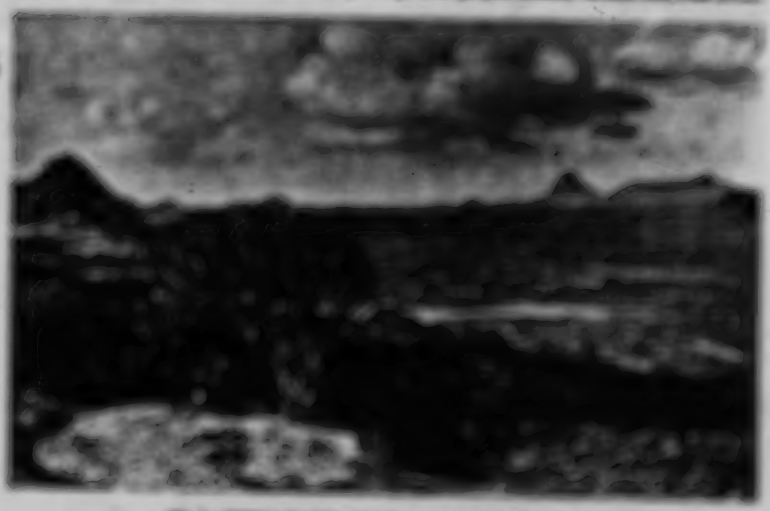

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Part I

History of the Initial Occupation of the Land

By

[illegible]

[illegible]

University of Cape Town

1960

/Title Page/

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NOTE

[illegible] The Kenya Land Unit is referred to as the Unit. The Commission appointed in September, 1955, "to investigate the system of Native Land Tenure within the Native Reserves of the Kikuyu Province" is referred to as the 1955 Committee. The Commission appointed in April, 1945, to consider and report upon certain land problems in the Colony of Kenya, commonly known as the Kenya Land Commission and the Akiwa Carter Commission, is referred to as the Land Commission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[illegible] I am extraordinarily indebted to Dr. L.S.B. Leakey for allowing me access to certain chapters of his hitherto unpublished study of the Kikuyu, to Mr. W.M. Laughton for permitting me to read the manuscript of his monograph An Introductory Study of the Kikuyu Mind and to the Rev. F. W. Hunt for a copy of his Faith in Kikuyu Tribal Law.

[illegible]

[illegible]

(2)

4b. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of pastoralists in the occupation of the west are held by the tribes of the list is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and to give of the continued existence of 'packets' of so-called Dorobo in many part of East Africa we feel ourselves keen with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very common term. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other hunting tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departure from that type by admixture in varying amounts of Bantu and Nilo blood. Others (including many Africans) hold that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo class is only a step behind while the others, due in part to population pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

Dr. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1885 in connection, gives the following account:

> "The tribe - for the two subtribes of the Ko-ekithi - is a small race of people scattered over those land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes ready to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Ko-ekithi are to be found only where these animals abound, as for instance

1. To the Akamba of the present time Akamba signifies a Akamba who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Akamba, while Dorobo signifies a Akamba (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and lives as part in agriculture.

"In each of
in the dense forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the Kikuyu, the Kamasia
mountains of Elgon, the hill of Elgeyo, Kikuyuland, Ukambaland
ni, Teita, Shambala etc. They are rarely found in numbers and
usually in very small villages, so that even in settling the tribal
ties among them. They enjoy considerable immunity
from attack by the Masai, as they are useful to the
tribe by attending to most duties; usually, too, the Masai
kill two or a considerable part of the body. They also act as
go-betweens or middlemen in getting the required people the
vegetable food they require. It will be seen in the queer
contrast, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place
called by the native Gumuru-ni, a very large village of
Dorobo have altogether given up hunting, and almost entire-
ly by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it
again to the Masai as it may be the cattle.

"The language spoken by the Dorobo is allied to that of
the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They
build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble
the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they
make no definite trade dealings of the sexes as well as the
more serious nothing-pass of the women. They are on the
whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly.
Their connection with the native must be done secretly, or
everything would be taken from them."

Mr. C. W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Eastern Bantu and
Kikuyu, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means arrow fly. The name is an aboriginal
race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in
East Africa. They call themselves Ak and the Kikuyu call them
Aik. The name of the Aik River is believed to be a corruption
of Aik."

Boundaries - C.O. (no. 1895-1900) 1905 Sub Dandu Fol

/At end/

The "Dondo Commission" of 1905, appointed to investigate and (1)
make recommendations regarding accommodation for the various sections of the Dondo, defined the word in a general way including most kinds of hunting people, who were mostly in constant touch with no tribal organisation, were generally known by the name of some river or hill where they were found, and were pre-tribal and pre-pastoral.

Sir. The Kenya Land Commission was presented with at least two lengthy memoranda on the subject. One was that of Mr. C. W. H. Huntingford, the Local Correspondent for Kenya of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Mr. Huntingford, inter alia, said:

> "The hunting tribes who live in various forest regions of Kenya Colony are termed collectively Dondo, or, in their own language, Okiek .... The Dondo are the nearest approach to aboriginal inhabitants to be found in Kenya .... The Dondo are not an alien tribe. They are by far the most primitive in Kenya, and incredibly shy."

In another memorandum Mr. Huntingford gave his views as to Dondo relationships:

> /(a)/ "The Dondo are members of the race of hunters to which belong also the Wasia or Wa of Elgeyoland, the Suiya Nagwia of Turkland, the Boni of Jubaland, the Wakigui of Ismail, the Aramogoin[1] of the Tana Rivers, the Dume of Lake Rudolf,

---

1. This is apparently a Boni word meaning 'those born forest'. They are possibly a sub-section of the Wakigui section. But cf. Ashley in Kenya: From Chartered Company to Crown Colony: "... while camped at the Tana confluence, we got into touch with a curious tribe, generally known as the Wa-Langulo, this being a nickname given to them by the Boni hunters tribe which means 'those who eat pig'. The Wa-Langulo are really akin to the Galla; further north they are called the Wa-Sania, and their language is a dialect of Galla. They are a hunting people and roam about in the arid tract/land which lies behind the coastal belt from the Tana River to what was then the Anglo-German border. If they shoot an elephant one tusk is given to the Galla chief."

/B cont'd/

and the Pygmies of Ituriensis. The Duru may be the same as the Lesse of the Egyptian inscriptions of the XII Dynasty, though certain Sudan authorities think the Lesse 'D' may not be part of the word. But the Lesse call the Swahili Wanga, plural Wangaa[1], which may date a name like L, with a plural suffix in 'D'; if so can accept this, we may see in Lesse a reduplication of the name Wa with a suffix 'D', and if we may identify the Duru with the Lesse, we have historical evidence of the antiquity of the hunting tribes, and confirmation of the Twa and Wazai view that the Swahili are the assimilated aristocrats of Eastern Africa."

/A/

The following is extracted from a communication addressed by Dr. Cyprian O.P. Greenham, C.B.E., F.R.A.I.C.

"There seems little doubt that the greater part of Eastern and Central Africa, from the coasts to the Congo forests, was originally inhabited in early times by short-statured peoples akin to the Pygmies of the Congo forests and the Bushmen of South Africa. By a series, five of these invasions, and seen by travellers of their duration, these little people have been split up, are dominated or absorbed in and by these late arrivals, and so are lost in various parts of the country remnants of them only, some having adopted the speech and customs of the invaders either in part or wholly, and all of them living lives of hunters in the hills and forests, few owning property except dogs. The most of these not with today are of mixed origin. Perhaps the best known are the Swahili (El Twaga or Swahili). The Swahili, like the Ogumba and neighbour peoples, are hunters ...

/B/

1. This would connect the Wanga with the Twa. But the peoples of the northern coast identify the Wanga with the Swahili and consider the Twa a separate people.

[illegible]

(2 cont'd)

Physically, the Dorobo are poorly, presumably according to the amount of mixture of other races in their blood. Some are very like the Bushmen, and therefore retain many native characteristics, while others are almost indistinguishable from the semi-Hamitic negroes, having lost many original characteristics and having adopted many of the Hamitic methods and customs. They, however, retain many primitive feelings, and, except in 6 villages (Kapsoo), so far as I know, the Dorobo keep no domestic animals except the dog. Being by nature hunters, and semi-nomadic, it is not expected that many members will ever become greatly, for they will in time become mostly absorbed in surrounding tribes .... In the country now occupied by the Kikuyu there were once many Dorobi people also in the Dorobo (or their predecessors) and the Ogiek. The Kikuyu are a Bantu tribe .... They attribute their origin to the Dorobo. They are invaders of the highlands, where they still do, intermarried or absorbed the original Dorobi (the Ukambani, Meru or Ogiek) and Dorobo .... The present density of population of the [illegible] Kikuyu is comparatively recent. They are comparatively recent migrants into the highlands. The low-fertile plains previously occupied by them were not rich enough, and a growing need for land gradually forced them up to the lower belts of Mount Kenya, destroying or absorbing the aborigines as they advanced .... In the A-Dorobo section, one may observe Kikuyu with Bushman-like features as a result of their absorption of the primitive Ogiek and Dorobo, while in other sections, the Kikuyu show a more Hamitic type of appearance as a result of Masai domination .... The Dorobo have been here for many thousands of years, being probably the original or almost the original inhabitants...."

61. But we should certainly not be justified, without further evidence, in assuming that all these hunting people were closely related or had a common aboriginal ancestor in Africa merely because they can be conveniently classed together as hunting tribes.

[illegible]
[illegible] the dreams a fact, to a very general extent, they have a common [illegible]
culture. All the tribes in the Lesei Unit, except the Sikiko and Wawes, with the 1956 Commission that they were in fact those of culture are set as they are.

40. Somewhat different groupings of tribes and sub-tribes into peoples descended from the original Swede tribe were given in evidence before the Land Commission by another authority, Mr. Clarence Leach, based on information he had acquired by means of his position as "a chief tribe to many tribes that are". He said:

> "As a result of my researches, I find that the Swedes are generally correctly the original settlers of this Colony, and have [illegible] many generations and thousands of years. The Swedes are a people, are always a part of a people;" the Swedes are the people where we have as Swedes all through Wawes and Colonys, but when we come up here" (i.e. to the vicinity of Ovalau) "the Swedes is not a Swedes any longer in the same way. Chief Away Kaisi and his tribes and those tribes on Rigas are also the original Swedes ... Of the Wawes, counties be were originally Swedes, viz.,- the Kaisi and the Wanitawia ... There are three groups ... the Wainawa, the Wamaiwia and the Tavawas or Waibeen. These three peoples were original inhabitants, and, vanquished by the incoming Wawes, were incorporated and grouped under the division of the Wawes called the Waibiyan, together with the [illegible] and the Wanggarua, who wandered in from the north, and fought here on the borders [illegible] for a very long period, eventually making a branch in what are called the Swedes, who are the original tribes, of which the Bagitaki and the Kaisi appear to be sub-tribes. They all belong together ... The three fire-named peoples came from the Coast and claim to be of the same descent as the Kaisi. They came up here and mixed with the Swedes ... Away Kaisi is of royal blood; I know him well, and can trace his pedigree back for hundreds and hundreds of years ... (Away Kaisi's tribe) have owned Rigas for thousands of years ... He belongs to the group [illegible]

/22 cont'd/

ruled the Lake Victoria Basin, who owned all the land. They are the ancient Bantuse[1], the bulk of whom passed down into the south. /23/ There are scattered remains of Bantu round Kilimanjaro, the rest of the group are to be seen in South Africa. These people held title to land here for thousands and thousands of years .... the Dorobo were the aborigines of the country .... the Dorobo were the original owners of cattle, and the Masai and others took their cattle from the Dorobo; they took others too."

/24

66. Carbide Lord differs from the "Dorobo Committee" in that he makes the Dorobo pre-tribal and pre-pastoral rather than pre-tribal and pre-pastoral, the tribe having suffered disintegration at the hands of persons invaders who took their cattle from them.

67. We thus have two views of the Dorobo tribe which are extremely difficult to reconcile. One view is that the Dorobo were originally primitive people of a Bushman type, in a hunting, trapping stage of culture, which culture they retained in spite of many years (in certain sections) of Negro and Nilo-Hamitic blood. They neither kept cattle nor cultivated. The other is that the Dorobo were the aristocrats, the only pure-blood in Eastern Africa, in whose representation of their own blue blood, unmixed

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[1] /23/. The Bantuse have been held responsible for various holes in the ground in the Nyanza Province and elsewhere, which are in fact known as "Bantuse holes", and were apparently used as dwellings. But Mr. J.G. Hamilton Rae, in a memorandum submitted to the Land Commission, writes: "At some remote period, probably not less than 200 years ago, a tribe, about which very little indeed is known, called the Bantuse, entered Elgeyo from the north and north-west. They built huts on stone plinths some of which remain to this day in various parts of Elgeyo proper. It has been suggested that they were responsible for the admirably engineered series of irrigation furrows in North Marakwet and Endo". If the Bantuse were capable of such engineering it would seem that the "Bantuse holes" should be attributed to another people, possibly of the Cushite type.

/38 cont'd/

intermarriage by effeminate rape which has continued by peaceful penetration, raised a type of homosexual (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to Samoritan. There is very little in general principle common to them not even enough that the Dorobo, if it suppose them, can claim some small degree of ethnic identity in both.

Mr. D. L. S. Lesley told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the ancient of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in the country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Uasin Gishu today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Nandi, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kipkabus there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu .... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

Mr. Worden's Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Ki-Kumbo of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kenya repudiate the and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumbo blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... soon after the Gumbo had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aatie, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

/58 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty. D 174 144

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Keflita, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In this Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only. N D 197 D [191] D [197] N D 192 197

/59 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
one	agenge	akenge	
two	oii	oieng'	
three	thumuk	somok	
four	ang'wan	ang'wan	ong'wan
five	mut	mut	(imyet)
six	kot	ilio	(ilie)
seven	nabishana		naapishana
eight	isiit	sisiit	isyet
nine	naudo		naudo
ten	taman	taman	tomon
twelve	taman ag oii	taman ak oieng'	
hundred	ib		ip
man	chiito, or ng'etat	chiito	
woman	chibagat		
women	oruuhik	koruiek	
warriors	murenik	murenik	il-muran
girls	tibik	tipik	
elder, old man	boiyondet	poiyot	
leopard	melildo	melildo (Kipsigis)	
lion	ngetundo	ng'etundo	
elephant	kiruubit		
forest pig	tumda	tumda	
goat	artet	artet	
ram	mingit	mengit	
heifer	iyuboget		
cow	tullondit	iyunget	
bullock	hito	eito	
rain	bwaget		
sun	athita	asista	
food	imdit	omdit	
hot	kot	kaita, kot	
tree	ketit	ketit	
war	luget	luket	

/59 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
witchdoctor	bonindet	ponindet	(ol-oibon)
Masai	iguobshondit	ipuapehot	
Kamba	ilong'u		'l-oo-ng'u (the stinkers)
Kikuyu	igue, kugwii		il-kokoyo
Dorobo	ogiek (pl.)	okiek (pl.)	
Swahili	Kong'aiek (pl.)		
European	ojuju (pl. ijuju)		'l-ojuju (the hairy ones)/60/
come	nyon	nyo	
go	ui	ui	
follow	nyur		
buy	ol	al (ol)	
eat	nuth		
want	moth	mach	
tie	rat	rat	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Dorobo words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with untrained minds: they are so apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but smothered under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Dorobo to some other dialect if such a relationship exists in fact.

67. And that, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Dorobo people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. Just what these people were we cannot yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being something other than a Bantu-speaking tribe, and Nilo-Hamite of a Nandi type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be unsafe to base our findings on their language, but if we permit ourselves to talk of Bantu immigrations from the east and Nilo-Hamite

/60 cont'd/

immigrations from the north, we may perhaps believe the Dorobo to be an early instance of the second rather than the first, a tribe that scattered widely over country sparsely occupied before the main invasions and confined itself to hunting on the plains and in the fringes of the forests, where they encountered pygmy peoples of an occupation very much like their own, but of a lower culture, peoples, scarcely tribes, who soon retreated more and more into the forest depths and left the plains, so plentiful in game, to their more vigorous, better organized successors. Thereafter, when the Bantu immigrations became effective, these hunters in their turn were forced into the forests or into more remote, more arid semi-deserts, unfitted for the closely-settled mode of life the Bantu hordes were ultimately certain to adopt. We may suppose that there was some absorption of the Bushman dwarfs whose means of sustenance were much the same as their own, and we may suppose the Bantu, in the early days, were also essentially hunters, but had learned to some extent the mysteries of agriculture on the coast or in the immediate hinterland in contact with the immigrants from western Asia (who no doubt had pressed them or their like into their service and had had to raise an annual food supply from fertile soil inside the coastal strip to keep a labour force alive to yield their incomes from plantations of perennials). So they depended less on unassisted Nature. Then came the main Nilotic and Hamitic[1] armies

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1. Cf. Johnston (op. cit.): "... it is evident that Equatorial Africa was at one time almost continuously Bantu in speech ... from the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza to the Indian Ocean; and that into this Bantu sphere there came, several centuries ago, hordes of invading Nilotic Masai, Dorobo, Nandi, and Ja-Luo. These invasions reduced the area of the Bantu languages in Equatorial East Africa to islands and peninsulas." In my conjectural account I have put the Dorobo influx as earlier not merely than the Nilo-Hamitic immigration but earlier than the most northerly Bantu immigration (from the east) as well. This seems to be essential to an explanation of the facts of distribution and possibly language.

/60 cont'd/
from the north and east which forced the Bantu /61/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organized for war and rapine. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

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1. So one hears of Masai Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Committee" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Giriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Giriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Committee remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Giriama in exchange for beer, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for luxuries and service. The institution of "Shegat" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of interior status and dependence of the Shegat section, who none the less retain a theoretical freedom in the body politic.

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/61 cont'd/

freemen in theory but only while the tolerance of the far more powerful tribes who were their neighbours could be gained by service and their power to appease - service as hunters and possibly as spies on other peoples, potentially the rivals of their hosts, and appeasement by their readiness to seek protection, to renounce their tribal pride and unity in favour of adoption[2] into other clans. They would become, if not the parasites on social orders different from their own, at best the junior partners in a symbiosis which, while to them it meant individual preservation at the risk of tribal death, would, to their seniors, mean no more than a corps of military intelligencers costing nothing.

And as to those electing to continue their former mode of life or to re turn to it, not among Africans alone are people[3] who find the "madding crowd" so irksome that they readily go back a stage or two in cultural trends in order to avoid it. To many a member of a "highly cultured" race a back-to-nature substitution of a complex, regimented, shoulder-rubbing life by pasturage or venery connotes no retrogression, but rather the reverse. For though the "noble savage" may have been discredited by later study, modern humankind, still ill-adapted to a repetition of itself in every acre, is prone to envy him.

/62/ 68. Dorobo and Meru

We must now see to what extent these Dorobo peoples - whatever they were - impinged on the tribes of the Land Unit when the latter entered the countries they now occupy. The Meru people

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2. In the case of the Dorobo from whom the Karura Kikuyu "bought" their lands, it seems that it was often the Dorobo who sought adoption. No doubt the Kikuyu in such a case would make the right to cultivate a condition of compliance. [648]

3. I have heard the Embu refer to professional big-game hunters as European Dorobo.

/62 cont'd/

told the 1929 Committee that they knew no aboriginals (Gumba), and said "There was no other tribe in the Forest when we came" and "We only know of Kikuyu, Wakamba, Masai, Samburu" by which they meant that these four tribes were the only African strangers they had encountered in their present territory. They had just previously told the Committee that they had fought the Mwoko for possession of the salt-licks and had driven out the Masai. 194

But when the Meru said "Samburu" they meant Dorobo, and there were in fact two Dorobo present at the baraza. They were probably of the Il Imwesi section, who were almost certainly the Dorobo mentioned by Neumann in his Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa as living near Katheri (in Upper Abothuguchi). Neumann wrote:

> "The lower slopes were probably all forest once, but much has been cleared, and a large proportion of the land is cultivated by the natives, who are numerous here ... All these people are akin to those of Kikuyu, but there is a clan of WaKuavi (a branch of the Masai) living alongside of Katheri, and a community of Ndorobos too. Thus three distinct races, with different customs, live side by side."

69. It is not altogether certain, however, that the Kwavi were not Masai Dorobo rather than Masai. Most writers who mention them appear to have considered them a section of the Masai who had taken to agriculture, and Johnston in his Uganda Protectorate says:

> "These settlements of agricultural Masai in that direction (i.e. towards the Coast) were called by the Swahili traders 'Kwavi', name that no Masai can recognise or explain, but which has been perpetuated owing to its adoption by Krapf."

Bader, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, suggested that the word kwavi was a Swahili corruption of the Masai word kop or

/62 cont'd/
ngop, and Chief Ole Masikonde of the Purko Masai said that Loikop (meaning "wealthy cattle man") was still used by the Masai in a boastful sense. The Samburu call themselves Lokobb (a corruption of Loikop). Joseph Thomson in his Through Masailand tells how the agricultural Masai (the Kwavi), defeated by the pastoral Masai, fled in scattered bands to various places, including Laikipia and Uasin Gishu, only to be cut up and scattered again in later fighting. So that, if the Kwavi were originally Dorobo and not agricultural Masai, we have some confirmation of Mr. Cardale Luck's statement that the Uasin Gishu Masai were Dorobo in origin, and a quite good reason why the Meru should call the Dorobo by the name Samburu. Native opinion does not always, it would seem, identify Kwavi with Masai. Dundas' informants, detailing the origins of Chaga clans, apparently distinguished between the two, and the astonishing but matter-of-fact story of the Kwavi given by Mohamed bin Uweki Shoo to the Land Commission makes the relationship between the two that of blood-brotherhood, not common origin. 174

Krapf, in Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa, writes consistently of the "Wakuafi and Masai tribes" as though he considered them distinct, though similar and apparently related, and in fact he refers to "The Wakuafi, brothers of the Masai".

70. Of the Il Imwesi, who were certainly in contact with the Meru until recent times, Mr. K.G. Lindsay wrote:

> /63/ "Originally hunters, they were for years in occupation of the forest area behind Katheri location in Mount Kenya. As the Meru acquired stock they were gradually driven out of the high ground, and migrated down to the plains at Lewa, where they grazed the stock which they themselves had acquired from early traders such as Gluxelic, a German ivory trader, whom they remember as Bwana Rupia, and Mr. Neumann. They gradually spread down to the Ngare Ndare, due to the alienation of land for white settlement, and were there twenty-five years ago when Mr. Horne first brought them under administration. Their language is Masai",[1]

/63 cont'd/

It would seem that the Il Imwesi, though known to European settlers as "Meru Dorobo", affected the Meru very little. They were squeezed out of Katheri by the Meru and then out of the Loldaigas and the Lewa area by Europeans. They were moved back to the Meru District about 1925 and out of it again some twelve years later. 194

71. Dorobo and Mwimbi

The Mwimbi told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo used to come and go, and the implication was that there was little contact between the two tribes. It was, however, generally believed that their spokesman himself, Mbogore, had Dorobo blood in his veins. The Mwimbi failed to mention the Mwoko (Mukoko), who were possibly, according to Mr. Gurney's account, connected with them. They are noticed here because it does not seem too far-fetched to identify the "ancient Mukoko" of that account with the present Mukogodo of Nyeri District, and these Mukogodo claim, according to Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum to the Land Commission, to be pure Dorobo, though the "Dorobo Committee" reported that they were said not to be Dorobo at all, but a separate tribe living on and around the Mukogodo hills and believed to have been there from time immemorial, and that there were two sections of them, a stock-owning section who lived on the plains, and a stockless section who lived on shelves in the hills. The former might well be of the type the Meru encountered on the Tigania plains and fill Mr. Lindsay's description of the Mukogodo as "probably of Galla origin", and the latter may be true Dorobo hunters and identifiable with the Mukoko of Mr. Gurney's account. If so, one must suppose that the Mukogodo afford another instance of a symbiosis between a pastoral Hamitic tribe and a forest-dwelling hunting Dorobo type. Mr. Huntingford[2] expresses doubts about the Mukogodo similar to those of the "Dorobo Committee" and remarks: 178 101

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1. Memorandum submitted to the Land Commission.

2. loc. cit.

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"There are nine groups of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi had a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mwolo or both than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be indicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi with the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes call Mokuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbi who went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in open baraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to the Mwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was named Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the north with most of his people.

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/64/ 72. Dorobo and Chuka, etc.

There is very little evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Mutambi, Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contact in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the minor tribes know of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, that there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lasting impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. None the less there is credible evidence (not advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement near Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of the present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mwea, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gichugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

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a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country". 648 101

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [582]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

/64 cont'd/

"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Ahoni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

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Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being the common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Honi. Ahoni in Kikuyu means "the Honi people", and honi may be related to an original Nyika stem foni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by n, would give mboni in Ndia and honi in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

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The Ndigiri may have been on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An old man from Igoji told me that the Dorobo formerly thereabouts were known as the Ndigiri or Mokuru, and there is a place in Imenti called "Muromo-Ntigiri" - "Doorway of the Ndigiri" - said to be on the track by which the Ndigiri migrated northwards, though the name might possibly refer to nothing but a path once used for donkey transport. 101

It is possible, indeed, that the Ndigiri are (or were) very widespread in the eastern half of Kenya, for it seems unreasonably not to identify them with the Wadegere of the southern coast, of whom Captain C.T. Davenport, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, says:

> "The aboriginal inhabitants of the (Duruma) country were a tribe of hunters called Wadegere, who, but for two or three small settlements where their language is still spoken, are extinct, either through disease or through absorption by the surrounding tribes; probably the latter".

Possibly the Ndighiri "clan" of the Taveta are also Ndigiri Dorobo in origin.

75. Dorobo and Metume Kikuyu 101 648

The Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee:-

> "There were no Dorobo here" (i.e. when the Kikuyu arrived) "the nearest were on the Mau".

But Commander Lawford appears to have been informed a good many years before, when he was District Commissioner, Fort Hall, that "in years long past" the Kikuyu country, then being forest, was "in the tenure of Wanderobo"[2], and, earlier still, Mr. L. Talbot Smith, who was District Commissioner from 1908 to 1910, recorded in the Political Record that

2. Quoted by Beech, loc. cit.

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"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Anderobo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu country by stress of famine and found it occupied by Anderobo. The Anderobo seem to have received these emigrants hospitably and to have sold them shambas which were originally demarcated by planting 'kihutia' shoots and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the shambas to this day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu shambas the bulk of the Anderobo were driven from the country".

76. Dorobo and Karura Kikuyu

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In regard to the territory south of the Chania River (the present Kiambu District) it may be said with confidence that the forest areas (much more extensive then than now) were in the occupation, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dorobo people at the time of the Kikuyu influx. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wanderobo who were hunters ... There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania".

The Committee recorded the opinion that "the Kiambu District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dorobo were hunting over it."

Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dorobo with whom the Kikuyu came into contact. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Wanderobo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of that part of the country" i.e. the Fort Hall area, "and the only previous inhabitants seem to have been a tribe called by the Kikuyu Gumba, or Maitho a Ciana. These people, from all accounts, must have been a pygmy race, few in numbers, and having no organised land occupation even for hunting purposes.

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"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

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"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

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The people call themselves Ogiek. The Keriita section has nine clans, as follows: Kapkibotome, Kamwibu, Kapgwathiru, Kapieldegwa, Kabumbuit, Kapchoiro, Kamuri, Kabiaiya, and Kaplogwe. These are said to be exogamous. The prefix kap suggests that they were at one time territorial. The Kikuyu mbari ya is sometimes heard in place of this prefix, thus mbari ya Kibotome, mbari ya Mwibu, etc. There are said to be other clans which are not represented at Keriita. 614 [582]

If one asks an old man what his clan is he will very likely name one of the following instead of one of those given above: Il-mogethenithiek, Ilugumonithiek, Il-mulelionithiek, Iraitheriek, Il-bargenetithiek, Il-taretheru, Il-kiboronithiek, Il-aitaiyuk, and Il-giringishu. It will be noticed that most of these have both the Masai and the Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The first eight correspond to the Masai clans or sub-clans Il-Mokesen, Il-Lughumae, Il-Molelyan, 'L-Aiser, Il-Parkeneti, Il-Tarosero, Il-Kiporon and 'L-Aitayok respectively, and the ninth is clearly a Masai name. Sometimes a more Bantu-sounding variation is heard, Mugethe instead of Il-mogethenithiek and Ndaruthiru instead of Il-taretheru for instance.

/68/ Occasionally an old man will name one of the nine Kikuyu major clans as his clan, and I was told that there is a correspondence between the nine Kikuyu major clans, the nine named Masai clans, and the nine Dorobo clans, but lists of such alleged correspondences vary with the informant and no informant that I discovered could give a complete list. This is not surprising, for the Masai correspondences are said to be based on friendship and the Kikuyu correspondences on blood-brotherhood, both of which probably affected individual families rather than whole clans.

The word used for "clan" is olgelatait (pl. ilgelataithiek), which has both the Masai and Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The former is frequently omitted. This word may be the same as the Masai ol-ng'elata, which Hollis translates as "the plain between two hills". This again suggests clan-territoriality, as the word may have been used by the Dorobo to mean a stretch of country inside natural boundaries, e.g. rivers.

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Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is cunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

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Aberdares and at Kijabe. In Mr. Huntingford's classification they are presumably included in the Masai group, called Kidong, or in the Kikuyu group, called Digiri. 191 194 101 648

79. It is probable that the Dorobo who lived well inside the forests south of the Chania were entirely independent of any other tribe until the Kikuyu arrived and occupied their country and gradually turned them into the half-absorbed, half-expelled people now known as the Kikuyu Dorobo, but that those living in the fringes of the forest and carrying their hunting expeditions into the plains were already under the influence -- almost under the aegis, if not the suzerainty -- of the Masai. We find them referred to occasionally as the Kaputiei Dorobo and it is not altogether too much of a strain on the imagination to suppose that the /88/ relationship was really not so much one of symbiosis or semi-dependence as one of common origin but different culture, the Dorobo and the Kaputiei representing respectively the section of a tribe which had preferred to remain in its original state of untrammelled freedom and the section of the same tribe which had assumed a pastoral life and had had a Masai militarism thrust upon it, and had as well perhaps absorbed a modicum of the Masai blood. Such a flight of the imagination would merely bring us nearer to Mr. Cardale Lock's hypothesis that the "Kabti" Masai were originally Dorobo, and possibly serve to explain the Kikuyu name of "Andu a Kabeta" for the most southerly section of themselves, of whom he says, "There is a third group generally called the Kabete Kikuyu ... who have intermarried with Masai, mainly Kabte, and with their Dorobo". The word Kabte (or Kapte) certainly has more of a Nandi (and consequently, perhaps, Dorobo) than Masai flavour, and it is among the Southern Kikuyu that the two guilds, to which Hobley called attention and which he named the Kikuyu and the Masai, with differing customs in certain aspects of the social life, such as initiation, are particularly intermixed. The Kikuyu call the latter the Ukabi guild, wherein we see perhaps a recurrence of the same stem kap, though the word ukabi has generally been related to the Swahili ukwasi, derived by Roder from the Masai stem ngap. The Rev. Canon Leakey, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, said: 194 101

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"... the late Rev. W.A. McGregor ... had been living ... latterly on the Church Missionary Society Station which he founded and called Kiburuburini, and which later I renamed Kabete, reintroducing an old but almost lost Kikuyu name".

which suggests that the alternative to "Andu a Karura" was based on an old tribal or sub-tribal name rather than on the name of some physiographical feature[1]. On these grounds it might be argued that though the predominating factor in the ethnological make-up of the southernmost Kikuyu is an influx of Kikuyu proper from Metume the people recognize (or used to recognize) a very considerable element of Kaputiei (Kabete, perhaps the same as Kwavi) blood, which may itself have had its origin in a Dorobo tribe[2]. The similarity of the word Kabete to the names of Dorobo clans may be significant.

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1. The actual place originally called Kabete is an open piece of ground in the vicinity, where water stands after the rains.

2. The following is an extract from Chief Koinange's evidence before the Land Commission: "... most of the Kaputiei warriors were killed. Those who remained came to the Kikuyu and asked that they should be allowed to live amongst them at Kamiti. Their guide was Thianga and he was a Kikuyu originally, and another man also called Ndegwa wa Kamiti, stepbrother of Thianga. The chief of these Kaputei Masai is also a Kikuyu, because he was born in the Kikuyu Reserve. Their clan is called "Kaimi", i.e. L'Aimer "by the Masai, and we call this clan Anjiru". This last sentence suggests a recognition of a relationship, but whether of blood or blood-brotherhood is not clear; probably the latter, though the whole passage infers a mixture of blood. In a memorandum to the Commission Chief Koinange remarks: "The Kikuyu took them over and made some ceremonies for internationality ... They are now known as Kaputie Masai, who are regarded as Kikuyu Masai (Kabutii)".
In Facing Mount Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta talks of "... this friendly relationship ... particularly between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu ..."

/70/

80. Within historic times we find the tribes of the Unit impinged upon by Dorobo people only where comparatively recent movements have brought the two together. Elsewhere the Dorobo people had either been expelled or else absorbed or both. The circumferential movement of the Meru brought them into touch with the Il Imweri, the northerly extension of the Gaki Kikuyu with the Ndigiri, and the southerly invasion of Kikuyu from Metume into Karura with the Kabte (or whatever they should be called). In the last two cases there was, at the time of the British occupation, a relationship between the impinging tribes involving expulsion of the die-hards (not by war but by continued pressure), symbiosis in greater or less degree, and absorption still in progress but so far incomplete.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

(a) Apart from the Njuwe, the Mwoko, and the Masai, who were all cattle-keepers on the plains, the names of peoples believed to have been in previous occupation of the Land Unit are Gumba, Athi and Dorobo.

(b) The Gumba were a Bushman or Pygmy tribe, probably the latter.

(c) The word Athi probably denotes a culture rather than a separate people.

(d) The Dorobo possibly represent an early Nilo-Hamitic invasion of a Nandi type.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FLA Dorobo FLA

000 Africa, East. Hobley.

Notes concerning the Elderobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17
By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

10 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
224 a tribe of so-called Elderobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
235 by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
241
649 By the Nandi they are called the Ogglek, and they call themselves the Cumlik.
191 They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
563 language: in fact, members of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
142 a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for many years, and
probably marry Ogglek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact
had, however, rather complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar
eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged
5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

583 Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
the girl with some hair made from the cap of the "mbinda," or wild date palm, and a
few rubbing-skin cloaks, or "kenanos," and takes away his bride.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so *extremely* heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. 163 165 [132] [133]

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood. 128 [237]

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rongata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game. 224 [262] [411] [231]

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. [515] [825]

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau. 372 [824]

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals. 197 177

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. [193] [182]

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

VOCABULARY OF ELDONYO, OGIEK OR OGIEK PEOPLE.

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Arm	Kereto
Arrows	Kibongos
Baboon	Kosokchot
Bad	Kolaya
Beads	Olaleriot
Beard	Ulmoayoit
Bee	Loteriobiak
Bird	Ulgwonyot
Blood	Otodoit
Bone	Korwet
Bow	Isogda
Brother	Notubobo
Brass wire	Sonquit
Buffalo	Kiberakiat
Cap (made of skins)	Ngirait
Child (male)	Olaimuwarsmet
Child (female)	Olakimongot
Clouds	Kabiliagot
Cloth	Ngwiniet
Colobus monkey	Soirot
Comb	Iobomon
Cooking pot	Kiret
Cow	Korowek
Cowrie	Usugurik
Dog	Oghio
Ear	Ucheiet
Earth (red, for paint)	Gwongonyot
Elephant	Emojoli
Eye	Lobtok
Father	Tata
Fingers	Magungonk
Fire	Emaitet
Firewood	Oyowiak
Foot	Endjabiniak
Forest	Samoita
Giraffe	Tiongonjoyo
Go	Iobomdon
Goat	Kibwaiyoinot
Good	Singio
Grass	Sorotiot
Hand	Rubaito
Hair	Otmolt
Hartebeest	Bogwiet
Head	Ndugwyait
Hide (of an animal)	Ulietat
Hill	Olkiwit
Honey	Ioint
House	Kortibwet
Hunt	Sogus
Iron	Kagarok
(To) Kill game	Kagono
Knife	Wenet
I know	Kanash
I don't know	Kano
Leg	Ndabit
Leopard	Abelyotkais
Lion	Sombit
Man (old)	Pamongo
„ (young)	Drwaganak
Meat	Rorondo
Mother	Engitogit
Month	Endagutit
Mtama (grain)	Kibongurok
Nails (finger or toe)	Siloiseicho
Nose	Kwangwangda
Pan gazelle, *Neotragus*	Kibkosogut
Penis	Muoyiost
Poison (for arrows)	Endamit
Rain	Oolorit
Rhinoceros	Kiptumet
River	Ilooto
Say	Chonangno
Serval cat	Molito
Sheep	Eldurumet
Sister	Simberogonak
Snake	Tiandopenowk (Suwok is Nandi word for grass)
Spear	Kiswroet
Stick	Sikonist
Stomach	Ngainit
Stool	Otoriguit
Sun	Tongoiyet
Supreme Being	Babe-tobin
Sword or simé	Wonkto
Teeth	Mumonok
Tobacco	Kipoondit
Tongue	Meleit
Tree	Kobkovet
Water	Poion
Wimbi (Eleusine grain)	Ngurumait
Woman (old)	Murwint
„ (young)	Tivik
Zebra	Olsitigoit

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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000 Further Notes on the El Dorobo or Ogglek. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.* 21

114 In Man, 1903, 17, a few notes on these elusive people were published. Since that time the writer has been fortunate to twice come into contact with members of the tribe in different parts of East Africa: once on the occasion of a visit to Eldama Ravine, and recently during a tour through the Laikipia Plateau west of Mount Kenia.

The author in 1891 visited Mount Kenia, and while encamped on the lower slopes encountered a few specimens of a bearded race of men who were said to live in the

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pîs swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongibore who lives near Nyeri Stn. She is married to one Sikirui, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hope that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamillo or Tinderit	Kipsangtan.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurerok.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pikabom.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldama Ravine	Kakimengiriu.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pîs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siriwek.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EnasoNyiro	Laleriok.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Mariko, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongibore who is said to live near Nyeri or Kakeryo in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6 Masai FL12 Nandi FL13

DMN 192 197

—	Dorobo or Tinderet (K. Nandi).	Dorobo or Ravine.	Dorobo or Nyando (Dorobo).	Nandi.	Masai.
Above	—	tarunet	—	kamak	lagor
All	—	orunt	tukul	tukul	pâki, pâkin
Animal	—	muguruch	pakûch	tiondo	ol-airitian (pl., 'n-gîri)
Arm	kuruto	kuruto	orut	orut	ong-aina
Arrows	kîbongun	kit	—?	kutet	'n-kut (s. en-kut)
Ashes	—	kîkoke kumut	olkuren	orik	'n-gorrom
Ass	—	olorut	—	olôrut	en-dolo
Baboon	kamokotet	olkûldim	olkûldim	mamut	ol-kuldim, ol-kûkî
Bark	—	ngorkomut	orut	putet	ong-orindgi
Bad	kokyo	orrit	rimi	ya	tarono (pl. torok)
Bathe	—	kotiri (pek)	—	—	a-kuj-a (inf.), l'-aj-ayo (imp.) —
Beads	—	chokoriot and nemakya	—	nemek	
Beard	ntomunyit	pûrik	kutiik	tomut	ol-mungyi
Bee	kô-rorkiik	kitoro	orkûkirot	ngomya	ol-oorok (pl., 'l-oorok)
Belly	—	—	mûrot	mûrot	ong-oborgho
Below	—	ngoron	omuv	ingoroin	ebori
Bird	ntorongyot	ngorongyut	orkrot	turetyat	ol-tuttinyi, os-durtîki
Black	—	tob	ullro	tui	orok ; narok, nerok
Blood	ololit	—	—	kuretik	o-ongo
Bone	korrot	olottit	kowik	korrot	ol-otto
Bow	lampin	kwîmdin	kwîmdin	kwangat	ong-dom
Brass wire	ntorrit	—	—	tairt	o ngyul (?)
Brother	notuiyin	Nanukot	lanunkot	kîtukuin	ol-nkuku (l-ûkuku, vocative)
Buffalo	kîmorkwat	olomoron	olomoron	ooiot	ol-oroton or ol-oonkoton
Buttocks	—	olûkûkop	kurumot	kwotiat	il-tuli
Cap	ngirutî	—	—	chepkulat	ong-oronkin
Chest	—	olpat	ngoro	tuluiot	ol-goo
Child (female)	olokimongat	ntokorokwat	lokwat	ripkita	en-dito
Child (male)	olokimoronyot	worik	worik	lokwat —	en-gito, en-gwini, ol-dito, ol-oyoni
Cloude	kokîlîgat	—	—	pulut	'ng-otaukin (sing. ong-aloudok)
Cloth	ngoriot	—	—	ongat	ol-kito, ol-kaunkin
Cold	—	kîkoroi	ngomun	nâk?	o kuki ; on kuki to-morrit
Colobus	ntirot	korortiok	—	—	ol-kwoi
C-ow	lokomon	ngon	ngon	kanyo	o-kito ; on-gwinn (inf.), wini (imp.)
Cooking-pot	kîrot	ntokîot	korot	tiret	o mîti
Corrie	ntogwik	—	—	—	o-ongkwai
Cow	korowok	kruin kumin	tuin	kwiget	ol-kitong kgudig
Dog	ngîin	ntogin	wuru	ormit	ol-dis
Donkey	—	kokwat	—	olgirîot	o-nigkiria
Ear	ntokiot	ngorowot	ngorowot	kik	en-gîyuk
Earth (soil)	ntorongngot	—	—	kwot	ol-kwin ('n-gukuk = mud, etc.)
Eat	—	kim	—	kim	—
Egg	—	Nkuin	ipo	kuin	o-nkuni
Elephant	ruruji	kwaiim	kûkûkûn ntimpin	kwîot	ol-tôno ol-l-'ng-ukun
Eye	kitiik	ntîkûkin	kuuin	kuuk	ol-oingîno ngoik ong-ogun (pl., 'ng-ongok)
Father	kôn	ntîyi	papa	kkuku (own) kwani (another person's)	papa (own) ilwayi (somebody else's)
Finger	ngongomik	—	—	ntorrot	il kimûjik (el-kimûjîno = dog.)
Fire	ntuiket	ruuiket	uut	uût	do-ghun
Firewood	ptorik	kwandot	kwanuk	kwonuk	il-kik (see kuu)
Fish	—	kwiot	ombonk	ngiriot	o-ongoi
Foal	—	ilogun	uût	kwolol	en-dun
Foot	ntûkûkiik	ntorrot	ntorrot	kûkuro	en-gûn
Forest	ltumûn	kwot	tîuin	tîuto	o-ooro ; en-dim
Fowl	—	kokwot	—	kîmongik and ngokot	ol-kokwan

—	Dialect of Tigania (E. Meru).	Dialect of Igembe (E. Meru).	Dialect of Imenti (Dorobo).	Nandi.	Masai.
Cheek	[illegible]	ngagi	chuuni	ngoito	ol-mirat
Ox	kimoro	mob	tebesit	kobo	ol-kiteng-kinyanya e-ko ; ngoro (inf.) ekorro inan (imp.)
Goat	kiwaiyakani	kiwaichiet	gwarist	oruiet	en-gisu
Good	ringko —	—	kerumo		ngai
Grass	kwetiat	ujajiriet	ngwach	ewerek	il-kaliit 'n-gujit
Guinea fowl	—	ngwarwaet	mbarugulu	tarchekyat	ol-kolomare
Hair	ekwait	kwarch	gutuh	ewuak	il-gujit
Hand	rukuiko	ewat	—	ewat	ewe-nkim
Hartebeest	ngwaiat	ngwaiwat	kiahirwat	—	ol-kondi ol-ng'ojinkiolo ol-korikor
Head	ukugwait	ekahwaiet	nertit	netik	el-kuhwaya
Hide (of an animal)	ukiriat	kerwaito	nwaito	ngoriet	ol-chini (pl., 'l-aito)
Hill	ekiriti	kaiwaiet	kelimam	tulwet	en-dainyo
Honey	kiwi	tukiet	kwrirandat	kwaiat	en ainto
House	kurtiwat	kaiji	kaita	kit	eng-aji
Hunt	ikgua	kiwaali ewaak	ngwarei	kgat	a-kwe (inf.) ta-kwe-a (imp.) (e-kgwaare, the hunt)
Iron	kagweb —	—	—	kerwet	e-ngkerngai
I know	kwaah	tiket	kaiteri	angat	aiyóio
I do not know	kuma	kiright	waiteri	mongat	maiyóio
I want	—	kuna	—	amerk	aiyan
I do not want	—	—	ekanya	mamerka	maiyan
I want to go	—	kuna ngkright	—	—	aiyán nalo (future)
Knife	wuat	—	kitim	ratwet	eng-akim
Knife	—	kwaaraat	—	—	e-maalo
Leg	ndukiti	ekwat	kuldet	kielto	en-gejo (see Pet.)
Leopard	ekelyethaia	nelimdo	ekiat	yabinakat	ol-keri, ol-kwaru-keri
Lion	ewaiti	kiharaiaiat	ekiat	ngetundo	ol-ipatany ol-le-'l-anai ; ol-kwaru-kitak
Man	—	gwatat*	punik (probably plural).	chito or chi (pl. pik).	ol-tuiyani
Man (young)	dwangwak	—	—	—	ol-murani (warrior)
Man (old)	pamago	—	paiyuk	—	ol mi'ruo
Monkey	—	—	ungalok	kwerat tiniat	en-dere or en-nareh-kutuk (C. viridis-grisea)
Meat	rungulo	—	—	pendo	'n-giri (olde animal)
Moon } Month }	ondagwiti	ekhaili	erawet	erawet	ol-apa
Mother	ungkagai	ngaka	tata	aya	yaya mame (own mother) kpata (somebody else's)
Mouse (genus)	kimogwak	mukwak	mburawa	masoogak	il-mark (mains)
Nails (finger) (or toe)	ekhamicho	kwiragit	—	aiet (pl. aisk)	'l-aiontok (ol-aiontoo = sing.)
Neck	—	—	mukobat	katit	e-i-urt
No	—	mami	matinyo	achicha	mme
Nose	kwa-rungulo	erugwatit	arrost	arrost	en-gume
Pus gentle	kikaugat	—	—	—	e-rongo? en-karmo?
Palm of the hand	—	ndukiti	ndukiti	rukuito	en-dag
Penis	mungkat	pungat	mongkiat	gerotet	en-jabo
Poison (for arrows)	en-kwaili	—	—	—	e-naiyet
Quickly	—	—	naiwarwaro	serikí	e-kariaara (to do) (quickly)
Quiver	—	ngugukat	ekaka	—	e-mootyan
Rain	ekwiti	ekiat	mburu	rokta	eng-ai
Rhinoceros	kiptamat	kibo	kibo	kiburiket	e-muny
River	ikuio	ewaiti	ruji	aiuet	e-yriet ol-kerja
Road	—	waita	mwangkaka	ayat	e-nana eng-aitai ; e-rapo
Say	ekwangwa	nwarwa	tangakundia	angakeli	a-ja } inf. a-ire } to-jo } imp. i'-ro }

* Note.—Gwato means man in Tho-Loo, the language of the Kavirondo Nilotes.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
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—	Dorobo of Tinderet (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Ndoro (Doinet).	Nandi.	Masai.
Barrel cat	mallito	—	—	—	—
Blanket	—	mwiguk	mwuret	—	en-gurum
Sheep	eldurumat	bocket	emuk	kigirat	el-barr
Bow (wood)	wambto	wambta	retwet	retwet	en-gurr
Butter	—	—	—	kitabcho	el-dum
Boots	tindep mawuk	tindep mawuk	elmgwet	ormut	eng-ambo
Spear	kisuruet	tengut	tengut	gnotet	el-ameni
Stick	elbonet	—	—	kirukto	en-bore; e-remut
Stomach	ngulok	—	—	muiot	e-figudi
Stool	elorigut	—	—	morkwet	eng-ashogha
Sun	—	engullo	engullum	taieto	el-origha
Supreme being	kobo-kobin	—	—	kurok	eng-elolog
Teeth	mamamuk	kelwet	kelyut	kolbet	eng-ai
Thing	—	mamuk	elimoto	ko	7-ain (el-chi, sing.)
Tobacco	kipuredik	eloingwet	tambotet	tumotet	en-dilli
To-day	—	pesion	kawangor	—	el-kumbon, el-chani
To-morrow	—	tun	tengut	mutai	kor-'ng enguk
Tongue	wobit	nyuajokit	kenano	nolokta	tinin
Tope antelope	—	kipkenjokwa	—	—	tukuro
Tree	kobberet	kitink; also tarukwet	kanno	kelik	el-dap-yo
Venom	—	kobisiet	—	mugulot	el chani; en-jani; el-chata; en-jata (pl., il-kik; 7-gik)
Wart-hog	—	—	elmgi	tarot (pig)	en-gumoo
Water	pelon	pelon	pik	pik	el-bitir (pig)
Wimbi	ngurumuk	kek	—	—	eng-ero
Wind	—	kijabet	wairo	koroto	5-guk
Woman	—	ngilogut	korobet	korfiot	en-gijogo; en-gisinka
Woman (old)	murutet	—	—	—	e-kgoriyiki; en-gisuk
Woman (young)	tirik	—	—	—	en-dumi; eng-ogho
Work	—	polilit	tabiko	apayisi	e-simgiki
Yes	—	en	kokuma	we	en-gise
Zebra	chotiguit	elmoret	amoret	ngirisi ni nemat	ee; ee; 5n

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Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Ensoo Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Mau.

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Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo:—

Arrow	Legh.	Child (of either sex)	Loya.
Bad	Etitori.	Boy	Kuti.
Bird	Legui.	Come	Yato.
Blood	Sego.	Cooking pot	Dura.
Note.—In Ler language sego means bone; in The-Lao bone is shego.		Cow	Gwit.
Bone	Motobo.	Dog	Kubo.
Bow	Puko.	Elephant	Sogumd.
Buffalo	Piko.	Father	Abasi.
		Fire	Itu.

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Foot	Midyi.
Forest	Elai.
Giraffe	Jangitalei.
Go	Tiota.
Goat	Ō.
Good	Eritobobocho.
Grass	Ehilo.
Hand	Upa.
Hair	Liain.
Hide	Hregot.
Hill	Et.
Honey	Seka.
House	Ai.
Knife	Sha.
I know	Ngbana.
(The Lao word for know is ngaoa.)	
I do not know	Nohahaa.
Lion	Arabo.
Man (old)	Baiyaichi.
Man (young)	Ngorea.
Meat	Yoba.
Mother	Iyata.
Poison	Morija.
(The tree from which arrow poison is made is called ol morijo in Masai.)	
Rhinoceros	Orea.
River	Nogoi.
Snake	Morbot.
Spear	Tar.
Stomach	Ira.
Sun	Kisa.
Supreme Being	Tiari.
Sword (same as knife).	
Tree	Kolea.
Water	Ana.
Zebra	Leitika.
(Masai for zebra is ol-eitigo.)	

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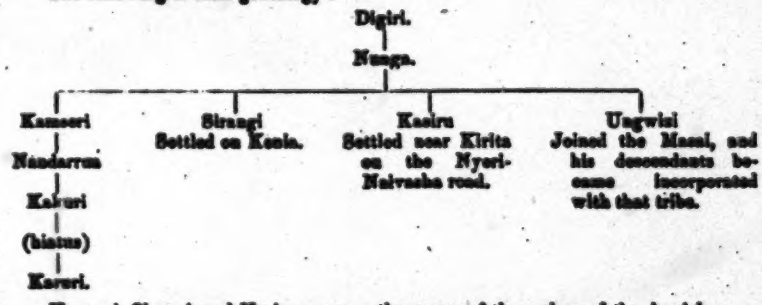
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechne.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiet), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy:—



61A [304] [191] Kameeri, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungure, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

[262] [173] [648] The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

11: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

captured, and commandeered as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the ancestors of the *Burugo*, *Gekunyuki*, *Loitai*, and *Damat* Masai. 173 614 648

Mr. Hollis spells these as follows:—Il-purko, Il-kak-conyokio, 'L-oitai and Il-damat. [114]

Some generation later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Ereraguti in the direction of Nyanwezi country; these people were like Masai and were under one Ndaraguto, the son of Ndaramuroni. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Ndaraguto was a clever leader, however, and he collected his beaten adversaries and welded them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamwezi occupied the whole of the Nandi-Lumbwa plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Ndaramuroni, or his son Ndaraguto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain rude dams which are to be seen in some of the Nandi valleys; these were certainly not made by the Nandi, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then unoccupied by that tribe, but was one of the great hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. In these days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, cultivating shambas as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwizaga, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chaga. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins. 194 [136]

On the Enasangishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Elgeyo, there are remains of a past race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, circular in shape. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mokwan (possibly the people were called Kirikwa, and the kraals Mokwan) who peopled that region previous to themselves. This is borne out by the legends of the Aggiek, who state that the people who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Enjoe by the Kikuyu and Eboratta by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Purko, 'L-Aikipiak, and 'L-Oitai Masai, the branch of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggiek tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they bored a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to run they took out the plug. The form of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both knee caps in early youth. Be this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-horned cattle possibly points to an offshoot of some Hamitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migration might turn out to be contemporaneous with the Hima invasion of Uganda. Soon after the destruction of this tribe by the Masai the looted cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plague. 193 [194]

The Aggiek also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Mwalowai Chiana who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have averaged only 2 feet in stature.

They also tell that they heard from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white race (called Muchungu) existed in the world. Doubtless news of the white man's advent was passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen inland.

C. W. HOBLEY.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10

D 181

Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes. *By Hon. K. R. Dundas.* 76

The earliest inhabitants of the country now occupied by the Kikuyu of whom any reliable information is obtainable were a people who call themselves the Okiek. To the Kikuyu they were known as the Asi,* to the Masai as Il Torobo,† and to the coast people as Wa-Ndorobo, by which name they were also familiarly known to Europeans, though of late the more correct form of Dorobo has taken its place. Curiously enough some writers have recently invented and use a corruption of the Swahili form and style these people Andorobo.

K 194

Who the Kikuyu were, and when they first came into the country which they now occupy, are questions not easily answered. The invasion commenced probably about 80 or 100 years ago and has not entirely ceased even now. Undoubtedly many different tribes impelled to migrate by famines, raids, and the pressure from within and without of increasing population, helped in forming the present Kikuyu race. That they represent a fusion of many different tribes is shown by the numerous types to be

K [144]

* Sing., *Masai.* † Sing., *Ol Torobani.*

sion amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiak and Dale-le-butok Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes: thus, the Anjiro and Chakimeyo clans say they are descended from the Sheka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aeneka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Meoro, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sheka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagisha and Ngumbe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Meoro country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagisha, but I have met a native of Ngumbe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Meoro and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Boreua, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaremurai clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyuri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Patoa Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kapetiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aiwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supoet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darusero ainai, my Tarusero women. Tarusero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirishih the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Duruma call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Mwaa.

12:Dundas G-9 (ca. 1900) 1908 FLA Dorobo FL6
K-Kuku FL10
Masai FL12

Sogi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkoye an animal called Hyko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them as the required sandals before Sogi; the Masai brought a bull fat on milk only; and the Elkoye the animal called Hoko.

Sogi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Elkoye from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkoye, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Sonsoli or Gallo were then disposed of, and only by the same Sogi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Elkoye. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barshin, who is still alive and resides in one of Sogo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karsol's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Elkoye, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Elkoye fought amongst themselves.

If the Elkoye were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Buringo, Naivasha, Barina, Kijabe, on Lolldaiga and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kisumayu—(the clue that went to this last place was the Agumbe). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Buringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Barina Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they came from, usually mention Kawamoa and Kaiwa‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumbe and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana: these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Elkoye country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Elkoye to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land in forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Sonsoli or Gallo were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkoye; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkoye may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Masai. (In relation not in touch with Masai-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Suyu and Sabiyyo in Elkoye.

dead, and to have sacrificed to them; the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Monday) to their ancestors. They speak a Kikuyu language; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will, with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dundas themselves say that they, the Kamé and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestor who called the Kikuyu, and their dark ancestress came from Lumbwa Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all those tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Kinyaboro clan in the Mukuyu of the Kamé; the Anjiru, the Tumuru; the Anduti, the Mukiyuru; the Akimwithi, the Aiuri; and so forth.

Their Kamé name of 3 Tumuti might perhaps imply that they are descended from a tribe of Atumbi; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dundas, such as the Wandi of the Lumbwa forest of Mount Kenya, the Dundas in existence on the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Kisii Dundas may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dundas are not dishonest in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dundas visitors and residents are generally amongst the Kikuyu and Kamé, who consult them in cases of sickness and confidence.

E. B. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the position that the Dundas hold. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes are living in East Africa scattered from the north end Mount Kenya, and spread through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and the Dundas are two such, like Kamé, Lumbwa, and Kisii, may have united more or less with the Kamé, Lumbwa, and Kisii, may have united more or less with the Kamé, Lumbwa, and Kisii, may have united more or less with the

Plate XI.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

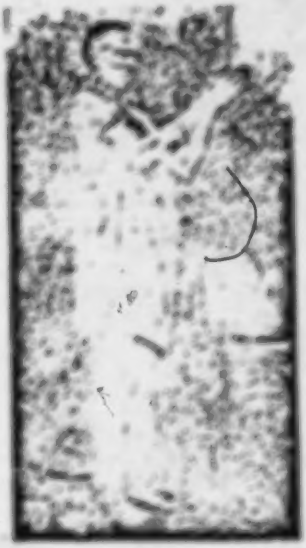

Fig. 3.

[Facing P. 191]

13:Hollis T-5 (ex. 1908) 1909 FLA Dorobo FLA

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

A Dirge, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

126 101

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Nairobi and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on carrying on the celestial water-cart. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain ceased threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if he had not been for him we should have been washed away.

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It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Masai like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether these savages had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P 197]

14: Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1942 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[Title Page]

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P. 183, A]

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL8 Dorobo FL8

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1932, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Nandi Reserve. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an uncared for, landless group of outcasts living a precarious existence on the farms which stretch up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Nandi, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made their acquaintance in 1927, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took showed a total of 221 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P. 183, B]

A. DISTRICT TOTALS

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DISTRICT	♂ Single	♂ Married	♀	♂ Children	♀ Children	TOTAL
KIPKOROM	8	6	14	9	10	47
SOSOIYO	22	19	26	16	19	102
KELPUI	25	18	16	8	5	72
	55	43	56	33	34	221

Total ♂: 131. Total ♀: 90.

[P.183,C]

B. DISTRIBUTION

162
361

	In forest	*On farms close to forest*	*On farms away from forest*	*In Nandi, etc.*	*Uncertain domicile*
KIPKOROM	—	28	10	9	—
SOSOIYO	13	58	—	28	3
KELPUI	—	43	21	8	—
	13	129	31	45	3

C. CLAN ANALYSIS

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614

CLAN	KIPKOROM	SOSOIYO	KELPUI	*TOTALS*
KAPSEGOI	13	27	36	76
MOI	25	12	17	54
KIPIEGEN	6	10	2	18
KIPAMWI	—	9	—	9
KAPIL	—	2	3	5
TOITOI	—	3	—	3
KORAPOR	—	—	1	1
Uncertain	3	39	13	55
	47	102	72	221

[P.184, A]

[p.184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

[P.184, C]

3. The depressing influence on the mind of trees in mass. 182 139

4. The effect of being cut off from neighbours; even if the next settlement is but a few yards away, it cannot be seen, and the trees act as an enclosing wall forming an impenetrable barrier. [361]

5. Forest life tends to produce shyness and timidity, especially with strangers, who, not being expected, and having presumably no legitimate business, are thought to have bad intentions. 157 182 [609]

Some of the differences between the Dorobo and the Nandi, which are produced by these factors, are:

Shyness; comparative absence of laughter; seriousness of outlook; nearness to nature, as shown by the weather- and animal-sense of the Dorobo; and the comparative honesty of the Dorobo. Even when Dorobo leave the forest and mix with others, they still retain these characteristics.

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [55] [166]

II.

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=***BABA***, *eiyo*.

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=***MAMA***, *mama*.

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo*, ***BABA***, as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=***BABA***, *eiyo*. "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*pukot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*. 601

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat.*

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor.*

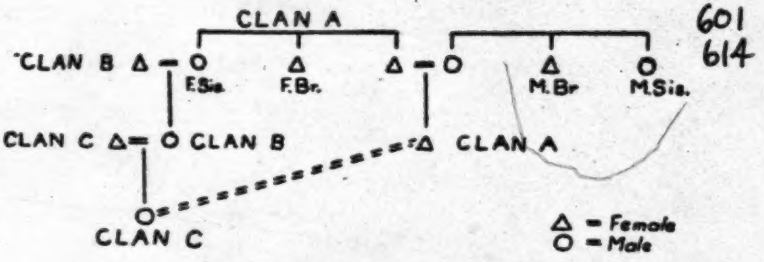
There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

[P.185, C]

582
601
614



THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH ESis.D.D.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582 602

[Text continues TOP of P. 186, B - Analyst]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.= ***APAA, apaa.*** 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.=***MAMA, mama,*** placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the ***tiliet*** or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=***MAMA, mama,*** again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the ***tiliet.***

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.= ***KESENDA, Kesenda,*** placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.= ***AGWI, agwi,*** i.e. they call ego ***agwi***=grandfather; and all of this generation are ***agwi*** to ego, i.e. all children of ***machokor, apaa,*** and ***mama,*** though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are ***kesenda.***

[Text continues middle of P. 186, B - Analyst]

[P.186,B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machokor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case: 582 602 [595]

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speaking. (W.S.) 601

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are ***BABA***, *eiyo*, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=***APULAIYO***, <Masae *apula*, <*apu*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=*eiyo* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=***KONYIT***, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other catagories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=*Sindet*.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

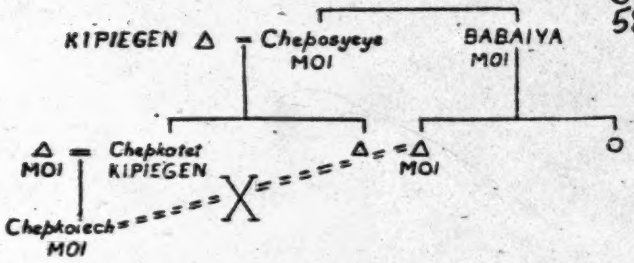
As when M.S., there is a distinction between the paternal and maternal sides. The children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as ***MACHOKOR***, *machokor*, while on on the maternal side we have :— [602]

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=***AGWI***, *agwi*.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=***EIYO***, *eiyo* :—

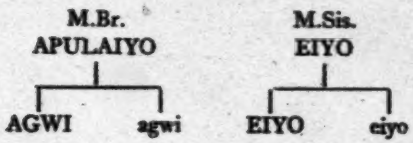
[P. 186, C]

619
582



CLAN - BAR TO ES.DD. MARRIAGE

601



W.S.

(3) Br., Sis.=*KESENDA*, *kesenda*.

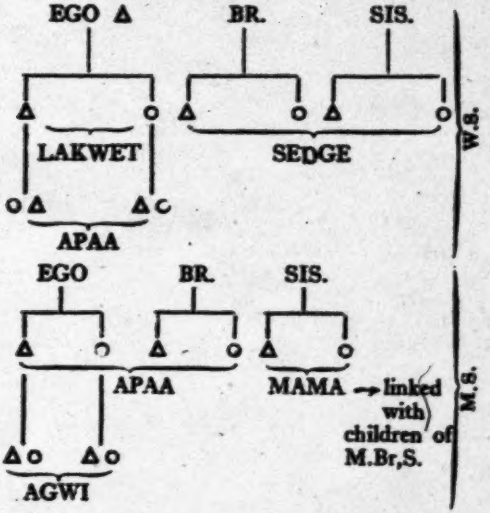
First Descending Generation.

(1) Children of *MACHOKOR* are also *MACHOKOR*.

(2) Ego's children ♂ and ♀=*LAKWET*, *Lakwet*.

(3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.=*SEDGE*, *sedge*.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently:



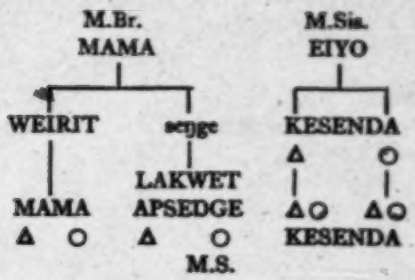
Second Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D.=*APAA*, *apaa*, transferred from first descending generation M.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

BABA=F., F.Br., M.Sis.H. Allied to Masae *papa*, Bari *baba*, and probably to Ndi *apa* (Gala *aba*), all meaning 'father.' [191]

601



MAMA=M.Br., M.Br.W. Ndi *mama*, and possibly akin to Bari *mama-ye*. 601 197

EIYO=M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *eiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An occasional alternative for *eiyo* in Dorobo is *POKINE*, which in Nandi means Hus.Br.W.

AGWI=F.Br., his children and grandchildren. Nandi *agwi*, Masae *ol-akwi*='grandfather.' Cf. Bari *akwe* < *kwe*, 'head.'

KOKO=F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masae *koko*, 'old woman,' i.e. grandmother. And cf. Masae *eng-ōgho*, old woman.

PUKOT=F.Sis. This might be from a stem occurring in Bari *puk*, 'germinate,' but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

KONYIT=F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi *konyit* means 'honour,' and cf. the Masae term *e-sindani e-anyit*, 'respected sister in law,'=Br.W. and W.Sis.

KUKO=F.F., M.F. Nandi *kuko* is the masc. form of *koko*, and hence='old man,' i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *inguget*, *ingoget*, the reference forms for *kuko*, *koko*.

MACHOKOR=F.F.F. etc. Nandi *machokor* =S.S. and S.D. The etymology may be Luo *chokore*, 'collect,' hence it would signify 'a collection of relatives.'

MAKIKAT=F.F.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-ikat*, "They are not greeted," because though their names are known, none are ever alive in ego's life-time.

KESENDA=Br., Sis., M.Sis.S. and D. Nandi dialect for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *tupchet*. Possibly < Nandi *kesen*, 'carry a

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child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister. 601 197

APAA—children of *apo* and *apo*'s Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* —M.Sin.H., *F.Br.S.* (*a'-f-apa*,) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO—M.Br. < Masai *apulo* < *apo*.

SINDET—*F.Sis.*, *F.Br.W.* < stem found in Masai *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sindet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pakat* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.: 59

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.

\+ F. or M.

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, *F.Br.*, *F.Br.W.*, with *F.Br.* S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., *F.F.*, and *F.M.* In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up 602 [855]

[1] Definitions of "family":
Elementary family—F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family—a group of people living together in one house or enclosure, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)
Extended family—a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert, and as primary collection are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Si. W., F.F., F.M.; as secondary collection, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Si., F.Da. H., M.Si., M.Si.H., and eldermith (relations) in the persons of elsewhere living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and as the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpsi genealogy,

KIRUWAI—?
Kipkoilwet

CHEPUNO — ? KIPTEREI— ?
Kimojiko

KIPLEDOWET ? JUMA ?
Moiso d.p.

Kipkoggwet had hardly ever seen Kipsoro, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Si. are classed as *MACHOEOR*.
(2) Children of M.Si. are classed with Br. and Si. as *KESENDA*.
(3) Children of age and his Br. are classed as *APAA*.
(4) Children of M.Br. and age's Si. are classed as *MAMA*.
(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI*.
(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and Initiation pattern.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *Ipinde*, pl. *Ipinogik*, with three age-grades in each set. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P 189, A]

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are:

♂	♀
gutik: uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik*: girls.
Marnuik: circumcised men.	*Yuuuik*: married women.
Apuiuiuk: elders.	*Ilgilugiuiuk*: old women.

Boys are *gutik* till circumcised, when they become *marnuik* for the 13-year period of their age-set and then *apuiuiuk* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *muuiuuuk*, of the Dundas age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior:	*Chegiuiuk*.
Middle:	*Tipuruk* or *Kipuiluguk*.
Junior:	*Ruuuduuuk* or *Kipuiuiuk*.

A man belongs normally to the age-set but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Youngest son may belong to:
Kipkuiuet	*Kimujulu*	*Nyungi*
Kipkiluk	*Nyungi*	*Mutuu*
Kimujulu	*Mutuu*	*Juuu*
Nyungi	*Juuu*	*Juuu*
Mutuu	*Juuu*	*Kipkuiuet*
Juuu	*Kipkuiuet*	*Kipkiluk*
Juuu	*Kipkiluk*	*Kimujulu*

It may happen, as in Nauuk, that a man will be [191] classed with an age-set but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these terminological features, the constitution of the Dundas age-sets to the Nauuk ends. They have no military functions at all, and their [190] sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element [192] in social structure the age-sets cut across the [202] formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently:

[1] See J.R.A.I. loc. cit., for further details of the Nauuk age-sets.

CHEPOWAITA —
♀ — KIPKEME
KINEGAI — ♀
KOROGOCH — ♀
KIPTANUI
KEMMO
KIMITEI
KIPET
KIPOR
JUMA
KIPKUTIK
LETEPA
LEINA
KIPLAT
KIPKEINO
Maina
Jumo
Nyaggi
(The bottom line shows the age-sets to which the sons of the 3rd line would normally belong.)

[P. 89, 6]

[P.190,A]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimitei and Kipkotik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kosimo, and Kipet, Kipor; while Loimo, Kipilat, and Kipkeino are all inferior to Lesiipe. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that " So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation. 561 602 [858]

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of " age "): 602

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse. Same kiss as own language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as age treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and 606

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606

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them.

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C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations.

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living [361] in clan settlements, by the clan councils where [627] matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap oranyîd*, 'the animal of my clan' or. *tiondanyîd* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *orayon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value.

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *het ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as ñiloontik, 'relations' and are addressed as *orayon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *ar' t' apus*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, [171] but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi.

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi..... Moi.....	*kopsoyet* (crested crane).
Kipiegen.....	*kondekat* (baboon).
Kipsawei.....	*pemuiyo* (duiker).
Kapil.....	*tarait* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi.....	*rokta* (the rain).
Kororpor.....	*kimaketyet* (hyaena).

[P.191,A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations: 614

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oruyos*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile. [842]
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clanfellow condoned, though not approved of. [836]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hodua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hodua* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *soldiers*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance. 596 [556] 583 [431] [648] 586 589

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of 131 [137] [487] 133

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

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Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *muainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Toret*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone.

[1] *Sairet*, Colobus guereza;
Cheruet, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Komokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipselket, blue duiker (cehpalophus sequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-isseci.)
Keremaiit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[P. 194, A]

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence which all help to make. Each is therefore a family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an independent labour unit. 241 423 [351] [614]

The grain crops are stored either in granaries of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapot*) of the hut; but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large owing to the small areas planted, storage problems are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging 251 261 [437] [735]

[P.194, B]

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[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketinik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepeyguet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). 273 262 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it. 361 614

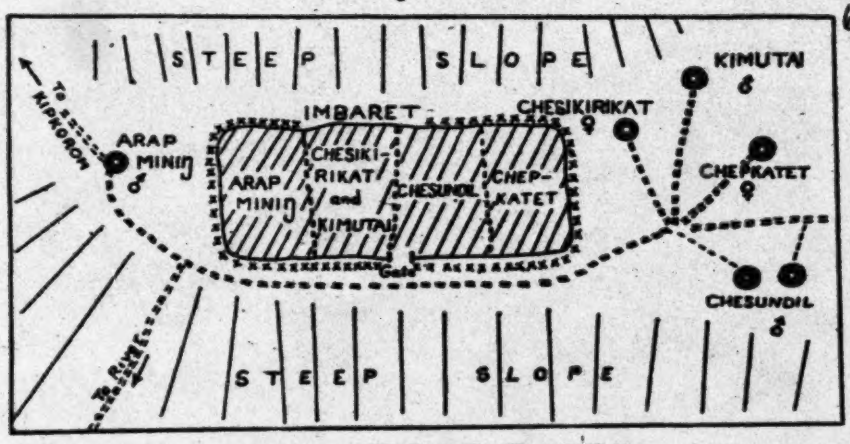
The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

n^1, n^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

[P. 194, C]

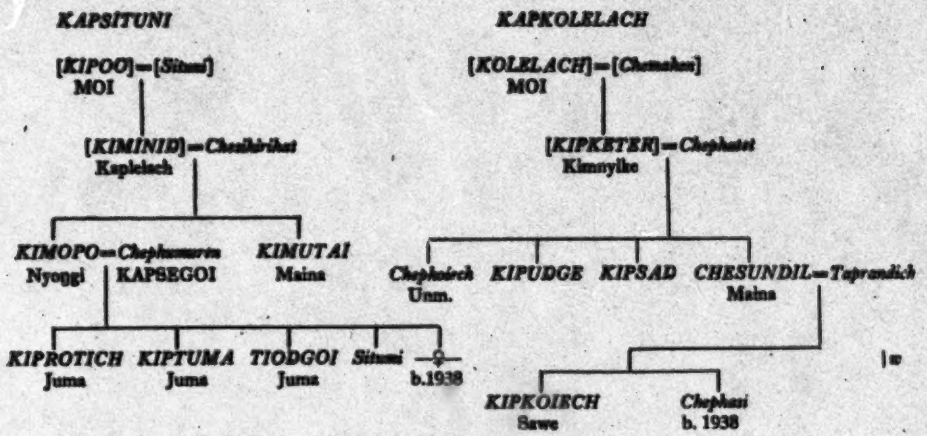
361
614

Fig. 1



CLAN-SETTLEMENT AT KIPUKWA

14: Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1942 FL6 Dorobo FL6
[P 195]



Those in brackets [ ] are dead. ♂ in capitals.

GENEALOGY OF TWO EXTENDED FAMILIES, UNRELATED BUT OF THE SAME CLAN, LIVING IN ONE SETTLEMENT AT KIPUKWA.

1. Those in italics are living at Kipukwa (i.e. in 1938).
2. The Kapsituni family take their name from a woman. (Kap- here means 'family of.')
3. This table also illustrates age-descent (ipinda), ages being written in roman script, Maina.

601
614

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since *they can be got by all.* *Hospitality* is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *kachonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minji, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable.

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesomiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipüyech payek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesomilōk, ohōnech tiony se kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

[P.197,A]

000
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come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead

789
825
[682]
[848]
[154]
789
[726]
[823]

14:Huntingford E-S (1939-1939):1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

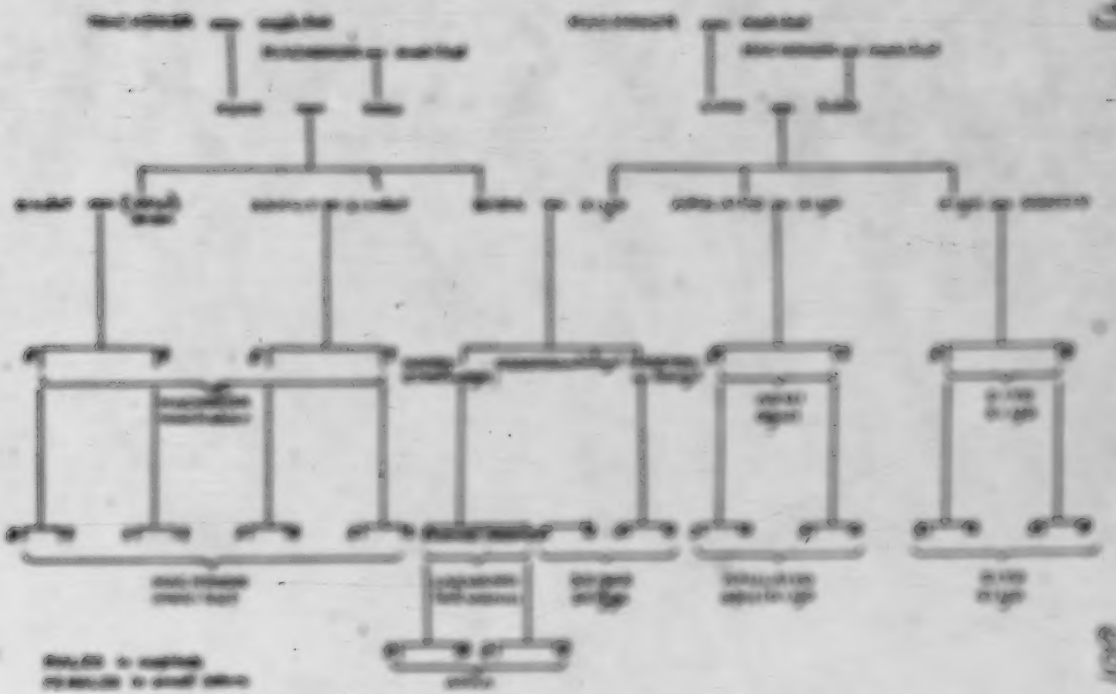
[P.197, B]

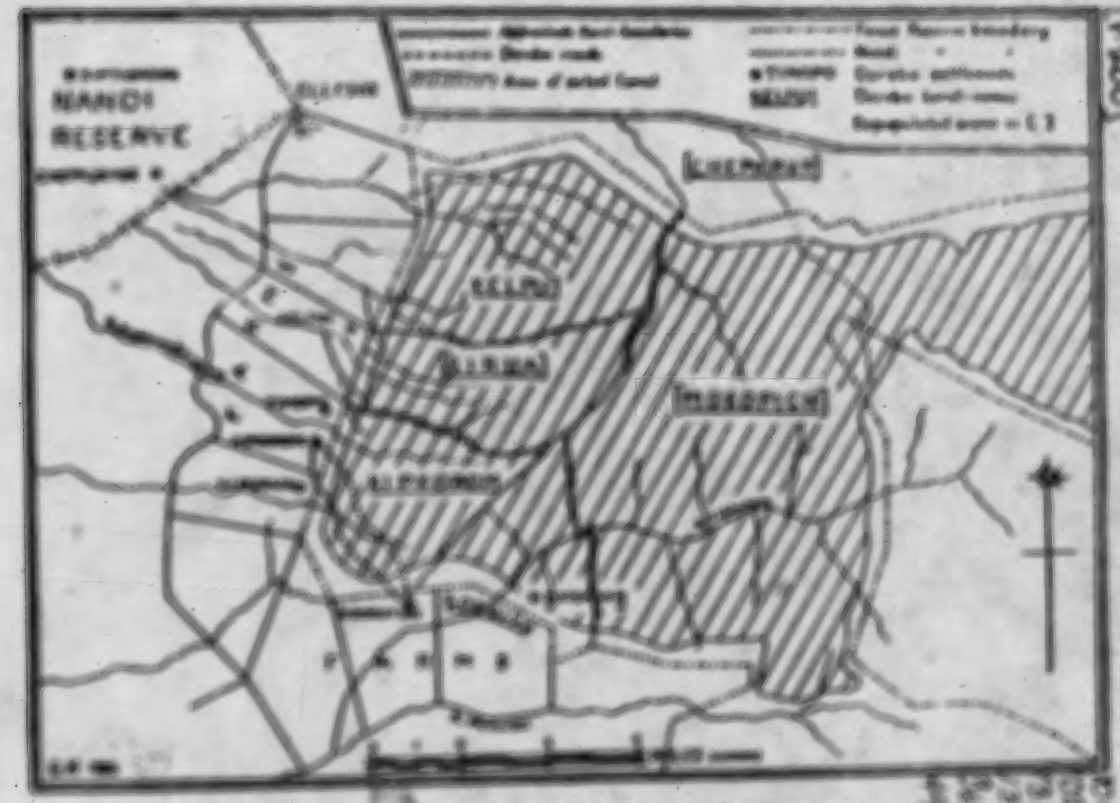
789
one down each side of the nose, and one down [786]
the centre of each cheek. [825]

Now it seems that a particular material is not 789
always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or 825
a sheep may be killed to get the *ojuet*, and a sick
man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with
butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alterna-
tive is thus sometimes just as effective. But an
essential feature is that the remedy must be
something that is not easy to obtain; till quite [231]
recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or
cattle from which they could get the necessary fat,
ojuet, or butter, and even now many still lack
them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock
of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure
is an act of faith as much as anything else, and
entails a possibly laborious search for the
necessary material. There is also an economic
[illegible], for whom [illegible] 437
must buy the animals they need, so that into what
might seem to be a purely ritual transaction,
enters an element of business.

TABLE OF DIVORCE RELATIONSHIP TERMS I.E. SPEAKING

TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: [illegible] SPEAKING





Sketch map of the Kapchepkendi Dairies Country

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

IL-TOROBO

PART I

Being some Notes on the Various Types of *Dorobo*[1] found in the Masai Reserve of Tanganyika Territory and Contiguous Districts

The name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai: *Ol-Torróbôni*, *Il-Turóbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wangwa and Wanigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Baoto settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa-Handeni road, about 43 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 3; Masai Steppe: I. II; 4; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. "Tribe," *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
1. The Third Ascending Generation
2. The Second Ascending Generation
3. The First Ascending Generation
4. Own Generation
5. The First Descending Generation
6. The Second Descending Generation
III. The Family and Behaviour
1. Family life
2. The Age-Set system
3. Behaviour
IV. The Clan
V. Marriage.
1. Circumcision
2. Pre-marital sex-life
3. Marriage
4. Birth
5. Adultery and divorce
6. Polygyny
7. Names
8. Marriage with Nandi

I. Introduction [1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tindiret Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cockman and E. G. Whittall for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*uuan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Lalwor, The Wanderobo, the Dolotho and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(With Plates XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. Wayland.

DJA

1.—Introduction.

The following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

DJA 114

DJA [121]

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

DJA [177]

[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 180. Karamoja = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamoja. [104]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

J 415

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Karamoja in 1920 I was told that on rare occasions stone vases, much the same in shape as the wooden ones described by Mr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who made them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient blue beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme south-east of Karamoja, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a south-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Zimba (a prince and brother to a reigning monarch) who during a sojourn in Buddu (in the Buganda Province), constructed those remarkable earthworks known as *Bigo Bya Mugenyi* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what validity I know not, with the ruined buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

J 172
J [174]
J 173

Concluding Remarks.

D A J 123

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the procedure that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary, and more often than not none but the Elders have any knowledge of the esoteric significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of some practices is lost in antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the Native troops of the K.A.R.) that elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say should render them suspect. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if friendly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seem to them probable explanations and announce these as fact. But theories differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves to the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

D [648] [754]

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the remainder was contradictory. All the material was worked over, sorted, and the mutually compatible results discarded. The issue is not very encouraging; it is, however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Karamoja are deserving of detailed study.

D A J 128

So far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between them and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to considering cultural origins and migrations, etc. It is wise, however, to leave this to the professed ethnologist. But phaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of clan (totemic)

D A J 121 171

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

organizations, rainstones, masks and ancestor figures (nor have the peoples of Karamoja any legend of the "Great Flood"). As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the remoteness of these progenitors, whose ghostly visitations and "callings" are at times so disturbing, is not determinable, but I could not learn of ancestors whose generation was separated from that of the present by more than two others.

The smallness of the Anderobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and inspection of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests, but the suggestion may be deceptive, that in this case adaptability and physical variation are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

Tribe.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Males.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Females.	Dif. in Stature Maxima between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. in Stature Minima between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. of Max. Stature of Males over Min. of Females. (Adults.)	Dif. of Max. Stature of Females over Min. of Males. (Adults.)
Dodoth	27·5					
Jie	23·3	19·3	23·5	11·7	45·0	7·6
Labwor	23·9	19·6	6·6	6·6	36·7	17·1
Wanderobo	13·4	7·2	2·6	2·6	19·6	19·6

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchep-kendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

/229/ Third Part

I.

M 184 [179] The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of M D 121 the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influ- D [179] ence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M D 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El aiti from the middle one, and the El gasurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1936-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.

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I. Introduction.*

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

* This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Timboni Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1937 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Murog, my guide in 1937, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor C. G. Seligman (Portrait) and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cavendish and R. G. Waterman for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1939.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

DA 114 [177]

become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being relinquished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

DA 114 [177]

Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected; great lacunæ remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

DA 123 124

The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiswahili, for no English or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Kamasipa folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiswahili from the troops (5/6th King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Kipsigisian and other raiders. I had two such men in my canvass and an official Kamasipa-Kiswahili interpreter: the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

[191]

Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many odd occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings concerned with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required; but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, wherever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced, for I had visited Kamasipa on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1930 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1930 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Eid*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the feast of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

DA [126] 22

Anthropometric data were collected wherever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to tie every individual measured.

Kamasipa was entered by an unusual route—one which, so far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Ayeke, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

Y: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1934) 1931 FLA Director FL-6
Jiye FK8
Achalli FK4

part of Achalland to the neighbouring area of Lolwee in Kenyenje. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unrecognizable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Lolwee is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kidomoni, in December, I was accompanied by Captain F. Ramp, then O.C. Kitgum Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, but it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report relates could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Paymy Bhaloo, wireless for generous assistance. Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligmann, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Mr. James Frazer.

I.—Kenyenje.

The administrative purposes the boundaries of Kenyenje, embracing an area of 1,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the course of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimarchanga (also known as the Kilim or Suck River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kiboko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Salisbury; thence in a north-westerly direction to a point on 1° N. Latitude due north of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the western boundary of Lolwe District until it meets the southern boundary of Kadadi Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Kadadi Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel at Suwa; thence along the Turkwel or Suwa to the source of the Suwa in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1926 Kenyenje was undemarcated, except that part of it generally known as Lolwee, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Kenyenje is a most elevated plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the western and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Kilo escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are growing scattering trees and of a very primitive culture.[1] (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-west where Tertiary lavas and volcanic soils are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Gneissoid type.[2] They occur everywhere, but they are not very conspicuous. There are due to a relatively young land plateau except in the Barara hills where they show extensive areas.

The area is drained by a dry sand [illegible] is to be reserved a browning steadily down. There are no permanent streams and, during the dry months, water is obtained from holes [illegible]

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Army Medical Museum for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The details [illegible] of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See Geol. Surv. Uganda, 1932.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DORobo*

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a [424]
forest-dwelling people scattered over the High-
lands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[1]
are recorded, and it is known that they are all
hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. [1911]
The group which forms the subject of this paper [91]
lives in the North Tinderet Areas to the S. E. of
the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over [1915]
8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this 361
area there were formerly six inhabited districts,
called Kaiyoi, Kipkoreon, Sororjos, Chepsiro,
Siron, and Mokonjich, while some five or six
miles to the south there lived another group on
Tinderet hill. My investigations have been limited [1-4]
to the first three of these divisions, since Chep-
siro, Siron, and Mokonjich no longer exist, and the
comment on Tinderet Siron a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbid- [4]5
den by the government to live in the forest reserve, [27]
which comprises the whole of their country, and [1]
those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

*The field work on which this paper is based was [1911] ●
carried out between May 1934 and November 1935
under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I
wish to express my gratitude to this organization
for making the work possible.

[1] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 5 groups; Tanga-
nyika, 7 groups. See Lyon, East Anthrop. Soc.,
1935, 1-22, 150 and fig. 2.

[P 193, A]

Jr Migutsi G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

by consult, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Bukoyo* and the *Kinyalolgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A Hunter and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).
[2] Mr Hobley informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 308, n.). Hobley, "The *Okiek*," *their Language and Folklore*, by C. Hobley.

2: Mogulzo G-S (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Overdue FLA

193 women and they own. How we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Sarbula states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Mandated, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro hostilities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lukito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Ilaikipi* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjon, Salei and Poldjet) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Ilkidoto*

[1] See p. 231, fn. 1. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may conceivably have been *Aramanik*.

[2] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[3] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Contents

[illegible]

Preliminary Note

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bungsu and Bujang Gila, the smallest being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called Tujuh. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—else how is female consequent. Others say he is, he was so senseless he persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intercede in human affairs, or when, for instance, the crops are bad and only a conduit.

The wizard is known as Pgamanan. His functions are the same as those of the Ajaib of Selaan, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 30 years ago there was among the Wandindin a great rain-maker whose name, Langalan, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wandindin themselves, but also by the Dalaiden, the Ot, the Kenneyjang and the Pathana peoples, but not, however, by the Bedangs of the Sadan.

When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come to with gruesome presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together over Langalan, who would sit quietly smoking, or it is related, till he remembered the offerings sufficient, when he would betake himself to the centre of nothing else. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalagong, in a ravine that runs down into the Sili valley, where grows a great figtree over a hundred feet high. It is said, seven times up. Although great events have to transpire and be marked in the books, but are allowed to dawn. After this it would be ignored to such a way that the contents of the stomach could be examined without [illegible] the [illegible] which would have to [illegible] with water. The procedure then was to dump the goat in the top of the fig tree, which Langalan called upon Kalaiden to send rain, in the confidence of the rain-maker's knowledge. All goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, each one all the more that remained within the body after he left, and have it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony and in the course the rain would fall.

Langalan's reputed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a long enough rain-maker. He is much regretted by the Wandindin, who say that since his death in the Pathana massacre the rains have been great and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in the land. He was, it is said, a Malay Pathana. It is to be noted that Langalan was not a Malay, but that and but a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of rain specialists. It would gather nothing reliable as to the needs of hunter of rain-lore.

It is only connected with the ground Wandindin chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's widow by the grave was. We were to meet before dawn, but after the chief's message failed on the last occasion, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I set out myself, partly fulfilled in that time. I went and they gone.

A few commentators and a very short sought vocabulary follow. There were a [illegible] differences between the Wandindin and their neighbours. The most marked difference is perhaps in their speech, for although the Wandindin speak "Sarawangang" the tongue which

?: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1936) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kenya in 1930 I was told that no new circumcision stone vessels, much the same in shape as the wooden ones described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who made them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient blue beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme north-east of Kenya, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a south-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Gisha to whom and brother to a reigning monarch) who during a sojourn in Sudan (in the Yagusu Province), constructed those remarkable earthworks known as *Ngye Bye Mugenyi* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what reliability I leave out, with the ruined buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Circumcision Ceremonies.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wandorobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary and none others than old men but the Elders have any knowledge of the customs significance or origin of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of many practices is lost to antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the Native troops of the K.A.R.) that elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say should receive their support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and sometimes these are fact. Old Elders differ as their seniors, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was worked over several times, and the mutually incompatible results discarded. The task is not very encouraging; it is however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kenya are deserving of detailed study.

So far as practice results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between these and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to establishing relevant origins and suggestions, etc. It is true, however, to have little to the profound ethnologist. For perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely evidence against. One may note, for instance, the absence of that intensely

14.Huntingford I-4 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO*

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1932, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Nandi Reserve. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an unsettled, landless group of outcasts living a precarious existence on the farms which stretch up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Nandi, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made their acquaintance in 1937, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took showed a total of 331 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P. 43, 6]

18r Merker--591 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6 •
Asa

/418 cont./

3. Physical Measurement.

MD 141 [125]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward: I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

MD 141 128

/419/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagitally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

Being some Notes on the Various Types of *Dorobo*[1] found in the Masai Reserve of Tanganyika Territory and Contiguous Districts

The name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbo" Lokito of the Talumai[3] *Il-Mirisho*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a District such as Kilimanjaro, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain sections would prefer *Aathombo* or *Wathombo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perhaps, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai, *Il-Torōbo*, *Il-Torōbo*, whose shoes of this article, is preferable. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talumai (or "Elyonge") as it is called by the Wanguu and Wadigiri of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Swahi settlement District, notably, Wandanwi, is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa-Handeni road, about 40 miles east of Kikuyu Station. Its map references are [illegible]. The name Talumai often primarily to the hills, whereas Elyonge is the settlement.

2:Maguire i-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

race "without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name "Irobo" would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance the habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] "The Dorobo," say the Masai, "live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the great enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo?" We do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, but it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name "Dorobo" here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word "Swahili" cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I used to question them when I realised that their ignorance was great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving

[illegible] appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[illegible]

[illegible] 900, 6900 — 900, 690.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balafgi	Il-Balafga
2. Ol-Kinyalafgati	Il-Kinyalafgat
3. Ol-Méiroi	Il-Méiro[3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasi	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitukurdai	Il-Kitukurda
8. Ol-Kisangura	Il-Kisangura

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been ascertained, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Méiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Méiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo[4] whose language they (the *Méiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their membership is more distinct than that between clans or families. The Ol-Kipiro [illegible] entirely an distinct and different tribe.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Méiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kwavi Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Ngongonyiro District. [4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

MODERN HUNTERS: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHERPKENDI DORÓBO (OKIEK) OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XXVI-XXVIII.]

By G. W. B. Huntingford.

[With an account of the Physical Features by the Rev. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.]

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Preliminary Note.

These pages [illegible] information collected in Eastern Nandi (particularly at Kimwilla and Kâpchepkendi), where this section of the Dorobo live. When visiting this district, I was accompanied by the Rev. P. L. O'Brien, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the account of the Physical Features, which is given on p. 374. My information was obtained through the medium of Nandi—which the Dorobo speak, even among themselves, and almost as [illegible] Dorobo children of the Kâpchepkendi type. The present work also [illegible] an [illegible] Nandi figure, a Dorobo chief, whose acquaintance I made through his son Chemaiko, now at

Schoningsford E-1 (1938-1939) 1954 IFLA Dorobo IFLA

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi
2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life
3. The Koret
4. Crime and its Results
5. Religion and Magic
   a) Belief and Practice
   b) Analysis of Beliefs

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Maasai before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1850 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi, and their political system has acquired an much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of 10 Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo so long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 60,000), and of unequal achievement

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

There of course are relatively small settlements, but there were many people living round and inside the forest in 1937, and a number of these has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which the settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

5. The Forest

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of customs facts and events can elucidate even the unconscious organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the most important peoples of Kenya, like the Nandi, Kipsigis, and Kikuyu had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1938 I was told that no local council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their present organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, as their views in conjunction with the information I collected in 1937 the somewhat slight and unsatisfactory incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: elderest, elders, eleventh, circumcised men, and girls, boys. The elderest and eleventh are those who take part in public affairs, until have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of eighteenth, old women, eighth, married women, and eighth girls, have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuak*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Ungoror, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kolgori, also, Ol-Longai.
3. Kipkenyon, from Kisa to the NW corner of the forest.
4. Sakutiek, east of Kipkenyon.
5. Mosobut, between the forest and the Mosobut river.
6. Kolongolo, east of Kipkenyon.
7. Piyeri, east of Kisa.
8. Kimujuk, east of Kisa.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

/50 cont'd/

	Zaramo	Shambala	Digo:
[illegible]	kwanaka	pfanaka	(zi-mbwa)
[illegible]	(gwiko)kwanaka	(mugwiko)	
[illegible]	dong'o		'i-no-ng'o (the stubborn)
[illegible]	(gwa, kugwa)		zi-kokuya
[illegible]	ngoma (pl.)	dzoma (pl.)	
[illegible]	Kong'wanda (pl.)		
[illegible]	nyuzu (pl. izuzu)		'i-nyuzu (the hairy one)/51/
mono	nyuma	nya	
gu	zi	zi	
kuliwa	nyua		
buy	zi	zi (zi)	
nyi	ovili		
mwi	mwili	mwili	
ka	ndi	ndi	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Zaramo words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with extensive vocabularies. They are so apt to answer to long questions about definitive names the words are even not mentioned under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Swahilis to some other dialect of such a relationship exists in fact.

Mr. And that, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Swahili people in the present state of [illegible] people who received their training culture when the use of them assumed a settled partnership in agriculture. But what these people were we cannot yet say. The many evidences we have given to their being something other than a Bantu-speaking tribe, and this theories of a Hamitic type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be, surely to have our findings on their language, but if we cannot receive a rich of Bantu immigrations from the east and this theories

Africa Magazine G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiro* from Tabosai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the different intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiro* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that "ye want" and "they want" are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

[1] The Masai, Turkana and Turkana names given above have been taken from Mr Charles Hobley's publication, "A Tribal Map of British East Africa and Uganda." The Masai and Nandi names have been taken from Hollis and Hobley respectively. The Masai and Nandi names are given in the phonetic spelling adopted by those authors. The Turkana names are given as I myself have heard them.

[2] The first is a 3rd pers. sing. subject + objective.
[3] The same applies as in No. 2, but with reflexive instead of objective.
[4] The same applies as in No. 2, but with 1st pers. sing. objective.

Yi Weyland 10.5 [illegible] Chamber F1.6
Type F9.2
Archgill F8.9

D.K.
114
[177]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Dublin's book on the Dutch. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the Afrikaans and the Dutch are very closely related. On checking these over with the Afrikaans and with Dublin's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the Afrikaans words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Dublin's Dutch spelling. The language of the Afrikaans, though undoubtedly at one time pure Dutch, has become, owing to Kaffir and other influences, very [illegible] modified, and I think that a Afrikaner from Tulbagh and a Dutch might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

[illegible] The difficulty of getting down verbal forms which would accurately reflect and which appear to many only owing to the difference between them in both verbal forms will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the Afrikaner is an inventor of phrases, in the sense that "go weet" and "daar moet" are more or less the same to him. On many occasions he is uncertain about his verbs (his own account both good when he is speaking [illegible], exactly differentiating between the singular and plural and having it in the manner in which the phrase meaning.

Many [illegible] examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was needed the origin of a brief and [illegible] paper of this nature.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(Articles) or non-articles

The word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The Writers, despite their laxity in the use of their own article (concerning it to exist), are curiously enough, exceedingly accurate in their use of the Exact article when speaking their language. (See p. xxvii of the introduction to The Dat.; Aus. Language and Folklore (Dawes). See also p. [illegible] of the text of that work.)

A Comparative Vocabulary of the Dialects Spoken on the Banks, Darling and Murray

Murray	Darling	Dawes	Murray
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] (1) C.S. (no. 1932-1962) 1952 Pub Secretariat Pub

WORD

104 The Kikuyu Land Unit is referred to as the unit or the Unit.

The Committee appointed in September, 1955, "to investigate the system or systems of Native Land Tenure within the Native Reserves of the Kikuyu Province" is referred to as the 1955 Committee.

The Commission appointed in April, 1956, to consider and report upon certain land problems in the Colony of Kenya, commonly known as the Kenya Land Commission and the Mount Carmel Commission, is referred to as the Land Commission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

107 I am particularly indebted to Dr. L.S.B. Leakey for allowing me access to certain chapters of his hitherto unpublished study of the Southern Kikuyu, to Mr. W.H. Vaughan for permitting me to read the manuscript of his monograph An Introductory Study of the Kikuyu people and to the Rev. F. W. Grant for a copy of his Hymns in Kikuyu Tonic Sol-fa.

[p. ii]

Ekoi. If this is so, many Ibibios nothing more than the fact that they have language has been lost. My ancestors are said to be natives of parts outside Nsanaka, as I have said before, I have had an opportunity of conversing with an investigating these people.

This is far as my informative extends, concludes the list of type of people living in, or adjacent to, the Cameroons Mount Nsanaka and calling themselves "Ekoidio". In the Bamenda area of the Bamenda District there are a few Nigerians chief amongst who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Ekoidio" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the Ekoidio and have no more real claim to the name Ekoidio than has the Bamenda themselves.

Domestic Arms

(Unfortunately stated, all native names are in the language of the Ji-Ekoidio)

The hunting arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Ekoidio in the wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are as use by the Mbosi, but with the exception of the steel and throwing-club (which are Mbosi arms) and the poison which is manufactured by the Widekidio of Kibang, the arm are made by the Ekoidio themselves. Spears and shields is not used by the true Ekoidio, though, as I have said, Ekoidio-land Ji-Ekoidio who have abandoned their mother-tongue adopted whatever armament is the fashion of the tribe they and when in, and speaks.

The ton (Nsanaka), which is always kept strung, is anything from five and a half to five and a half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is an extra in shtickmanagement for affixing the string to the shaft - it is usually usually knotted at either end and every seven to nine. The bow used is that of the Ji-Ekoidio tree and is occasionally bought or strung. The shaft of the bow is sometimes ornamented the skin produced by the spirits work from morning [illegible] - a fact in some of which I have been unable to discover, but [illegible] wood after the primitive whitewash gradually fades to a dull brown [illegible]

Subregistry G-5 (ca. 1924) 1927–28
PSA Records PSA

very open but short sound. In the case of *shikshot*, the *i* is as open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*.

Besides that the vowel [illegible] is [illegible] short, clipped sound. In *ifil*, the *i* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

Besides a letter means that it has a shorted sound, *g*, *k*, *y* and *w* in the Bisaya and Ilokano tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Pasuli, Sub and Ilokano words (up to *4*) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik one and ten are unlike anything else in the list, unless Ibaloi was be said to resemble *shidga* at ten.

The Sambali, Bisaya, Tagalog and the two Zambles words for six are all alike, but the Ilokano word the same and the Aramanik ten (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several vocabs. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Pasuli word.

Turning to the list of names, only the word *lan* or *la* for moon, or practically so, in Ilokano and Aramanik, the other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance to these tongues (except *sulo* and *gili* as in Bisaya). However, the resemblance similarity between the Ilokano and the Pasuli *lan* will not fail to be noticed at once.

The names of the game animals, in the Ilokano language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Bisaya to some extent. There will also be observed a certain similarity between Ilokano and Aramanik in the word for *tarsier*, and the word for *shikshot* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between Ilokano and Pasuli will have to be noted again.

Some of the singular verbal forms from Bisaya and Pasuli have been taken and the Ilokano equivalents inserted. The similarity between the two has a quite excellent. It is to be regretted that I am unable to collect examples of the Aramanik verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very inadequate examples I have, or for, lest the opportunity of obtaining

It may be as well to mention that the Ilokano examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

Keller's book on the Dutch. I have left them out as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the Afrikaans and the Dutch are very closely related. On checking them over with the Afrikaans and with Keller's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the Afrikaans words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Keller's Dutch spelling. The language of the Afrikaans, though undoubtedly of one time pure Dutch, has become, owing to Kaffir and other influences, very noticeably modified, and I think that a Afrikaner from Pretoria and a Dutch might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of getting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the Afrikaner is an expansive of gestures, in the same way as "go away" and "keep away" are more or less the same in time. We would invite to the comments about his words (the more research would give) when he is speaking Dutch(ish), merely differentiating between the linguistic and phonetic and leaving it to the reader to distribute the proper meanings.

Many like examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was unable the origin of a brief and unscientific gauge of this variety.

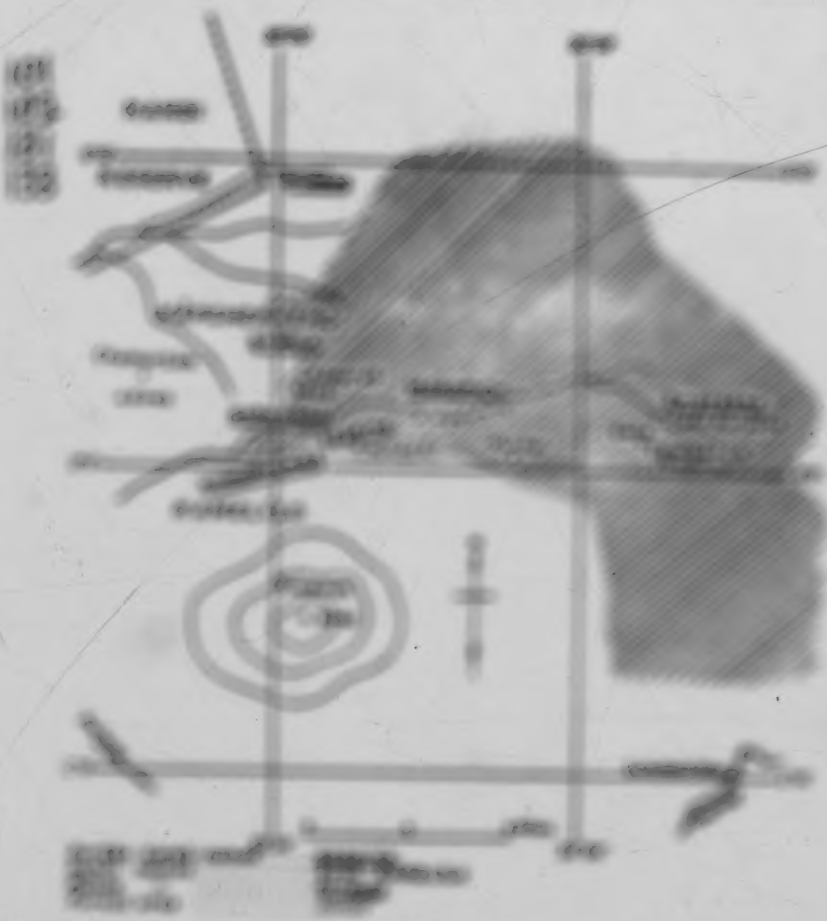
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the B and she have their own ideas, which will be totally dissident at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the mentor words are the same among the Ateani and Ambanfi, whereas the Adi and B will have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious rites, and the absence of characteristics customary among both these. The peculiar characteristics of the boys a practiced by no other people or all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tiwaga, closely related to the Ateani people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only elementary differences which are based solely on the differences in their universal way of life. The ever existing proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their language.

The people of a district are divided into three large tribes, the A, Ateani, the B, Ambanfani, and the B, Ambigenes, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Adi, as well as every B, Ateani and B, Ambanfi, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now compare customs further with the ethnography of the Ateani in particular, which is of the same class that of the Ambanfi, we can identify correlating the ethnographic traits of the entire people the breaking of individual differences that have developed among the Ateanfanfani in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

[illegible] Second Part

A.

Tribes, lineages, settlements. — The B gotra lineage. — The village, its site and gallery, ought construction, genealogical tree, village, communists, feasts. — The ceremony. — The B tribunfo lineage. — The ceremonies.

Every tribe [illegible] is divided, or has already been overcome, into a number of lineages [illegible], [illegible]. Among these, as rule, one distinguishes principal lineages [illegible] which

[illegible] Mission—Kid G-4 (1898-ca.1910) 1911 PLS Masai PLS
Ewaso
Dorobo PLS •
Ass.

Third Part

I.

The Wandorobbo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their relations, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring aboriginary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobbo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobbo not belonging to the Masai people, who are semi, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Aad stem from the oldest epoch, the El still from the middle one, and the El gumuruk from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobbo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

Ik Marker--Gil G-5 (1926-ca.1928) 1931 FLS Hanni
Swahe FLS
Asa

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El still also often designate themselves as Asá follows from the circumstances. They are both merely /Ilo/ humans, whereas among the El gamurok the tendency toward animal humanity has still been preserved here and there.

• 128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages as the Masai and Wakwafi and that they also regard the ol oibonok as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

Ill. 60. Wandorobo men.

1. [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

[illegible]

[illegible] Appendix B.

Names of the principal animal species.

In the following I am giving a series of animal names, mostly only in the Kimré language; others, for which the Bi Kwolla have still further designations, also in their particular idioms. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of classless words and generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, use of one (1):

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr John. Dreg.

Grey cavies-rabbit (Dendrolagus perspicillatus (L.)) ?

Bi mamé ni wuhéku, ébo ni ka dwat ni ébo o ka grey one.
ni wuhéku) o the large predatory bird.

elsewhere [illegible].

Bi dwatwa ni dwatti.

Black cavies-rabbit (Lophogaster ecrigensis (Dwat)) ?

Bi mamé ni wuhéku kéfu,
ni gbwéfu wuhéku,

elsewhere ni [illegible],
ni mwa' gbwéfugbé = black body,
ni [illegible],

Bi dwatwa ni [illegible].

Monkeys see long-tailed monkey, night monkey (Pithecia), baboon, colobus.

Ape the small reddish brown ape (male of the Wanadorib)

Bi mamé ni [illegible],

elsewhere o' [illegible],
o mwé,

Bi dwatwa 'o [illegible].

The large black ape

Bi mamé ni wuhéku,

further see Troglodytes.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6. Physical Assessment

During the taking of the measurements, the pupil's opponent was instructed and notified the test participant's body, of course, as changes to them, but rather as an assessment. Also, through the presence of the legs of the subject, weighed a basic weight, which was every three grade and children starting there started a process.

The measurements, besides the aforementioned components, which are part of the functional test, consisted of an ordinary six-inch standard and a steel measuring tape.

Using on the double condition for the upper height, the first number gives the length of the left upper, the second one that of the right one.

On the double condition for the ear length, the first number stands the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear edge to the upper edge of the lobe of the ear lobe. Where only one number is listed, it gives the length of the "unbounded," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was recorded in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the hood measurements.

The head measurements of the male test, it put in mind are the tables precisely because of the supplementary head coiffure.

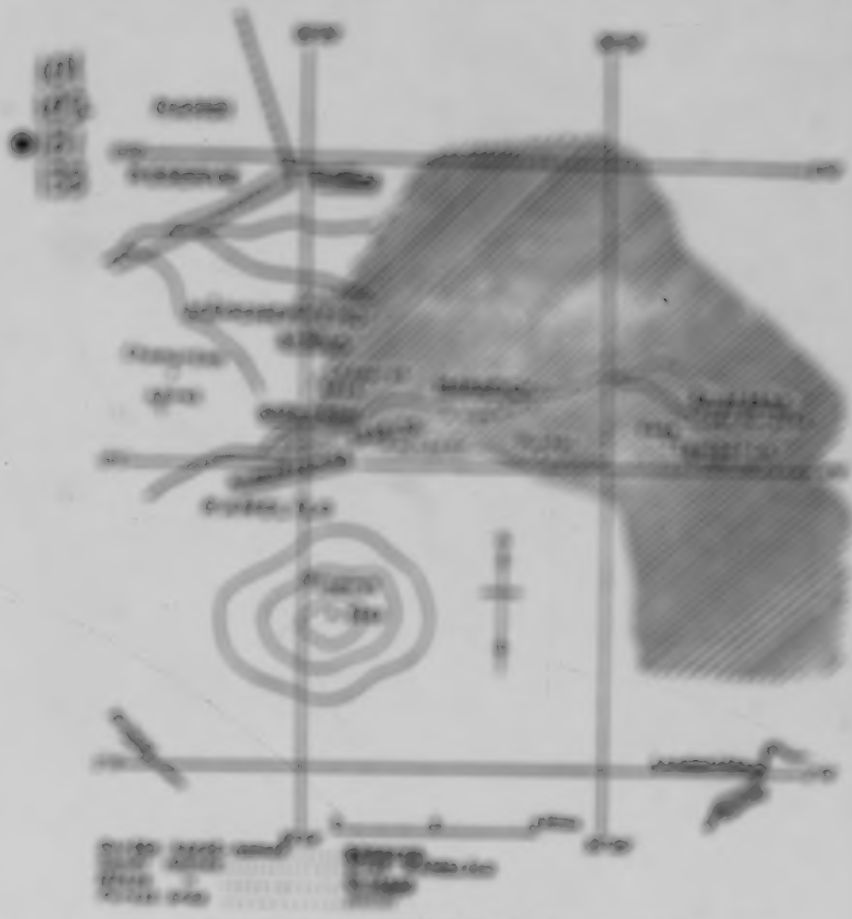
The Main Nilotic-speaking Peoples

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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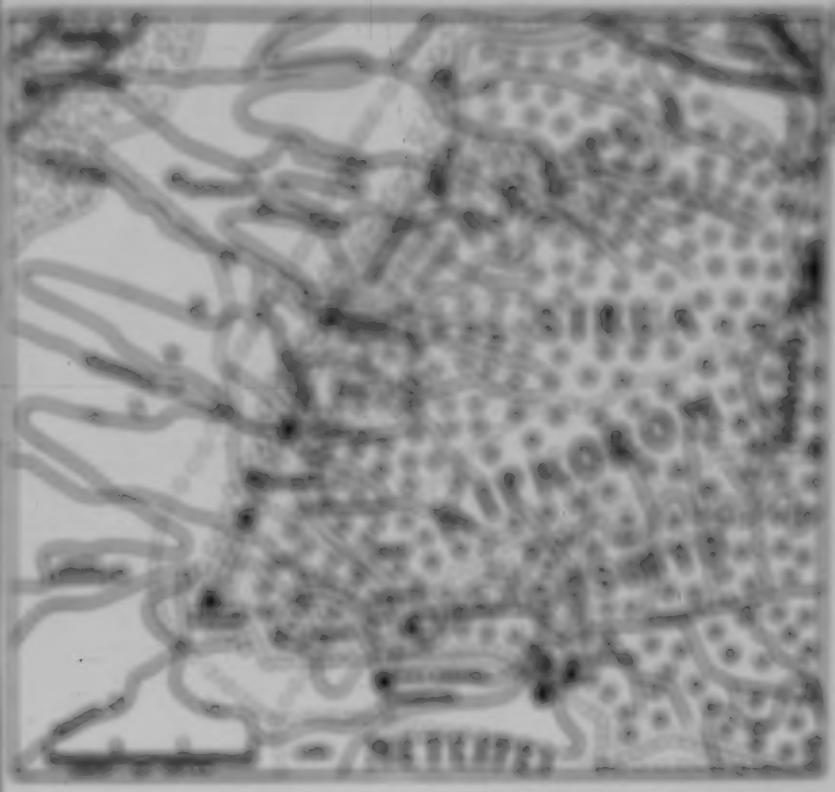

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

005

Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

1. The Economic Framework[1]

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The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12', the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17' and 35°32' respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 8300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 8000 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit[2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 7000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 6300 to 6900 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkurere valley, whereas there is a rise to be crossed before the river Meteitei is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkurere, "the hollow river", in allusion to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Naruaba near Timboroa. It crosses the northern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

133 [137]

[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1949. pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1949. pp. 129-168.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[+602]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work[1].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*lovsita*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cerut, ficus sp.
Kelet, acocanthera Schimperi
Kipurpet, tilia sp.
Lemeiyet, ximenia americana.
Mindeiyet, polygonum senegalense.
Mukupet, dracaena sp.
Olkemiyoi, olea chrysophylla.
Orerut, ficus sp.
Perut, Dombeya sp.
Rerendet, euphorbia candelabrum.
Seftet, podocarpus sp.
Sasuriet, musa eneta.
Senetet, cassia didymobotrya.
Sepet, acacia robusta.
Sepoitit, ficus sp.
Seseiyet, arundinaria alpina.
Test, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkoreon to Soseiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Soseiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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191
193
233
619

[p. 189]

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unrecognizable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodoth, I was accompanied by Captain P. Remny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

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2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, embracing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimarhanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kibuke River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Labor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

DJA [648] 133 8 A [172]

Until about the middle of 1929 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamoja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, *Fig.* 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

DJA [132] [312]

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda, 1925.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamoon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karamojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magusi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	"
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kadama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	"
Ngi'ngoleriet	"
Ngi'merimong	"
Ngi'kopo	"
Ngi'pei	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	" "
Ngi'watia	" "
Ngi'kotido	" "
Ngi'panyangara	" "
Ngi'owtakow	" "
Ngi'silanga	" "

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Acholi FK4
Jiye FK8
Lango FK9

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Short Vocabulary—(contd.).

English.	Labwor.	Lango.	Karamojong.
ox	ekuogo	mam (a'a).	mam.
nose	um,	um,	ekuna.
oryx	rula,	rula (= bushbuck).	ediir, ngidiria (pl.).
rain	kuut,	kot,	akirra.
rainbow	kokot,	otokka.	ekipe.
river	kulu,	angolong.	angolol.
sheep	ruuna,	runa,	emotiok.
shield	kwut,	kwot,	angwal.
shoulder	wibua,	gwok,	ekepoy.
sim sim	nyim,	nim,	nunum.
sister	lamwa	amin,	nakhata.
skin	del koma,	del,	amuny.
sun	latin lacher,	wot,	okhapot.
spear	tong,	tong,	akwarra.
star	ebeng,	nekyee,	okhonyorit, otop.
stone	kidi, kidi mpol (pl.),	gweng,	nyimura, nyimur (pl.).
sun	ebeng orieng,	ebeng,	akhokong.
thing	jam,	gin,	ibarra, ngibaro (pl.).
thou	iin,	in,	ikeng or in.
thunder	kot-mor,	kot, emera kot,	egur.
tongue	leha,	lep,	angajep.
tooth	lak,	lak,	ekiisi, ngkol (pl.).
tree	gutt,	yat,	ngitui,
village	gang,	pacha,	are,
war	mwaka,	yi,	ajuru, ejeia.
water	pi,	pi,	ngipi.
waterbuck ...	apoli,	apoli,	amoimon.
we	wjun,	wan,	thua or inguan = we or us.
who	eningeng,	ngu,	ngul.
wind	yamut,	yamo,	ekuum.
woman	daka,	dako,	akero, ngakero (pl.).
wood	kot,	kak,	akero, akerono (pl.).
ye	ewo,	eijo,	ee, kongina, awua, ikuni.

A D 181

THE WANDEROBO.

Of all the tribes living in Karamoja the Labwor are the least primitive and the Wanderobo the most so. It will be convenient to deal with them next.

D 131

Environment.—The Wanderobo are a hill people. They live in rough mountainous country on the edge of the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment, in the north-east of the district, in places difficult of access (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2, and Pl. XXVIII). They are despised by the neighbouring tribes who, however, make use of them in several ways. Till very recently, the Wanderobo acted as a "go-between" during raids, assisting the Dodotho by spying for them, on the one hand, and helping the "Habash"[1] or Turkana with regard to watering-places on the other. The Dodotho often refer to the Wanderobo as "monkey men" on account of their agility. The Wanderobo claim that they have never been raided.

D 648 186

[1] Raiders from Abyssinia.

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Asi and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

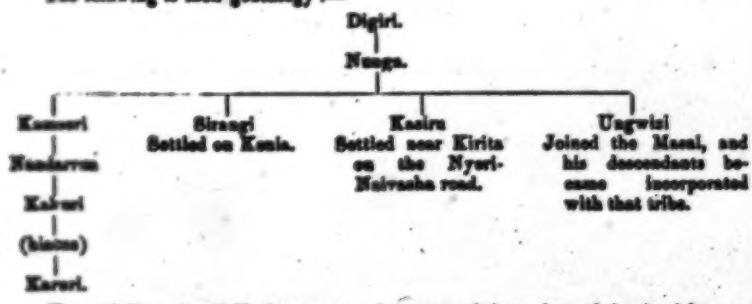
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Ogiek) or Ogiechon.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*cf* MAN, 1905, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] [262] [173] [648] Kamuori, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungaro, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6 Kikuyu FL10 Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakameyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngumbe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngumbe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endarsaurooi clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare. The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Soeoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P. 183, A]

[P.191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *siliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oruyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *siliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kodua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kodua* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monbis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

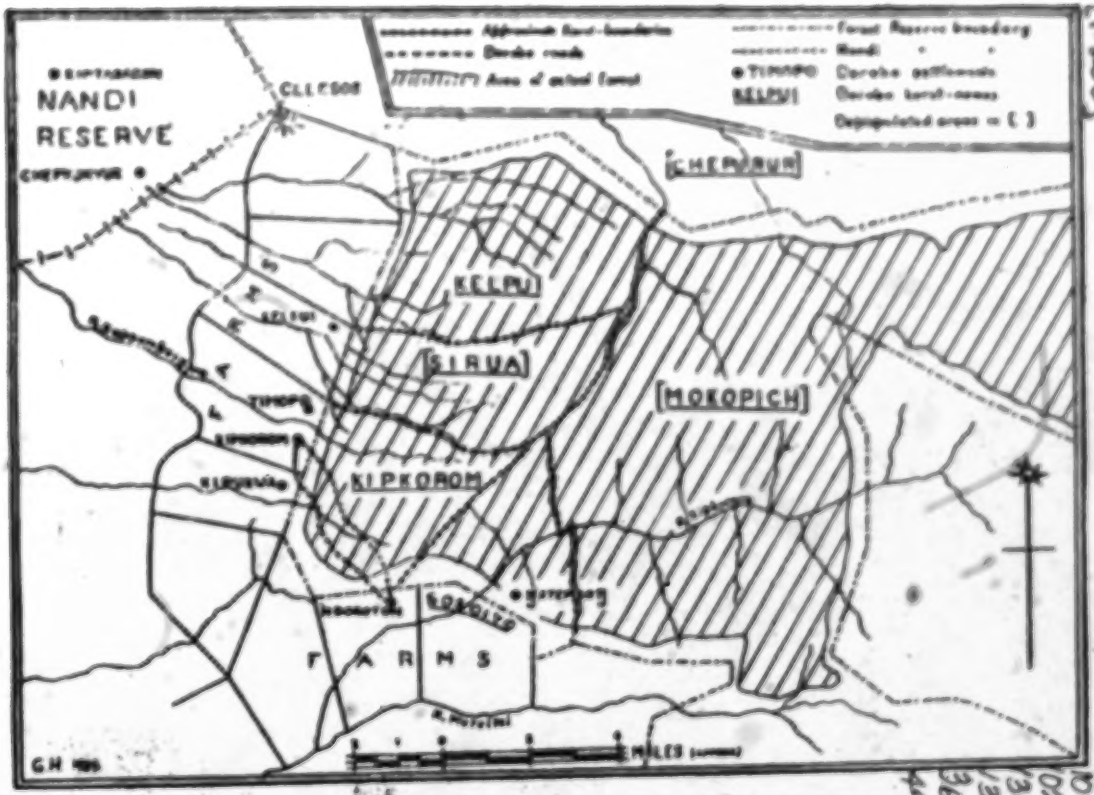
III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.



Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murju*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F1A

(3)

Forest	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	9	8	15	10	10	48
Kaisiyo	11	10	20	14	13	68
Kaipai	10	19	17	9	6	70
	30	37	52	33	29	186

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1939, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.00 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *muuiseuik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much further afield; and *imotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Iet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 20 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent few talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work[6].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*fovein*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cowat, ficus sp.
Kalat, acocanthera Schimperi.
Kipuipuat, tilia sp.
Lomoiyuat, ximenia americana.
Mindoiyuat, polygonum senegalense.
Mukuiyuat, dracaena sp.
Olkamiyuit, olea chrysophylla.
Owuat, ficus sp.
Pawuat, Dombeya sp.
Riywalat, euphorbia candelabrum.
Sapiat, podocarpus sp.
Sawuriat, musa ensete.
Sowatuat, cassia didymobotrya.
Seatuat, acacia robusta.
Sapaiilit, ficus sp.
Sawiyuat, strombosia alpina.
Tatat, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkoram to Sawiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Sawiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[6] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

183 [221 224 182] ...the Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Mwanamwa*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwet*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Mwanamik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwet*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronise*:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriwa	*Kipsondet*	October	
Kipsondet	*Kipsondet aiyo*	November	
Kipsondet ake	*Mulkui*	December	Mwanamik
Mulkui	*Ngetiet* *	January	
Ngetiet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwet kut*	March	
Iwet kut	*Wakat*	April	
Wakat	*Ngei* *	May	
Mawut	*Rop tui*	June	Iwet
Rop tui	*Purut*	July	
Puroto	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeut	*Mulkui aiyo*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

121 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other [791] tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

433 [311 325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. 439 Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 * Throughout this paper I have written the velar vowel by the sign ɑ, representing the "long-tailed a". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar vowel.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	Average
Jan.	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.55	1.50	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43
Feb.	0.05	1.97	0.00	1.56	0.51	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.57
Mar.	1.98	0.03	7.09	0.00	0.13	3.33	0.00	0.70	0.33	1.03
Apr.	9.04	15.07	7.04	5.03	0.01	0.22	3.41	12.25	12.13	8.30
May	9.17	7.01	10.30	12.30	2.06	10.13	12.27	4.49	9.23	8.70
Jun.	2.05	2.07	5.30	2.14	4.20	5.24	8.26	2.07	6.06	5.00
Jul.	2.03	1.01	12.26	2.52	2.22	0.19	2.06	2.11	2.32	2.81
Aug.	1.00	0.12	4.00	4.70	2.15	0.68	2.12	4.21	2.56	4.04
Sep.	2.08	2.76	8.60	6.07	2.47	2.06	2.10	4.20	1.06	4.22
Oct.	2.76	2.00	2.17	2.02	2.08	2.02	0.12	2.72	2.02	2.62
Nov.	2.02	1.06	2.29	1.04	1.22	2.17	2.02	1.60	0.07	2.11
Dec.	2.22	1.29	2.06	1.00	0.09	2.70	2.07	1.04	1.22	2.29
Inches	32.90	44.17	66.17	52.54	28.61	68.71	52.89	34.89	45.72	54.09

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

102
361
423

Area No:	Clans:	Families:	Districts:
I.	Moi	Kapkoletach	Kipokua
II.	Moi	Kapsitusi	Kipokua
IV.	Moi	Kamuru	Between Kipokua and Kipkoreon
III.	Kipsiker	Kapsingira	Ndoretoa
V.	Kipamosi	Kapcheperemita	Ndoretoa
VI.	Kapsirkai	Kaptokosi	Upper Soseiyo
VII.	Kipsiker	Kamnamotik	Upper Ngstepkoo
		Kapkipepo	
	Kapsirkai	Kapkimamosi	
	Tuiyoi	Kapkuikoi	
	Kipsiker	Kamnamotik [a].	Lower Ngstepkoo
	Kapsirkai	Kapkorongua [b]	
	Kapil	Kamerosa [b]	

[a] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1930: a more accurate average would be about 0.75 ins. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cochrane for providing these figures.

[b] These families, represented by Tuta, Nakui, and Kilanya, are not shown on the map: their area lies east of Upper Ngstepkoo.

7:Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Roney, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimekanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kituko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Labor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1930 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamojo is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, *Fig.* 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone-Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See *Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

7; Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there [273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognised, as are two other seasons or months: [132] *Lowen*, a time of rain; and *Loicheto*, a time of much rain.

A form of

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Loduppe.	*Loukwung.*	*Loduppe.*	*Loduppe.*	*Loukwung.*
Lomuke.	*Loduppe.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lowen.*
Lokwe.	*Lowauk.*	*Lowauk.*	*Lowauk.*	*Loicheto.*
Lowen.	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loudunge.*
?	*Lowen.*	*Lowen.*	*Lowen.*	?
?	?			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set [222] far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither [285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using [323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco. [415] Their shields (*kesen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga [411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing [352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*nekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, [531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [165]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

[1]First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA, mama.*

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA,* as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*puhot,* a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit,* i.e. brother-in-law,

[1]So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

1: Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Koret	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurom	8	8	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	18	26	16	18	102
Kolpai	25	18	17	9	6	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east–west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, " hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen " high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, ***muainonik***, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and ***inotet***, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F16 Dorobo F16

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

BEING SOME NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *DOROBO* [1] FOUND IN THE MASAI RESERVE OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS

THE name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai [3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torōbōni*, *Il-Torōbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-Hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. N. P. Barbellion), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to micturate on the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aroma, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] Cf. Æsop; Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 196–198.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ñgamñgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

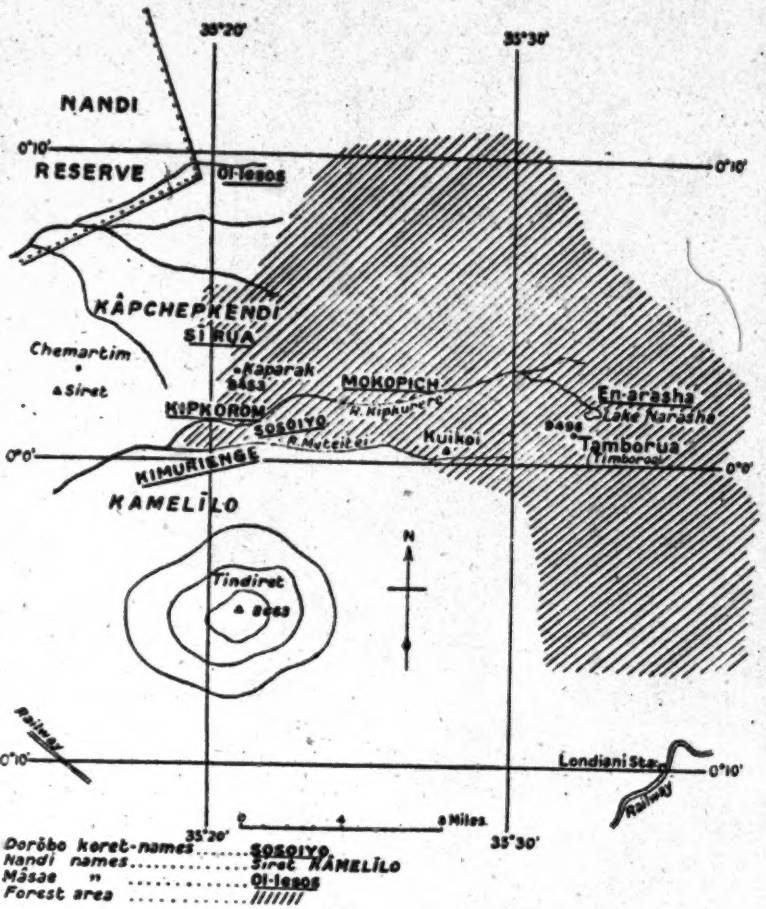

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DORÔBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorōbo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories. 174

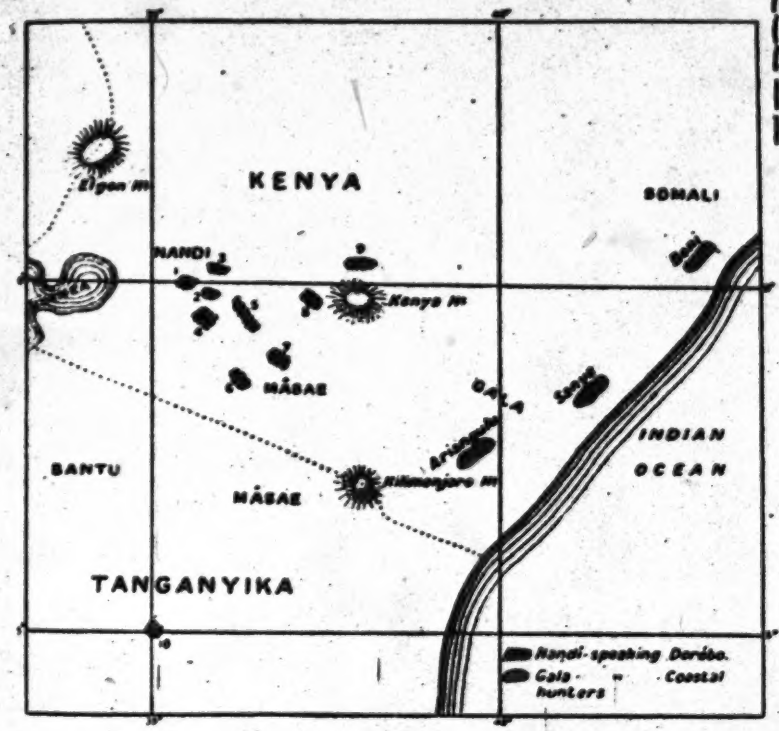

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Koïgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only 174 [173]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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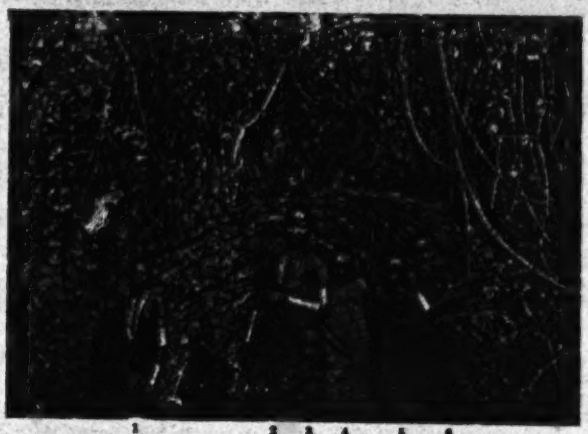
[142]



1 2 3 4 5 6

FIG. 1.—GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUTSIDE A HUT. NOS. 1 AND 2, MARRIED WOMEN "YÔÔTIK"; NOS. 3, 5 AND 6, GIRLS; NO. 4, A BOY.

FIG. 2.—HUT "KOCHIPORIT."

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FIG. 3.—THE COUNTRY ON THE EDGE OF THE FOREST, SEEN FROM SOSOIYO. NANDI HUTS WITH NANDI-BRED DORÔBO HUT (ON LEFT) IN FOREGROUND.

[Facing p.378, C]

MODERN HUNTERS.

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L:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VIth dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[5]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

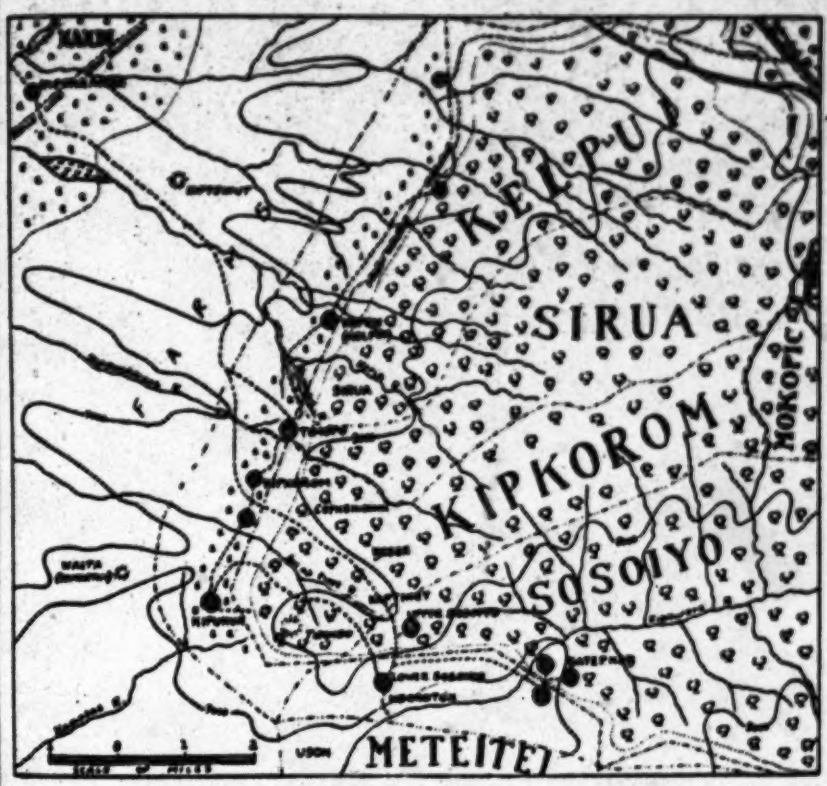
From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[6]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[5] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[6] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Sketch Map of the Kipkunerik Dorobo Country



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Reserve boundaries . . . . . .
Dorobo district boundaries (approx.) . . . . . .
Dorobo tracks . . . . . .
Edge of bush or forest . . . . . .

Forest . . . . . .
Bush . . . . . .
Dorobo settlements, 1939 . .
Farm lines at 1000 ft. V.I. . . . . .

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

133 9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 137 361 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Metoitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called [103] Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they [648] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

824 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

648 To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

Sketch Map of the Kipkoronik Dondo Country.

Kalenjin Bible (1938-1939) 1994 FLA Dondo FLA

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

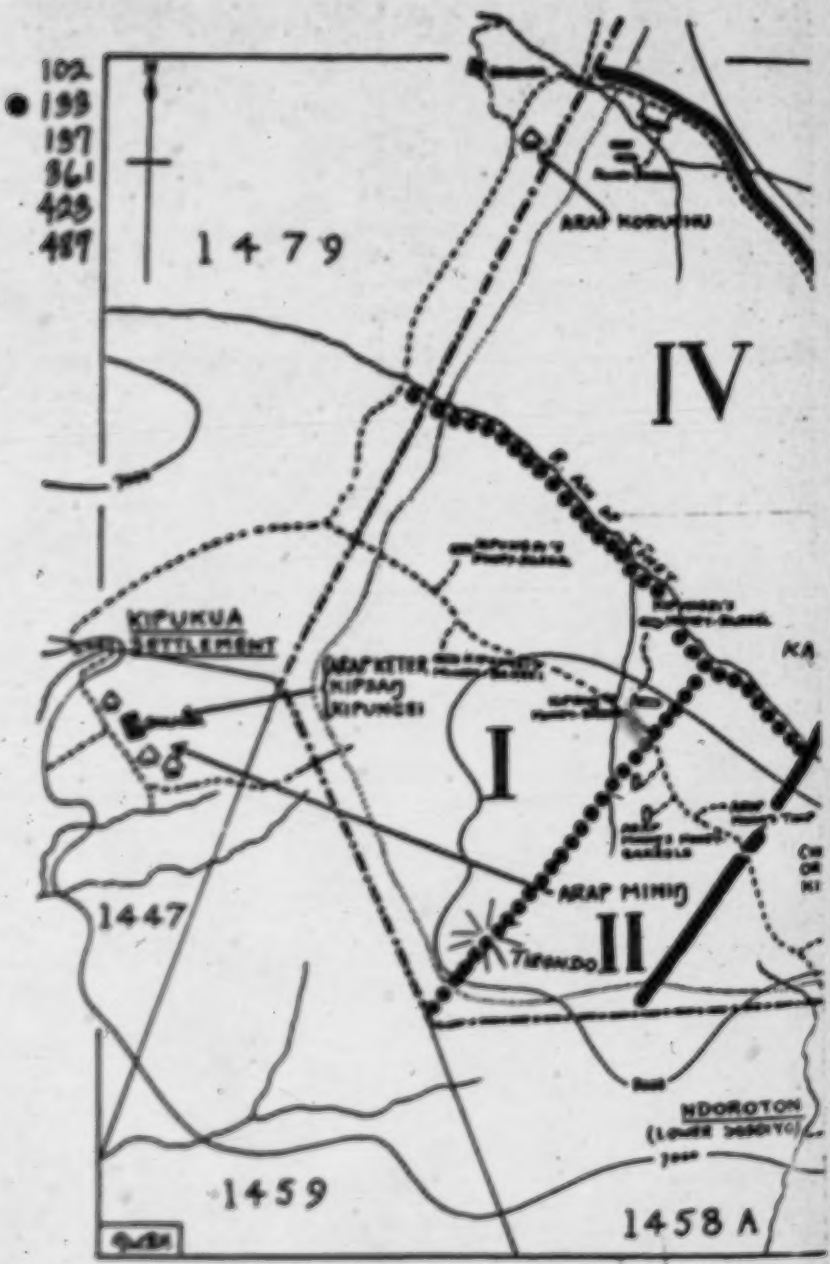
1. The Economic Framework[1]

The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12', the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17' and 35°32' respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 6300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 6500 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit[2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 5000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 4300 to 4900 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkunrow valley, whence there is a rise to be crossed before the river Molulisi is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkunrow, "the hollow river", in alluvium to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Naruaba near Timboroa. It crosses the southern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44, 1951, pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 133-146.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[7602]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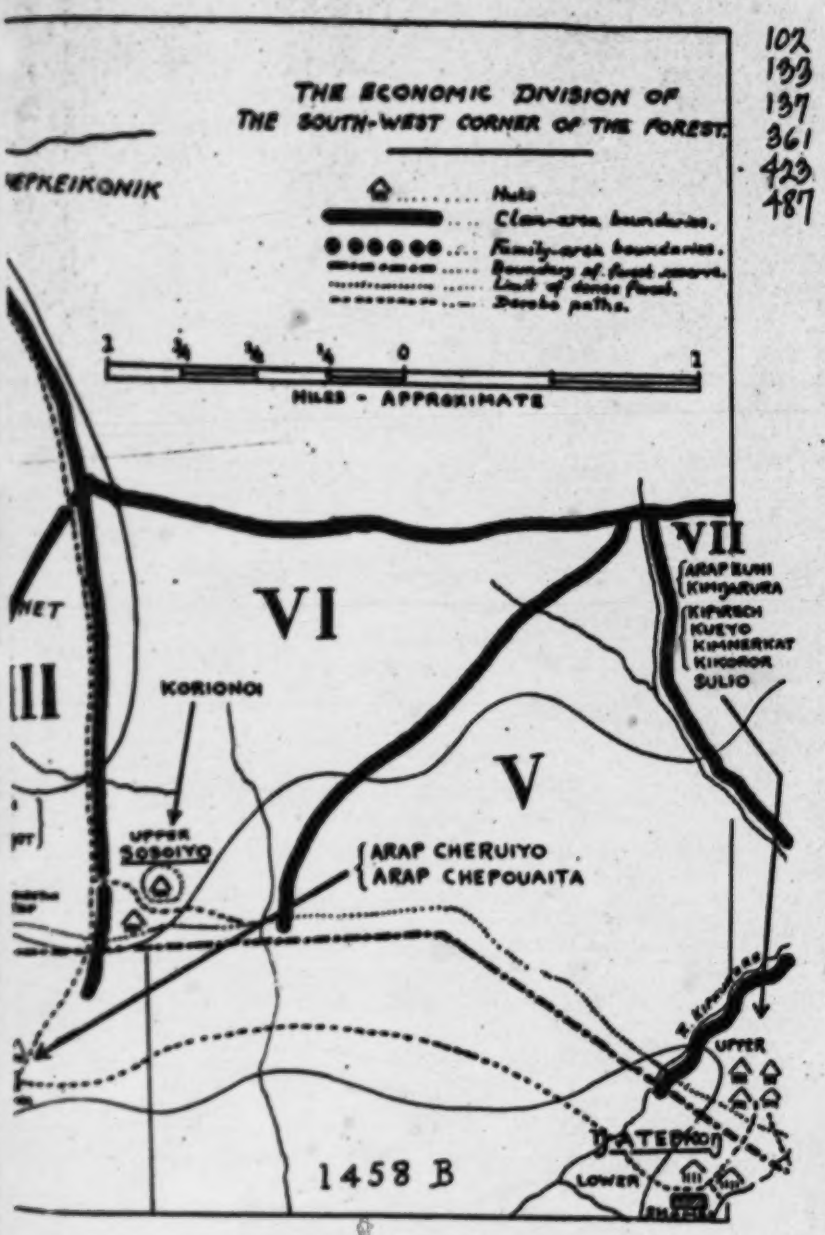

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7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6 ●
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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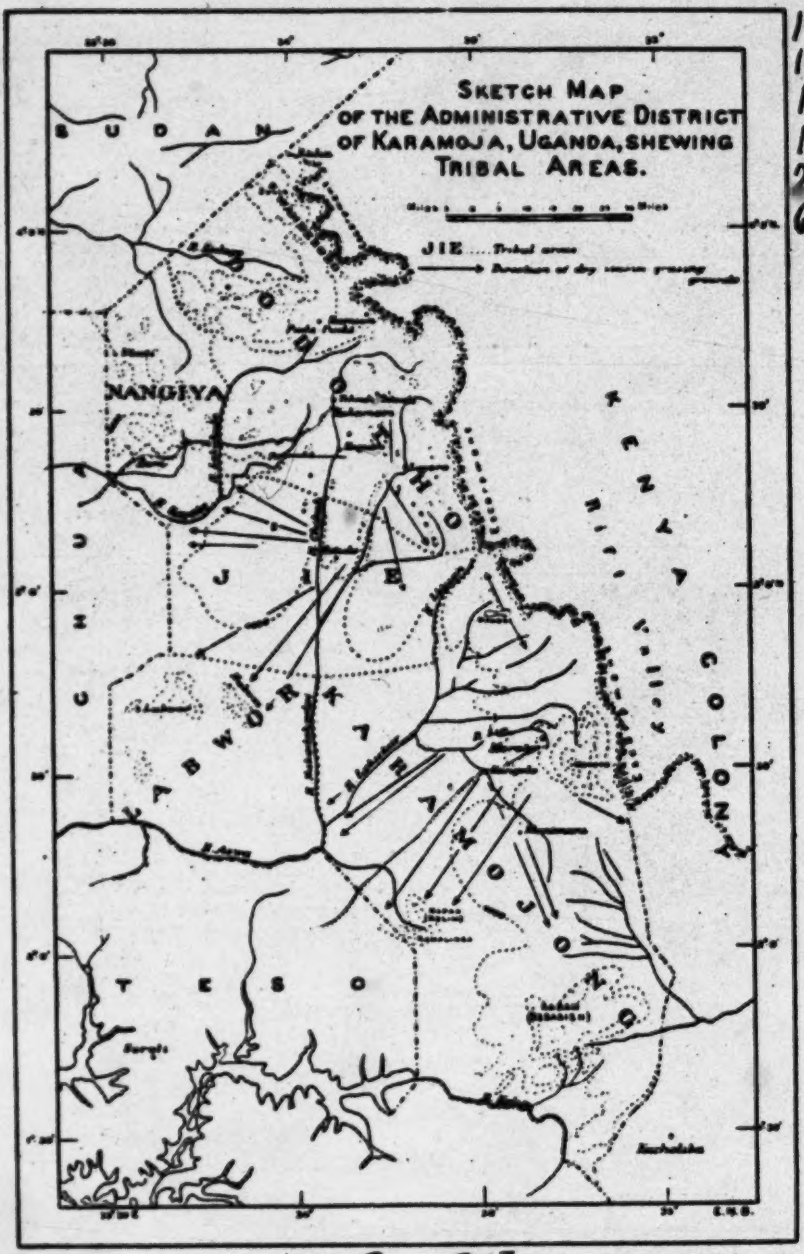

[p. 189]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Renny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimchanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kiboko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lobor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1920 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamojo is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone-Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See *Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kameon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as *Jie* and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karomojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magosi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	"
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kachama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	"
Ngi'ngoleriet	"
Ngi'merimong	"
Ngi'kopo	"
Ngi'pei	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	" "
Ngi'watia	" "
Ngi'kotido	" "
Ngi'panyangara	" "
Ngi'owtakow	" "
Ngi'silanga	" "

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Achole FK4
Jiye FK8

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FIG. 1.—TYPICAL GRANITE COUNTRY IN NORTHERN KARAMOJA.

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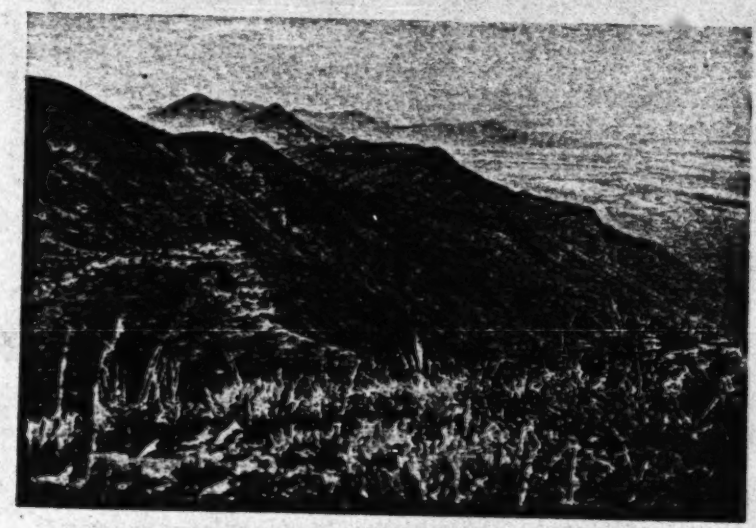

FIG. 2.—THE ANDERSOBO COUNTRY. THE RIFT ESCARPMENT SOUTH OF KAMBOS.

THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.

[p 230 (A)]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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FIG. 1.—AN ANDENDOBO VILLAGE.

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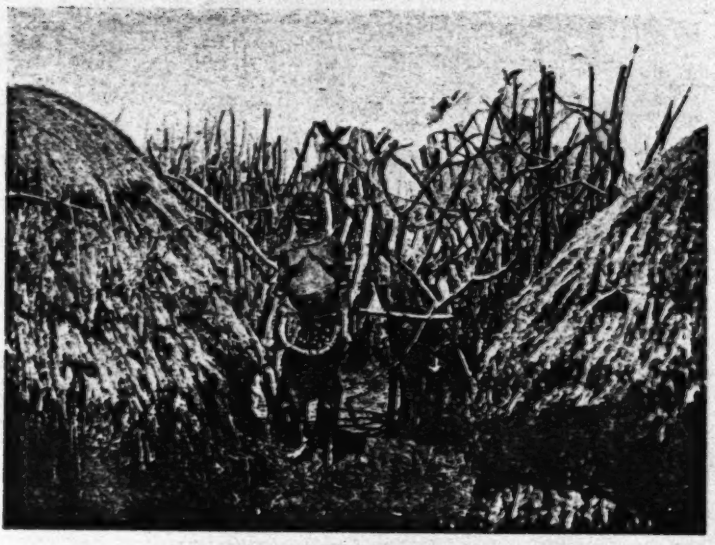


FIG. 2.—WITHIN AN ANDENDOBO VILLAGE.

[p230 (K)]

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ranguta Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P. 183, A]

[P. 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations: 614

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oruyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile. [842]
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of. [836]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mondsis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance. 596 [556] 583 [431] [648] 586 589

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of 131 [137] [487] 133

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mmoinonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

133 32 [165] [137] [311] [178]

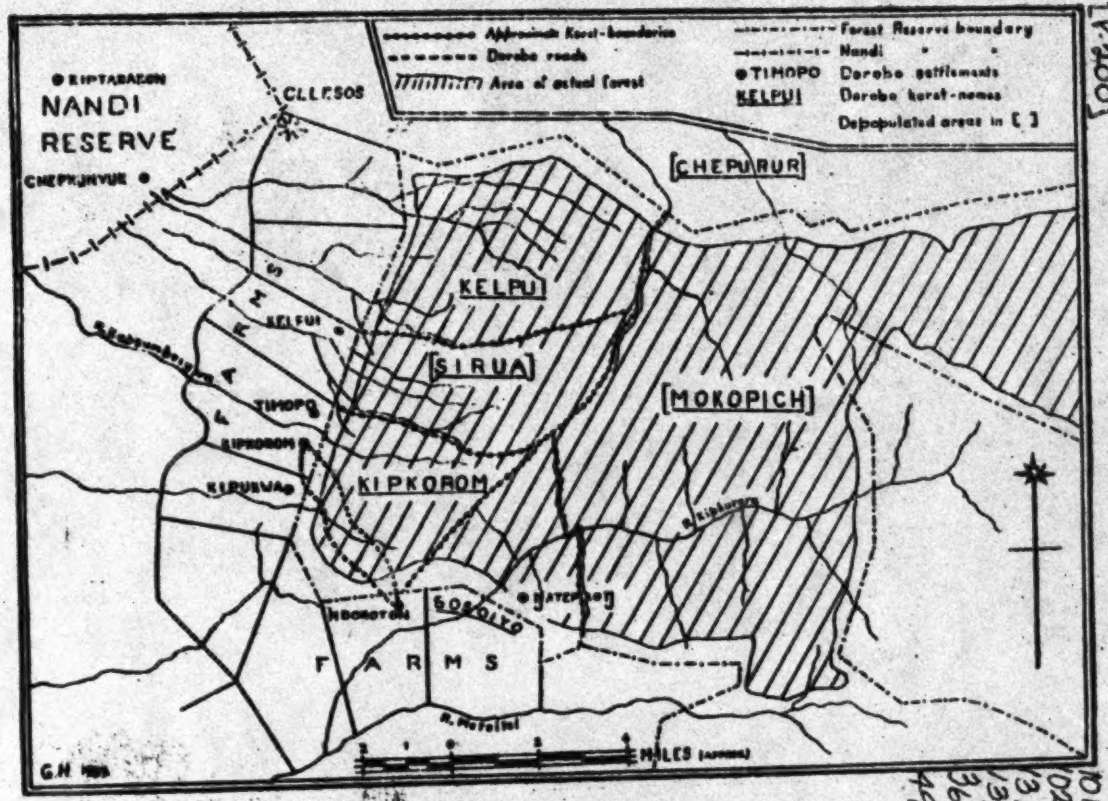
B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

224 [178] [648] [656] [241]

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

[594] [596] 462 [222] [241]



Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

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Mr. Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1942
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and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minij acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *ssainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*kerepet*) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torset*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

race "without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name "Dorobo" would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] "The Dorobo," say the Masai, "live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo?" While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name "Dorobo" here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word "Swahili" cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[1] Hobley, p. 135. [2] Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore.*
[3] Masai: *En-dorōbōni; pl. 'N-dorōbo;* the tsetse fly.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

Kweremsiit (N. *poi*[illegible]*t*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *korviityat*,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tisiet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *mosot*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Torset (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochœrus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ŋgetundo*).—Lion.
Soirt (N.).—Buffalo.
Pïliot (N.).—Elephant.

Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*elkwriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siwet* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasonat*, pl. *pasonik*; N. *moiŋet*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

To take honey, the Dorôbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorôbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriitjat*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

):Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

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Leglet (girl's)	..	ulapukwa (ulapukwet) ; pl., ulapukwa (ulapukiik) (N.).
Leopard	.. ..	mulil (mulilin) ; pl., mulilwa (mulilwak). (Nandi dialects mostly have mulilin. Ok., mutil.)
Lightning	.. ..	kulel (kulelet) ; pl., kulelwa (kulelik) (N.).
Lion	.. ..	arushi (arushit) ; pl., arushin (arushinik) (D.).
Liver	.. ..	emunyuai (emunyuait) ; pl., emunyuaik (emunyuaikik) (M.).
Lizard	.. ..	churingisiet (churingisiet) ; pl., churingisi (churingisiik) (N.).
Leg	.. ..	sulwa (sulwat) ; pl., sulwai (sulwaik) (N.).
Lover	.. ..	anaya (anaiet) ; pl., ana (anaik) (N.).
		arkilpua (arkilpuait) ; pl., arkilpuain (arkilpuainik) (D.).
Lover (girl)	.. ..	anawo (anawotiet) ; pl., anawowa (anawowaik) (N.).
Lung	.. ..	puanyo (puanyot) ; pl., puan (puanik) (N.).
Magic	.. ..	chepkesicha (chepkesichat) (N.).
Man	.. ..	chii (chiitu) ; pl., piich (piik) (N.).
Man (old)	.. ..	chwonokcha (chwonokchat) ; pl., chwonokin (chwonokiinik). M., ol-mwonu ; pl., il-mwonak.
		apaiyo (apaiyot) ; pl., apaio (apaiinik).
Marrow	.. ..	kutet (kutetet) ; pl., kutetin (kutetiinik) (D.).
Matter (pus)	..	puruntit (puruntik) (N., puruink).
Meat	.. ..	nyanya (nyanyait) ; pl., nyanyain (nyanyainik).
Medicine	.. ..	kwicha (kwichet) ; pl., kwich (kwichik) (N.).
Middle	.. ..	kwon (kwonet) ; pl., kwonwa (kwonwaik) (N.).
Milk	.. ..	chi (chiitu) (N.).
Monkey—		
Baboon	.. ..	kemokcha (kemokchat) ; pl., kemokchin (kemokchaiinik) (D.).
Cercopithecus albigularis		tinis (tinisi) ; pl., tinsi (tinik) (N.).
Cercopithecus grisco-viridis		chepkimisyo (chepkimisyot) ; pl., chepkimisyo (chepkimisyainik) (D.).
Colobus	.. ..	saiwo (saiwot) ; pl., saiwa (saiwaik) (D.).
Mouse	.. ..	aywa (aywat) ; pl., ayi (aywak) (N.).
Morning	.. ..	kwan.
Mosquito	.. ..	tingwich (tingwichet) ; pl., tingwich (tingwichik) (N.).
Moon	.. ..	kwhimchi (kwhimchiret) ; pl., kwhimchin (kwhimchiik) (D.).
Moth	.. ..	tapuryor (tapuryoriet) ; pl., tapuryor (tapuryoik) (N.).
Mother	.. ..	kiko ; eiyo (N.).
My mother (man speaking)		pilkiso.
My mother (woman speaking)		eiyo.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or [592] [594] domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both [262] wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old [224] days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought. [263]
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

*Ngomwoyot**, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipankout, the blue duiker (*C. sequatorialis*).
Mindet, the red duiker (*C. ignu-inusi*).
Kerumsiit, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irakuiet, the reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kwopiet, the oribi (*Ourebia montana*).
Kipamoret, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Saiwet, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiniet, Sykes' monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Cemwet, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwonkwet, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Tawait, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tamsia, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Mulilin, the leopard.
Simbit, the lion.
Sinit, the buffalo.
Pelinit, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor [134] have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not as plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sinisik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mmomyet*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *kwotyet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasweiet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sisot*, gynandropsis gynandra, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana is very [illegible] is eaten by the Dorobo, and is quite edible [illegible] women and children; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *sapangat* bush (*zanthoxylum tetraphyllum*), or of the *sawagat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little sometimes beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kyhotiek* or *kwosik ap ko*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *ratiwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kiruun ratik, kotyole mat ki kokwon;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled so the fire that they may be soft.
Kiruu chuke ki kotyole tukul ar ayaniun ko
They are washed in the river that they may be hot the things which are dirty
kotyoobunit. Kiruu ki kayanuis. Kiruk ipat
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ole mat kwosiet ptar, ki kwosunit, kiruk ekipat
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the seed-

explored, and recommended as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the 173
places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the 614-
north were the ancestors of the Barogoi, Gidamyaki, Lotinji, and Dorobo Masai. 648

Mr. Hobley spells these as follows:—Ilparkia, Il-kik-enyokie, Il-oitai and [114]
Il-dorobo.

Some generations later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Barogoi in the direction of Kyanwazi country; these people were like Masai and were under one Kibongoto, the son of Kibarmarwani. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Kibongoto was a clever leader, however, and he cultivated his beaten adversaries and settled them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamwezi occupied the whole of the Kenia-Londiani plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Kibarmarwani, or his son Kibongoto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain ruin there which are to be seen in some of the Kenia valleys; these were certainly not made by the Masai, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then occupied by their tribe, but was one of the great 194
hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. [136]
In those days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, ousting the Dorobo as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwimgo, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chago. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins.

On the Kamasgishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Kipsyo, 193
there are remains of a great race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, similar to Chago. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mukwen (possibly the people were called Nandi-en, and the Nandi Mukwani who occupied Ararat-en-nian, and the "pigmy" who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Kojos by the Kikuyu and Elgonyis by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Purko, Il-Ashipishi, and Il-Chini Masai, the branch of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggish tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they found a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to eat they took out the plug. The loss of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both lower ears to early youth. So this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-haired cattle possibly points to an offshoot [194]
of some Semitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migrations might have one to be contemporaneous with the Kimo invasion of Uganda. Soon after the domination of this tribe by the Masai the horned cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plagues.

The Aggish also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Wandorobi (Akoma who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have occupied only 2 feet in stature.

They also tell that they learnt from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white man (called Mundungu) existed in the south. Doubtless some of the white men's utensils were passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen himself.

C. W. HOBLEY.

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
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[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

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C. Techniques

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The dry weather, *emsimondi*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *kwot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*kerogwet*) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] Female, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and *Tyrwot*, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

[P.193, A]

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

224 [136] [193] [231]

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

[264]

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

423 [648] [428] [582]

[1] *Ratel*, Calobus goreus;
Chereet, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis;
Tiriet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis; [136]
Kwedichet, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each [251] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow • [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el maîn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

411 In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or 322 busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with [46] making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making [462] of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] [533] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [839] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipsehet, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis). [136]
Mindet, red duiker (c. ignæ-isaaci.)
Keremaiit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, [136] especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Korst	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkorom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kolpui	25	19	17	9	6	76
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Source: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidog (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent hofne, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

Hunting

The year was divided into two seasons, *maainonik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

262 Keremsiit (N. *poinet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
136 Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *koroiitynt*,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiniet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus grisco-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Toraet (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochærus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ägetundo*).—Lion.
Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.
Pëliot (N.).—Elephant.

262 Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sëuriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such
● 139 as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siwet* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasanat*, pl. *pasanik*; N. *moingat*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

222 To take honey, the Dorōbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorōbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriityet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

264 In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

192 197 *Note.*—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (N.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Nandi word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorōbo word. In several cases the Nandi words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorōbo word, *e.g.* "mesundeito," the Dorōbo for "night," means in Nandi, "darkness when there is no moon." And when, *e.g.*, "paal" is marked (N.) it does not necessarily follow that the Nandi is "paal" (in this case the Nandi is "pal"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Nandi, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Māsai.

Examples of Dorōbo. (True Dorōbo in italics.)

192 539 Ker-oti *Obick* si ko-*sue* *kochongwick*
They-are-walking-about-looking-at the-Dorōbo that they-may-know the-huts
chepo piik ap *sumeita*.
which-are-of the-people of the-forest.

Ma-ngo-mi *sombisiek* *samakuek* korosuo-chu.
Not-and-there-are the-lions (in) the-forests (in) countries-these.

Mi-i *kisamet* ne lony-e *iloota*.
There-is the-bridge which it-crosses the-river.

Ki-ichōm-doi-i *ki-sugas* āāg *ūgōkik*.
We-go that-we-may-hunt with the-dogs.

Ko'len *olmoruokchot* A-mach-e *simborokuet* *ko-chōm-un* si ko-ram
And-he-says the-old-man I-want the-girl that-she-comes that she-may-draw
ungare.
the-water.

Ki-pendi *samak*[1] ki-*sugas* tornet ne meny-e ye mi-i
We-go forest we-hunt the-bush-pig which it-dwells where there-is
oldamiyoit.
the-olive-tree.

VII.—List of Trees and Plants.

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
192 197 137 chelumbut	ēwât	
chepkeipet		
chesicheiyot	chesicheiyet	
choruet	choruet	*ficus* sp.
ketit-ap-Inaiik		
kāposwet	serengwet	
kāput-kalial	kāpkiloluet	

[1] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Ravine Dorōbo (*Man*, 1905, 21), the phrase "kibendi samak," lit. "we go to forest," is given for "hunt."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
kaliot	keliot	*acacia senegal* var. *kerensis*.
kaninet	serkutiet	
kaiuyuwet	martit	
kipeichekwet	siriat	
kipkomotot	kipkoskosit	
kipsepuet	kipsepuet	*tilia* sp.
kiptilliet	kipuimotyet	
kiserset	kuneruet	*cedrus* sp.
koropanyat	kormanyat	
kuriot	kuriot	
kwâmereryet	chepsaîgalnet	
laropat	ket-ê-ka	
leuseiyuet	lamaiyuet	*zimmia amariana*.
mâchet	soiyet	
mareeto	sakonwet	
masaita		
misaleyuet	masiririet	*polygonum senegalense*.
moiyuet	cheptangolik	parasite, tree-rope.
momonyat	momonyot	*rubus rigidus*.
mukupchot	lepekwet	*dracæna* sp.
ndorokyat		
ñganasyat	chepkeleliet	
nyaklet	kipsutiet	parasite, tree-rope.
olchapalait	chepîtet	
oldamiyoit	emdit	*olea chrysophylla*.
ororuet	teldet	*ficus* sp.
pôpônet	siksiket	
porôwet	silipchet	*dombeya* sp.
rêrenslet	kureslet	*euphorbia candelabrum*.
rosopeiyet	leltonget	*abutilon indicum*.
saptet	tarakwet	*podocarpus* sp.
sâsuriet	sasuriot	*musa enseta*.
seet	seet	
senetwet	senetwet	*cassia didymobotrya*.
seûgeñgwet	sosoiyat	
sutuet	katet; sertuet	*acacia robusta*.
sitotwet	sitotyot	
soboitit	simotuet	*ficus* sp.
somiyat	tekat	*arundinaria alpina*.
sumbeiyuet	sumbeiyuet	

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenetwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*amilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorōbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikîs, Lumbwa.—Kipsikîsin (Kipsikîsindet); pl., Kipsikîs (Kipsikîsiek). il-Kakesant.
Mâsae, Uasin Gîshu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Moe (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorōbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorōbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorōbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Mâsae to the Bantu " savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = " the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning " boy."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

1. The Economic Framework [1]

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The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12′, the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17′ and 35°32′ respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 8300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 8000 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit [2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 7000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 6300 to 6800 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkurere valley, whence there is a rise to be crossed before the river Meteitei is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkurere, "the hollow river", in allusion to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Narasha near Timboroa. It crosses the southern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

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[137]

[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1951. pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 49. 1954. pp. 123-143.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[4602]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work [3].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*tereita*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

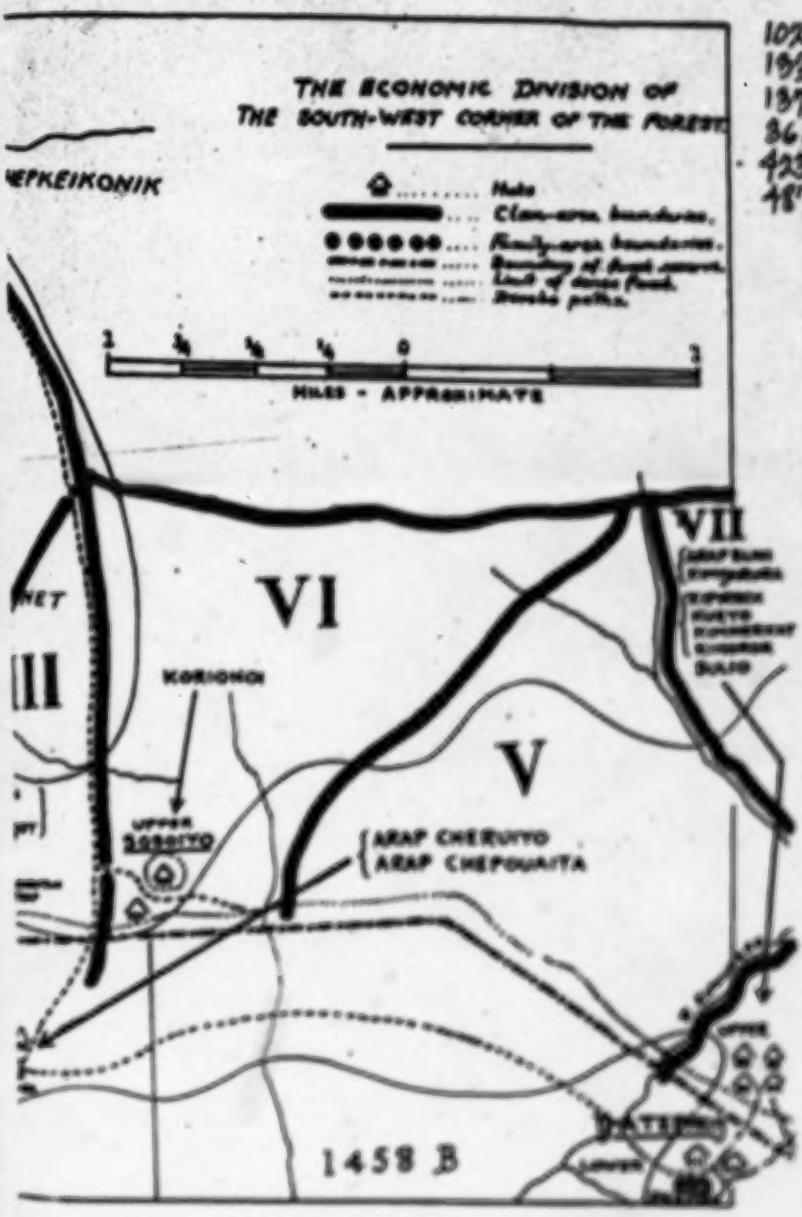
From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Coruet, ficus sp.
Keliot, acocanthera Schimperi.
Kipsepuet, tilia sp.
Lemeiyuet, ximenia americana.
Mindeiyuet, polygonum senegalense.
Mukupcot, dracaena sp.
Oltamiyoit, olea chrysophylla.
Ororuet, ficus sp.
Poroet, Dombeya sp.
Rerendet, euphorbia candelabrum.
Saptet, podocarpus sp.
Sasuriet, musa ensete.
Senetuet, cassia didymobotrya.
Sestuet, acacia robusta.
Sopoitit, ficus sp.
Sosoiyat, arundinaria alpina.
Teet, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[3] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



102
193
137
361
423
487

7: Wayland 31-5 (ca. 1924) 1931 FLA Overdue FL6
Joye FK5
Achol FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamona and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Kenmojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gallery that cut into the escarpment that separates Kenmojo from the Turkana country very large figs-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Kenmojo District derives from the name Kenmojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Kenmojong; the central part of the country is known as *Je* and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodoths and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodoth (Dodoths).

The following nomenclature of the varied scenery are taken (with very slight adaptations) from a "Report on the Kenmojo District," by Capt. A. R. Chalton Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1929:—

(1) Kenmojo.	Area.
Ng'ameso	Bogoi (in Shoma).
Ng'amolubo	Shoma
Ng'ingoro	"
Ng'ipan	Nadi Nadi and Kibo
Ng'lokomo	Dakoshon Hill.
Ng'moru	Rokoro
Ng'nomingo	"
Ng'ngalabich	"
Ng'nomilomong	"
Ng'ongo	"
Ng'ori	"

(2) Je.	Area.
Ng'ongora	Je-central.
Ng'lolongo	" "
Ng'nolia	" "
Ng'lolubo	" "
Ng'pompompom	" "
Ng'nolubone	" "
Ng'olongo	" "

[P 184, B]

The social structure of the Dombo is based on class solidarity, the class being partilineal, partially patrilineal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but have the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

614
[241]
[101]
[177]
[55]
[137]
[241]

[P.184, C]

3. The depressing influence on the mind of trees in mass.

4. The effect of being cut off from neighbours even if the next settlement is but a few yards away, it cannot be seen, and the trees act as an enclosing wall forming an impenetrable barrier.

5. Forest life tends to produce shyness and timidity, especially with strangers, who, not being expected, and having presumably no legitimate business, are thought to have bad intentions.

Some of the differences between the Dorobo and the Nandi, which are produced by these factors, are:

Shyness; comparative absence of laughter; seriousness of outlook; nearness to nature, as shown by the weather- and animal-sense of the Dorobo; and the comparative honesty of the Dorobo. Even when Dorobo leave the forest and mix with others, they still retain these characteristics.

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes [114] into the affinal or relationship [except B. Ka. G. D.], that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enjoin.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister [191] because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., B.W., or Ha.D.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone to the affinal [194] is forbidden; but with a classificatory sweetheart, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth [195] have resulted in the Dandas being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may [195A] have more than one wife. The Saibai Dandagai[1] is said to have been formerly a cause for slaughtering; today it is 2 axes, 1 ax and 4 yards, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This Saibai is high for [196] people who own little or no work, but by means [196A] of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the [196B] Papuan (See below, p. 202.) Scarcity of women is another result of this shortage, and does a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability [197] to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called sandals, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kaiwalagal Dandas is the [21] western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Gidamu Bandas and the Fiwali aborigines. The greater part of it is [191] covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the [191A] S. W. course by two parallel ranges from Kiphamaru to the north to Dibamaru to the south. The [20] former begins about the 9,000 ft. contour, and is rocky. It rises very quite suddenly a steep climb of

[1] The Saibai term is "Bride-price to antiquity," Haddon, Soc. Org.

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 4,200 ft. to 3,400 ft., though the main river, the Kiptaren, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kaptaren farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 36.24 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 39.22 inches in 1932, the minimum 29.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high labour mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (*acacia albida*), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwaitumik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Amet*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the new clearances hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1920 when the Government started actively to control their forest life, and (2) the present trapping agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the clan-community or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work envisages no more owners, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and basketry; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging cultivated earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

7: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

D 3 197

albeit with dialectical variations, is common to the rest of Kavirondo (except the hill tribes of Mount Debasien (Kadam) and Mount Moroto), they have a language of their own.

WAKEDERO MEASUREMENTS, TAKEN AT KISUMU.

D 141

Name.	Approximate Age.	Head.				Height.	Remarks.
		L.	B.	C.I.	Average C.I.		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	71·6	[illegible]	Women.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	72·66	[illegible]	Young Females.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The head measurements taken on this occasion

Kenyah Vocabulary.

D 3 192 197

English.	Dorobo.	Kavirondo.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

D
JA
12
171

organizations, rainstones, masks and ancestor figures (nor have the peoples of Karamoja any legend of the "Great Flood"). As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the remoteness of those progenitors, whose ghostly visitations and "callings" are at times so disturbing, is not determinable, but I could not learn of ancestors whose generation was separated from that of the present by more than two others.

[173]
D
141
174

The smallness of the Anderobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and inspection of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests, but the suggestion may be deceptive, that in this case adaptability and physical variation are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

D
JA
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Tribe.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Males.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Females.	Dif. in Stature Maxima between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. in Stature Minima between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. of Max. Stature of Males over Min. of Females. (Adults.)	Dif. of Max. Stature of Females over Min. of Males. (Adults.)
Dodoths	27·5					
Jie	33·3	19·3	25·5	11·7	45·0	7·6
Labwor	29·9	19·9	6·5	6·8	36·7	17·1
Wanderobo	13·4	7·2	2·6	2·6	10·6	10·6

/432 cont./

B. Physical Measurement.

M D 141 [123]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward; I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

M D 141 128

/433/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

18: Merker--594 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/436/

No. 2.

No. 13, ol lumbuani man. No. 14, ol muli man. Nos. 15 to 18, El dorobo (Asa) men.

Running Number	13	14	15	16	17	18
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Hgt. of crown	1737	1695	1803	1720	1610	1677
" " ear opening	1507	1549	1682	1583	1479	1530
" " chin edge	1513	1450	1559	1493	1384	1469
" " upper sternal-edge	1437	1385	1520	1417	1322	1388
" " nipples	1300	1272	1402	1308	1207	1250
" " navel	1040	1038	1120	1023	977	1012
" " symphysis	892	913	995	891	835	868
" " perineum	814	820	925	830	770	820
" " acromion	1439	1365	1530	1436	1342	1351
" " elbow joint	1129	1061	1199	1120	1080	1075
" " styloid process of radius	854	810	855	871	806	841
" " middle-finger tip	653	633	706	661	641	660
" " iliac crest	1036	1040	1145	1043	975	1016
" " iliac spine	987	985	1096	995	939	963
" " large trochanter	913	926	1019	916	849	895
" " knee joint	499	481	534	492	453	485
" " inner ankle-tip	77	74	89	68	64	72
" " 7th cervical vertebra	1480	1438	1562	1478	1374	1435
" " 8th lumbar vertebra	1020	1074	1145	1076	951	1011
Breadth between acromions	364	341	388	339	344	334
" " iliac spines	237	231	255	253	215	221
" " iliac crests	247	250	268	268	239	250
" " trochanters	278	278	283	279	254	269
Outer conjugata	190	222	216	201	174	184
Circumference of thorax	830	842	850	760	760	770
" " waist	805	803	790	714	692	734
" " thigh	508	514	520	485	444	464
" " calf	321	328	320	330	293	277
Hgt. of crown above sitting surface	860	836	843	847	799	822
Projection length of cranium	201	205	199	194	185	189
Cranial breadth	144	149	139	144	137	139
Longitudinal diameter of cranium	199	203	196	189	179	186
Glabella to occipital protuberance	174	180	177	169	154	164
Head breadth above tragus	132	139	128	120	114	119
Breadth of zygomatic arch	143	—	138	141	123	130
Breadth between outer orbital-edges	114	114	105	107	98	97
Breadth between outer canthi	98	98	95	100	88	85

18: Merker-1895 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

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MD 141

Running Number	13	14	15	16	17	18
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Breadth between inner canthi	37	37	35	30	32	31
" " lower corners of zygomata	120	110	110	106	100	97
Br. between lower-jaw corners	98	101	109	96	79	79
Distance from chin to hairline	189	196	191	195	187	172
" " " " root of nose	114	116	117	109	119	96
" " " " lower limit of nose	72	73	69	63	68	55
Distance from chin to mouth	48	50	53	39	47	34
" " " " tragus	147	137	148	134	134	128
" " tragus to root of nose	119	104	119	115	116	110
Length of ear	87 / 46	70 / 46	103 / 48	68 / 47	61 / 45	56 / 35
" " nose	42	51	48	46	49	41
Breadth of nose	38	39	36	33	32	41
" " mouth	46	58	59	52	48	48
Length of thumb	75	60	69	62	57	58
" " middle finger	106	94	98	98	94	89
Breadth of hand at start of fingers	78	78	81	76	73	72
Length of foot	263	250	266	262	240	245
Breadth of foot	96	94	92	95	84	83
Longit. circumf. of head	400?	382	362	370	351	362
Horiz. circumf. of head	573	563	539	536	533	537
Vert. circumf. of head	324	383	305	336	310	312
Pathom breadth	1830	1750	1920	1760	1650	1770
Length of head hair	3 cm	2 cm	1½ cm	3—4 cm	6 cm	6 cm

18: Merker--602 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/444/ No. 6

Nos. XXXX to XXXXIII, Women, El dorobo (Asa).

• 141

Running Number	XXXX	XXXXI	XXXXII	XXXXIII
Sex	♀	♀	♀	♀
Height of crown	1493	1550	1487	1601
" " ear opening	1347	1429	1347	1465
" " chin edge	1375	1357	1377	1367
" " upper sternal-edge	1319	1278	1243	1299
" " nipples	1008	1090	1027 / 1044	1055 / 1076
" " navel	889	944	916	989
" " symphysis	750	801	764	840
" " perineum	689	733	711	755
" " acromion	1186	1256	1232	1311
" " elbow joint	930	1002	977	1007
" " styloid process of radius	722	759	751	787
" " middle-finger tip	570	572	575	613
" " iliac crest	888	925	898	953
" " iliac spine	846	900	856	928
" " large trochanter	777	819	785	837
" " knee joint	394	432	427	447
" " inner ankle-tip	62	62	64	68
" " 7th cervical vertebra	1251	1324	1267	1351
" " 5th lumber vertebra	863	947	911	970
Breadth between acromions	314	324	294	316
" " iliac spines	214	233	224	246
" " iliac crests	225	250	243	257
" " trochanters	344	377	359	393
Outer conjugate	177	209	189	199
Circumference of thorax	735	749	730	770
" " waist	640	716	715	675
" " thigh	515	518	476	530
" " calf	295	282	261	300
Height of crown above sitting surface	—	—	—	—
Projection length of cranium	175	187	181	190
Cranial breadth	134	138	132	143
Longitudinal diameter of cranium	177	185	179	188
Glabella to occipital protuberance	147	154	151	171
Head breadth above tragus	113	119	116	122
Breadth of zygomatic arch	124	134	128	135
Breadth between outer orbital-edges	100	109	104	103
" " " canthi	86	92	88	91
" " inner canthi	33	38	34	33

18: Merker--603 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

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Running Number	XXXX	XXXXI	XXXXII	XXXXIII
Sex	♀	♀	♀	♀
Breadth between lower corners of the zygomata	100	101	107	103
" " lower-jaw corners	89	77	89	85
Distance from chin to hairline	176	167	166	186
" " " " root of nose	92	97	90	105
" " " " lower limit of nose	55	53	52	62
" " " " mouth	34	36	33	42
" " " " tragus	123	132	122	135
" " tragus to root of nose	104	118	107	119
Length of ear	68	67	109	104
	32	38	46	47
" " nose	37	42	38	43
Breadth of nose	34	36	30	30
" " mouth	49	50	44	47
Length of thumb	50	53	59	52
" " middle finger	74	97	91	88
Breadth of hand at start of fingers	69	72	69	67
Length of foot	212	231	231	229
Breadth of foot	79	82	78	92
Longitudinal circumference of head	360	340	341	358
Horizontal circumference of head	517	521	510	539
Vertical circumference of head	303	294	294	303
Fathom breadth	1490	1720	1540	1630
Length of head hair	rasiert	rasiert	rasiert	rasiert

/rasiert = shaved/

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000 /Pages 446-456 containthe index, which has not been translated; see the foreign text; Pl. 1-6 and an end map follow the index at the end of the original purce./

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

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Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kilitu area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

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291
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A *Mdorobo* (left) and a Masai of the *'L-Aiser* Clan. The Photograph was taken at Kirava. They have Encrusted their Weapons. (McCall.)

(To face page 130.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthroponetrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

Dorobo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
sorook ("grass")	sakametyet	grass.
taptet	setyet	
teet	tarakwet	*Juniperus procera.*
tegilik	indakarist	*acacias arborea.*
tenetwet	tendust	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*acalia integrifolia.*
terenyat	terenyat	
tilnet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—Life or These Names.

Dorobo.—Okio (Okiet); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyet); pl., Keyo (Keyek).
Enengesa.—Aasegio (Aasegiet); pl., Aasego (Aasegik.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Leminet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsikisin (Kipsikisinet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsikisik). 2-Kakwanet.
Masai, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapsho (Ipkwapshet); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapsh.).
Nandi.—Moyot (Moyont); pl., Mot (Mosk).[1]
"Sirikwa."—*Kipchoptoon.*

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorobo.[2]

By the Hon. F. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorobo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorobo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Masai to the Swahili "savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lumbwa — "the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is *kim*, and the end meaning "boy."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. F. L. O'Brien.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

one or two features which are worth mentioning; but these are far more likely to be due to environment than to be true racial distinctions. 142

The Dorobo are usually small in stature, averaging about 5 ft. 6 in.; this, however, may be accounted for, because, like the Wanderobi (Congo Pygmies), they are forest-dwellers.

The Dorobo, like the Nandi and other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, are dolichocephalic, although not markedly so, and in some cases even inclined to mesocephaly. Their skulls tend to slope up from a rather flat frontal bone to the occipital, giving one rather the impression of very slight artificial cranial deformation. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain *any* specimens of their crania; but, even if we had, I believe it would have been almost impossible to distinguish them from any Nandi specimens. [144]

For a black race their noses are narrow, being distinctly leptorhine, with a well-formed bridge; this may be accounted for by the fact that, although they live actually on the Equator, they live at an altitude of from 8,000 to 9,000 ft. in the dense forest, where it never really gets hot, and at night it is bitterly cold; hence they show very little tendency towards the true platyrrhine nose, so intimately associated with the tropics. On the whole, the lips of the Dorobo appeared somewhat thinner than those of the Nandi. [31]

Colour of Skin.—The younger children, who presumably have never been out of the forest, were of a distinctly lighter colour than the average (*cf.* Congo Pygmies). Otherwise the Dorobo were of the same colour as the Nandi.

That the Dorobo are habitually hairless, and have hair on their bodies and legs, is an absolute fallacy. It is true, however, that several of the old men whom we met had beards, but no more so than their Nandi neighbours. We met none with hair on their bodies or legs.[1]

Hair.—In hair classification the Dorobo are typical Ulotrichi.

Artificial Deformation and Mutilation.—The Dorobo, like most Nilo-Hamites, pierce and elongate the lobes of the ears, and it was interesting to note that, in a great many cases, among the old men, these lobes had been broken by being caught by branches in the forest. 304 [91]

The Dorobo usually extract the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. They also practise circumcision and clitoridectomy.

[1] We emphasize this point, because there seems to be an idea that the Dorobo are a "bearded" people, *e.g.*, Dr. Gaisky in *Man*, 1905, 57, p. 89. Whatever other sections of the Dorobo may be, the Kimalilo-Kipsigisiek certainly are not more bearded than any other tribe. [94]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)929 F'LA Dorobo F'LA

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LIX, 1929, Plate XXVI

912
142
912

Kenya Colony

[illegible 1 9?8, 4]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. (n.s.), 1995, Plate 3 (p.S13)

Fig. 1.—Kiffa Arabian "mauvaismaison," seen dust on the photographer's breath, effective a relative impressing at your Mauritanian, this invasion raises

Fig. 2.—Kiffa Arabian girl, a Mauritanian, this curiosity, invasion your masculine, to that interest on this photographer's gaze

Fig. 3.—Kiffa Arabian

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 113, 1983, Plate 3.1 (1)(2)

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• [40]

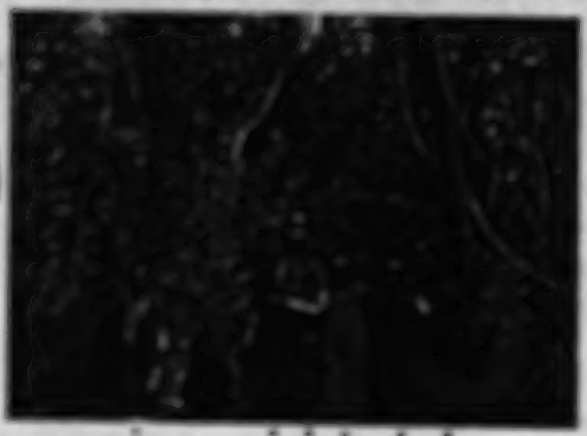


Fig. 1.—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible]. [illegible] 1 and 2, [illegible] [illegible] "[illegible]"; [illegible] 3, 4 and 5, [illegible]; [illegible] 6, a [illegible].

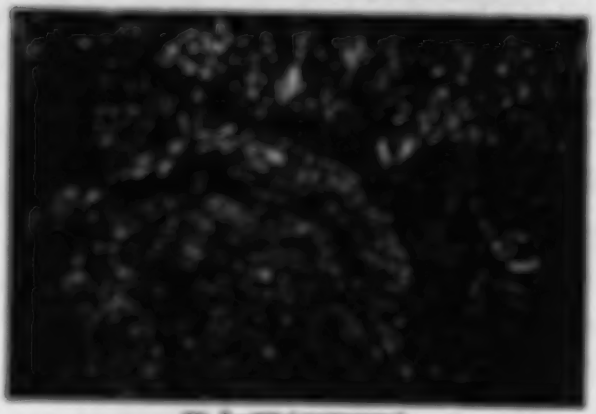


Fig. 2.—[illegible] "[illegible]"

133
361

Fig. 3.—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

C.W.S. Stevenson, B.Sc., The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

a : Army Rising

b : Lighthouse on Hill

c : Conference on Station

d : Attack on Farmhouse

[Facing P. 30]

[illegible]

Physical Characteristics.—The Wuskwatis, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dakotas and other tribes of Sunwapta (Pl. CXVII, figs. 4 and 5). [illegible]

The Village.—The Wuskwatis village (above) is characteristically situated on the ridge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. CXVIII), and has an inner and outer enclosure, within the whole every trail into the [illegible] village is built exclusively. Within the village the huts are grouped in rows or fours or so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the sloping through which one may easily crawl, with a tiny compound to which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Shelter trenches, easily dug in the [illegible] of a raft of sticks and together, and form one compound to another. The whole affair is very much like a compact town. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Plate No. [illegible] the lower the habitation and the upper, which opens on the side, for storing grain and property.

[illegible]

They are built of grass and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and heaped outside the village, the heap of which, every time the camp is [illegible] to a considerable size that protects the village from cold blowing winds.

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Lakota except that considerably more [illegible] than the latter.

Livestock.—The Wuskwatis are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dakotas, and they keep dogs.

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wuskwatis are the richest growers of Sunwapta, and in an example of the [illegible] of what scarcity is easy to extract that the people say they have always grown [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] A Note, Brief,
[illegible] concerning the Remains of Stone, Bronze, Shell, Ivories, [illegible] 17
By C. W. Bailey, Assoc. M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

To the east of Dumli country, in the Sha Forest north-west of Mount Thaloma, live a tribe of so-called Chinese people, who, the other branches of their race, write solely for trading, and possess neither books nor lands, neither do they cultivate the soil.

By the Dumli they are called the Ugalah, and they call themselves the Chumli. They have intimate relations with the Eastern Dumli, and generally speak the Dumli language; in fact, members of the young Dumli men, for whom the free hunting life has a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Ugalah women. It is now difficult to discover what is the true aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, rather straighter hair than the majority of the Dumli, and had very peculiar eyes, which resembled one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of the girl with some four mads from the veg of the "artichoke," or other farm gates, and a few evening skins shortly, or "tomtoms," and takes away his bride.

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Moruko) to their ancestors. They spoke a Kinubi language[1]; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestor who called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aiseketeene clan in the Mukuruo of the Masai; the Angiira, the Tarosero; the Anderi, the Mokilyan; the Aiberikiku, the Airi; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo[2] might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Mokiji of the Southern forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Mokiji Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and confinement.

E. S. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* 1. A difficulty in account for the peculiar fact that they speak Kinubi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa originated from the north and North-East, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and also the north and North-East, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and also the north and North-East, Lumbwa, and Kedi, may have settled down in close contact with the Masai, Lumbwa, and Kedi, may have settled down in close contact with the Masai, Lumbwa, and Kedi, may have settled down in close contact with the Masai

M /12 cont./
619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
194 often scarcely /12/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[131] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many
cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of
foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandembo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes,
for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken
place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Sanuka, be-
longing to the tribally related Tsonga, must be assumed with cer-
tainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as
according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also
seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx
of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had
perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
• 142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous
race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are
tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively
thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility.
The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles,
which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the
slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms
among young girls. They are graceful, slender figures whose limbs
show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear
comely. Shapeless, unlovely amplomen one really finds only
among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-
brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow,
the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is
orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/13 cont./
eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose
• 142 is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebelab -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hypertrophy of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artificially produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /15. 1 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobbo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Wakwafi, had to flee from the open plains to flood meadows in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aoiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows from the circumstances. They are both merely /ɔlɔ/ human, whereas among the El gamusek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oibonok as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

Ill. 13. Wandering men.

[illegible] [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Ankapet]

DO NOT REMOVE FROM ARCHIVES

/386/ Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (1)

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the great-parents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "Dorobo."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

M #142 Ol onolgoni, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the ongye area (Logumi). Lineage: El marumbio.

♂ El marumbio | El ngumoi — ♂ El kerikuaro | El nanolgoni

♂ ol Onolgoni.

Hair, dark gure form. Skin color, forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (20), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (18), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 18), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter.

18: Meiher--54 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Area

/396 cont./

142 M light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquly and slit wide. The curly head-hair is ca. 2 cm. long. Head, fm the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Glabella high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile slht general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead regular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose large, mesm high, somewhat broad. Root of nose moderately deepened towardsforehead; bridge straight; tip medium-pointed and directed straightout; nostrils oblique-oval; alae almost flat. Lips rather thick. Te teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; gap is 14 mm. wide. The upper middle incisors are set somewhat obliquely forward and outwd. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-rims each pierced twice. Feet medium-arched. The first toe join ons Hand slender. Nails almost large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On the abdomen around the navel a small tattooing in the fm of an ellipse open at the top.

M 1504

No. 11.

142 D [illegible] ans 56 years old, a native of the enyppe area Kimange, six hrs' march west of Mombasa /Mb. Mombasa/. Lineage: 55 grand.

[illegible] an daughter [illegible] an daughter

[illegible]

[illegible]

Skin. Inner of the soft parts medium fair. Skin color: fore-head and chest gray-reddish-brown (30), cheek somewhat darker (between 30 and 28), back of hand /30/ and forearm very dark-gray--reddish brown (between 27 and 28), nipples somewhat lighter.

/307 cont./

• 142 palm of hand yellow-brown (between 29 and 30). On the inner side of the right thigh a very large, rectangular scar, on the inner side of the left thigh two larger scars of a penetrating wound. Both wounds were caused by the butt of a rhinoceros. On the left hip joint a larger scar resulting from a spear stab. On the abdomen a large number of scars of small perpendicular cuts that were made for therapeutic purposes. Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 2 and 3). Its outer edge has a milky bluish ring a millimeter wide. The palpebral fissures are set somewhat obliquely and are slit wide. The curly hair is 1 1/2 cm. long and present in moderately abundant quantity. The head, from the crown view, rounded, front and rear ends are equally broad, projecting more strongly at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. From the side view the sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn somewhat to a point toward the bottom, with scarcely noticeable general prognathism in profile. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded, the forehead (well high, somewhat receding, and fall-arched. Cheekbones more forward. The nose is medium-sized, low, and broad, the root moderately deepened toward the forehead, bridge slightly convex, tip blunt and directed somewhat downward. The oval nostrils are set obliquely, the alae rather flat, their lower edge is slightly curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The incisors are vertical. The medial lower incisors have been pried out, but at first glance nothing of this is to be seen, since the outer incisors and the canines have pushed toward the center in such a way that the spaces between these four teeth are quite uniform and unobtrusive. The teeth are medium broad and long. The ear lobes are very considerably stretched. The foot is high-arched and broad; the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender; the nails are small, long, and narrow. The legs are quite sturdy and straight.

/197 cont./

No. 18.

• 142 Sami, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Ngatogalgire, three hours' march east of Morakwej /Mt. Morij/. Lineage: El barsindi.

♂ El barsindi ♀ en dorobosi ♂ El ongoloria ♀ en dorobosi

♂ Sami.

Skin. Tones of the soft parts medium fair. Skin color forehead, chest, nipples, and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 37 and 38), cheek somewhat lighter (38), back of hand black-reddish-brown (37), palm of hand dark-yellow--brown (between 39 and 36). Both on the inside of the left thigh and /this/ on the right calf a large scar resulting from the bite of a rhinoceros. The color of the iris is dark-gray--yellowish-brown with a milky-bluish ring 1 mm. wide on the periphery. The position of the palpebral fissure is striking the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat lower than the inner ones. The scalp hair is moderately abundant; the individual hairs are 3-4 cm. long. From the crown view the head is rounded, fronto and occipito are equally broad, the occiput is moderately rounded. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and, from the side view, lies toward the front. The glabella is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pentagonal-ovoid, tapers not rather pointed toward the bottom, the profile with scarcely noticeable general proportions. The chin projects slightly. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded; it itself is high, steep, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella perfectly filled in with the forehead. The cheekbones are directed more forward; the zygomata project strikingly strong laterally. The nose is medium-sized, high, and rather narrow, the root moderately deepened toward the fore-[illegible] directed straight out. The nostrils are set longitudinally rather than obliquely and are small, the alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly

Ib Meiker--543 G-6 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Mami
Dorobo FLS
Asa

/509 cont./

• 142. curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle upper incisors appear somewhat pushed forward, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. The teeth are medium-sized, long, rather narrow, and on the whole ugly. The ear lobes are rather considerably enlarged, each of the upper edges of the auricles pierced once. The foot is medium-arched, the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender and long-fingered. The nails are medium-sized, moderately long, and broad; they are narrow at the root and quickly become broader toward the front. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 17.

Wiggin♂, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimanjaro. Lineage: El ɔlɔgwɛnɛ.

♂ El ɔlɔgwɛnɛ ♀ on dorsiboat ♂ L. ɔɔg-ɛlɔ-ɔɔrɔjɔgi ♀ on dorsiboat

♂ Wiggin

Exenterated. Soft parts consequently flabby. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 30 and 33), chest somewhat darker (33), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (37), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (35). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (3) with deep gray-blue edge. Palpebral fissure not somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair crisply and abundant in quantity, the individual hairs are 6 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown /509/ is arched and low toward the back. Glabella high, occiput seen strongly arched out. Face present-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin receding. Face edging of the forehead very slightly angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, fall--orthotic frontal protuberances projecting. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and

/599 cont./

• 142 directed straight out. Nostrils obliquely oval, size fair, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap has been completely closed by the crowding in of the next teeth. The upper incisors are vertical. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad. Ear lobes were considerably stretched; upper ear-edges pierced once. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Legs thin, straight.

No. 18.

Ilenalga ♂, about 36 years old, a native of the steppe south of Ilimamoluare. Lineage: 21 Ilenalga.

♂ 21 Ilenalga 9 ex duodeni ♂ 21 Ilenalga 9 ex duodeni

♂ Ilenalga.

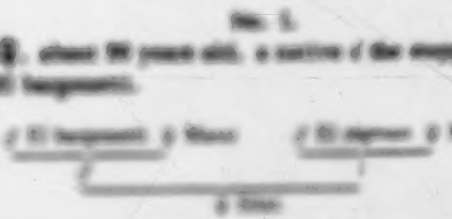
Thin. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color hardened and rough dark gray--reddish-brown (between 20 and 22); chest somewhat darker (20); back of hand, scrotum, nipples black-reddish-brown (17); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 20). Near the navel a dark-piece--sized scar from an injury by a tree branch. Color of the iris gray-yellow-brown (between 2 and 3) with dark dove-blue edge. Peripheral fissure on somewhat obliquely and the white. Head hair abundant in quantity, the individual hairs about 0 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with a narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Glabella high, occiput even strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile slight general proportions. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-rounded, almost symmetrically curved from one ear to the other. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones observed even forward.

Lib. Washington--DAS G-6 (1886-ca.1908) 110 FL12 Maui FL12
Dorobo FLS
Asa

D
• 142. /300 cont./
Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Base of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors are -- contrary to the general custom -- not pried out. Surselge says that earlier only the corresponding milk teeth had been pried out. The chewing surfaces of the two upper incisors have been ground down obliquely outward and have an angle of 70° with the vertical inner edges of the teeth. The right middle incisor /xxx/ of the upper jaw seems turned on its longitudinal axis in such a way that its outer edge stands out quite far. The teeth are medium-sized to small and all are considerably ground down. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Nipples remarkably small. Feet medium-sized. Five toes join out. Hand broader. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and bent inward somewhat. Surselge is very much in demand among the blood as a skilful circumciser of boys.

No. 1.

• 142. Man, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area (Segment. Lumaga: 61 Segments).



Measures (in. Soft parts medium dark. Skin color: forehead black-brown (40), cheek and cheek cleft gray--reddish-brown (59), back of hand like forehead, palm of hand somewhat lighter. Hair, cheek and chest (between 58 and 59), slightly a glimmer darker than the forehead. Color of the iris black-brown, with dark blue around the edge. European eye form. Palpebral fissure straight. Skin membranously absorbent to quantity, scanty. Gland, from the

1b Meiner-SDS 0-4 (1896-ca.1910) 1911 FLIS Meni FLIS
Dorobo FLS
Ans

M /489 mm/
142 the set of teeth is splendid. Shape and color of the teeth are faultless. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edge pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and not very full. Areola of nipples has the color of the nipple and is large. Nipple large and projecting. Pose medium-arched. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.
M [illegible] Large tattooing on the abdomen. On the right thigh, in front, six round ornamental bars—scars in a perpendicular line. On the right ear the upper part of the upper auricle-edge has been cut off horizontally. Her mother undergoes this disfigurement shortly after the birth, "in order to prevent Sambio from dying at a tender age, like her previous children." On her arms numerous scars of sores from chafing produced by the wire arm-ornaments.

No. XXXX.

♀
142 Tagicot, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 8 kihujuni.

♂ 32 kihujuni ♀ 32 mdidjo ♂ 32 mwingo ♀ no duroho

♂ ♀

♀ Tagicot.

Bracelets. Three of the soft parts medium fine. Skin color forehead and cheek dark gray—reddish-brown (between 30 and 28), chest somewhat darker (28), nipple only slightly darker than chest, back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 28). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Pulpebral fissure to an abnormal extremely and slit wide. Hand fair-haired. Head, form the crown rare, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow nose and, rather flattened at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Glabella high, occiput seen strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval. Profile shows a very slight gnathic prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The face edging of the forehead is angular-rounded. Its forehead high, steep, fall-arched, with clearly recognizable frontal protuberance.

[illegible]

Dorothy Fisk
Ann

/400 cont./

142 many smallpox scars on the face. Nose medium-sized and broad; root of the nose rather flat toward the forehead; bridge slightly convex; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils roundish; alae moderately puffed out, their lower edge slightly curved upward. /400/ Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are directed somewhat forward, there is a gap of 7 mm. The teeth are rather considerably ground down from the inside and tip toward the outside and bottom (carpenter grinding). For many nothing at all of the original enamel of the chewing surfaces is preserved any longer. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad, the latter in part conditioned by considerable grinding. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged; the upper auricle-edges pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and, with the exception of the individual, rather flat. They run out to a point at the nipple, without the latter appearing sharply set off or free glasses. The areola of the nipple is large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Four medium-sized, flat ear jars out. The hand is medium slender. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs rather thin. The thumbs bear the marks of boring ornament (?) [illegible]. Tragion has given birth to one child.

(N.S.)

No. 0193 /to: mat 0193/.

Caucasoid [illegible], about 21 years old, a native of the region south of Villaviciosa. Lineage B (Asturian).

[illegible]

Description. Because of this, as well as because of age, the soft parts are flabby. Skin color: [illegible], cheek, chest gray-reddish-brown (5R), palm of hand and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (5R), a very rare dark coloring for the Iberian. Back of hand black-reddish-brown (7). Color of the lips dark gray-yellow-brown (8). Pulpated

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Service Bd
Adm

[illegible]

• [illegible] (5). Peripheral flowers set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head fairly [illegible]. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, somewhat flattened at the occiput. From the occipital view, crown and parietal protuberances project slightly. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput seen strongly arched out. Face is broad and set in profile orthognathous. Side edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, half-arched. Nose aquiline-sized, low, rather broad, root of nose flat toward the forehead, bridge of nose somewhat concave, tip blunt and downcut straight out, nostrils rounded, alae flat. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The gap arising from that has had the effect that the grinding rows of the corresponding upper incisors lay on sides plane parallel to the original chewing surfaces. Sutures, the latter stand at an angle of 70° to the (vertical) nose edges of their teeth. The left outer incisor of the upper jaw is missing. It has been pried out, allegedly because it was painful. In general the teeth are small and broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. The breasts are pendulous, conical, and rather large. The areola of the nipples is very large and a glimmer lighter than the nipples. The latter is very large, strikingly big and projecting, their erections evident. Pubic hair [illegible] ear. Head shoulder, long-fingered, [illegible] small, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and straight. Woman has given birth to four children, and is looking forward to her fifth confinement. A large tattooing on the abdomen.

[illegible]

No. [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], about 60 years old, a native of the Angga district of [illegible]. Language: [illegible]-ang with nasalsigh.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (1955-ca.1958) 1951 PLUS Ideal
Depilo PLA
Ass

[illegible]

• 142. Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 50 and 59), chest and palm of hand somewhat darker (58), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-brown (57). Larger tattooing on the abdomen. Color of the iris dark-gray—yellow-brown (between 1 and 5). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general proportions. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crushed. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly visible frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad; saddle somewhat of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge concaves; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two lower central incisors have been pried out. Between the two corresponding upper ones there is a natural gap of 5 mm.; through grinding the chewing surface of the left one stands at an angle of 61°, that of the right one at an angle of 70°, to the (vertical) inner edge of its tooth. Analogous to the grinding down of the middle incisors is that of the outer ones and of the canines on each side. The set of teeth is strikingly ugly because of the grinding down of the teeth. The teeth are medium-sized to small. The ear lobes are considerably stretched, the upper ear-edge darkly pierced. Breasts pendulous, conical, large, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and not very projecting. Feet medium-arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs rather scanty and, except for a rachitic curvature of the shanks, straight. Woman has given birth to four children.

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the Dalodiga and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the Dalodiga, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the Dalodiga and the Masai to-day, but is not within a country of unknown gravities?

(b) Kinyaldigat

The Kinyaldigat Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa[1] Masai what the Dalodiga is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the Kinyaldigat, live on the northern border of the Trans-nyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Nakuru, Kitosi and Naivasha Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Uasin-Gishu, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the Kinyaldigat Dorobo originated in an area Mongwara, but as many Kinyaldigat are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the Kinyaldigat who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself originated in Mongwara.

I have listened to the speech of the Kinyaldigat who have no language but Masai,[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The Kinyaldigat call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[illegible]

[1] Lumbwa. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were even small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai at adjoining areas during the last few years. The Lumbwa are said to have secured the services as many snakes as [illegible] Masai could.

[2] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is one by which among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to them who, possessing farms, have adopted agriculture.

age [illegible] on the eastern western

(3) on whether they are to closely connected as the Kinkele, Bilikal and Kiwaibwa. I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making long-time direct them.

[illegible] The Kinkele and Kiwagara live in the country of the Wiwagara and Wiwigara,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of their Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Road Reserve in 1913, the Wiwagara and Wiwigara inhabiting the Tabora–Uvinza–Mpanda area moved eastwards. With them went the Kinkele and Kiwagara. Duregal says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Mwanihuli where living is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Uvinza following them. The Kinkele and Kiwagara, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wiwagara and Wiwigara (particularly in a bad season when living and game are scarce) must perforce

[illegible] The Kinkele and Kiwagara spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Mwera language, as a general rule, but speak Kiwagara and Kiwigara and other bush. They are stated to have a primitive magic of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the Kiwera language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few Kiwera, who live in scattered settlements just on the Mwanihuli Mwera border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The Kinkele and Kiwagara Dwarfs may be approximated Wiwagara and Wiwigara, but I think it seems likely that they are distinct [illegible] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to have into a hunter.[2] The two Kinkele and Kiwagara I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not attain consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kiwagara or

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[1] They are the same person among the Bantu and are known to Europeans as a description as to way in the different parts of use in the Mwanihuli territory.
[2] In the case of Mwanihuli Kiwera is the Kiwagara language.
[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Kiwaibwa.
[4] This is not the first case that has occurred in South Africa, where an [illegible] authority is to approximate [illegible] (cf. p. 91).

Enclosure (If this is not easy indicate nothing more than the fact that there were language has been lost. My researches are solely in the nature of pure scientific, however, as I have said before, I have had an opportunity of conversing with an Investigating these people.

This, as far as any information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tungarrabilla Basin Reserve and calling themselves "Dandie." In the Borough area of the Dandie District there are a few aboriginal Borough who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dandie" by their fellow-citizens. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the Dandies and have no union and relate to the races Dandies then form the Borough Aborigines.

Domestic Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the Dandies)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dandie in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Black, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Black arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Dandies of Kilkara), the arms are made by the Dandie themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dandies, though, as I have said, Borough and Kilcaddigan who have abandoned their wanderlife and have returned to the homes of the white men, and often do carry spears.

The club (*Boomalla*), which is always kept strung, is anything from two-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The knight varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the club: it is merely securely knotted at either end and never comes to slip. The wood used is that of the *Kirrabeen* tree and is remarkably tough and strong. The club of the best is sometimes coloured brown with the dust produced by the spirit-bark from burning a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often is plainly whitewash gradually fades to a dull brown

191 In conclusion, I do not consider that the glyphical characteristics of the Dunlin cluster would light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics could, if anything, be believed that they are a Old-Dunlin race, which has been assimilated by contemporary

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197 198 199 [illegible]

[illegible] Most of these hamlets are small, and most of them lie on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 1000 feet, though those of Tungwynfan lie at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kimpsi Dwrdan, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for early seasons, though they seem to have to the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 1000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Mawn of the Gilt Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of battles that the Lowland and Eastern groups are at once in contact with the Mawn.

We do not know the origin of the Dwrdan. The Mawn themselves believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Mawn who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier Alwet race which were abolished from Wilby than was observed by the Dwrdan. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Mawn group entered East Wilby much earlier than the Dwrdan group, and language suggests that the Dwrdan made contact with the true Alwet settlers in the region of Mawn Edgan. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dwrdan were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have been pygmy Alwet, but this pygmy person was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pygmies. For the two pygmoidal events the forest and tropic. But the Mawn and Dwrdan is quite complete. It is possible that there may even a race of hunters who ranged over East Wilby from whom we descended not only the Dwrdan, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Bwll, Mawn, and Kilpwrgan, as well as the Mawn of Mawnmoor, and if the identification of the Mawn with the Ulawn of the Egyptian inscriptions of the XVIII dynasty is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Dwrdan and Mawn regard the Dwrdan as strangers, and their traditions without unanimously that they found the Dwrdan in Dwrgan when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Mawn version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dwrdan; and in the Dwrdan version, an elephant, the Mawnmor, and a Dwrdan. Moreover Mawn agree a Dwrdan world that a Dwrdan gave birth to a boy and girl who mated from a birthday on the top and became the ancestors of the human race[1]. The Dwrdan say: "We have always been here", and to many I think to question a knowledge the Dwrdan are only as a distinct people, but as one of many ancient antiquity.

From this account the name Dwrdan will be seen, while obviously related with words referring to the Englewood tribes of the Wilbian group, which lies to the high forest land a few miles to the southeast of the present Dwrdan Empire[2]. There is a habit of these Dwrdanic tribes, as an average estimate of [illegible] that above one tribe, living in places so near

[1] Mawn: "We have a dog. We have an ox."

[2] In Mawnmor version of the three and Dwrdan land the Dwrdan is a Dwrdan and three beings.

/30/

68. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors to the occupants of the land are held by the tribes of the Uaso to Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of "pockets" of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we feel ourselves keen with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the wide ranging tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by admixtures in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture, not of origin, that the Dorobo have no cattle while the others, due in part to population pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

W. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1885 of Dorobeans, gives the following account:

> "The tribe - for the remnants of the Ua exhibit - is a small race of people scattered over those lands who are here more loathsome by the others. They neither keep cattle or cultivate the land. The ostrich, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighboring tribes [illegible] to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Dorobo [illegible] to be found only where these animals abound, or to remove

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1. In the Dorobo of the present time Dorobo signifies a Dorobo who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Wakikuyu, while Dorobo signifies a Dorobo (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and lives by pure hunting.

/58 cont'd/

to the Akan Gonoa of Kroia and Kikuyu, the Lower-Nile encampment of Wau, the Aji of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Cis-Nzoia-ga-ni, Suna, Dholuo etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Akamba, as they are experts at stealth so the latter by attacking the more sudden, usually, so, the Akamba fall into a considerable share of the loss. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the required people the vegetable food they require. To quote an example in the Kamba context, but in the plateau to the east of Nairobi at the place called by the Kamba Mbooni-ni, a very large village of Dorobo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wakamba and selling it again to the Akamba as it may be the cycle.

"The language spoken by the Dorobo is allied to that of the Akamba, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Akamba. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse leather cooking pots of the women. They are as the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connection with the Kamba does no doubt exist, as everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C. W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Kamba British and Dorobo, says:

"Dorobo is those people who fly. The name is an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the dense forests of the highlands in that district. They call themselves Ak and the Akikuyu call them Aki. The name of the Aki tribe is believed to be a corruption of this."

/88 cont'd/

"Dress of the Chania over the portion was very different, a few section of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wandendei admit - but they were mainly nomadic sking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wandendei.

"The Wandendei were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights....

"The Kikuyu described the Wandendei as the MIG a Gikuku or 'Dwarfs of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Gikuku, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai.

"The word Wandendei has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest areas of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and customs and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wandendei by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest belt which was bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kiambu region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some ten or more hundred individuals can be said to represent the Wandendei of this area, and most of them have a grievance in the proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, for /89/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent.

[illegible]

extremely developed auditory canals. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when animals are observed externally grown and bodies are covered with red ochre. The bilateral peculiarity of crawling as one leg has been observed in the Bravo, but it is not seen as often as in the case of the Bushi. I have been unable to discover any examples of pre-natural development in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Bushi women and who are prized by the Bushi for this reason. The Bravo are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation in common with the Bushi attach very little attention to the personal appearance. Bravo of a certain age would seem to be less under Bushi influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Bushi at first sight. It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that as one accustomed to looking on Bushi will often fail to detect any difference between them and Bravos of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Bushi from the Bravos in a crowd gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.

In hunting, trading, bush-fires and house-work the Bravo is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to have instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow by track will seldom result in the animal being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the Bravo will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The Bravo knows when minutiae cannot be observed and when noise does not matter. He is aware of a law for a vantage-point and, on the whole, a keenness and gladly to the pursuit of dangerous game. He can compare him to a bill for producing a weird, muffled, sound cry (I suppose) to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that note, to my

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE DOMOND OF THE NORTH TINDAREE FOREST (KIPKUNGER)

HISTORY

193 It is clear from traditions of the Kiwok, Mawai, and Kikony, as well as of the Dendro themselves, that the Dendro (wherever their origins) were living in the Kamet Highlands when the Nile-Hamites and Bantu arrived there. Their need of the Dendro hardwood land on land which under the Dutch Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the writers, Dendro, including the Kipkunger, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became mainly Forest Reserves: hence their land rights were not considered.

C48 433 About 1927 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dendro, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by semi-nomadic natives was undesirable, and in 1937 the Kipkunger, the principal group involved, were transferred to the Kiwok Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months most if not all of them transferred land usage back to the edge of the North Tindaree forest, their old home, where they were living permanently when I did field-work among them in 1938-9.

[[14]]

DEMOGRAPHY

●161 The Kipkunger Dendro of the western part of the North Tindaree Forest Reserve numbered 230 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the latter was no longer, as formerly, living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile at that time, and this resulted in the distinction of four "domicile categories":

162

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.

B. Furnished on the edge of the forest, mainly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.

C. Furnished on Native Reserve (Land Unit) within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.

D. Distant areas, i.e., the Kaya and Kamanga Land Units, and Lalbigin; in the first two there is country similar to A.

People classed under C and D were still considered to belong to the bands, and were regarded as members of their original districts (forest), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by districts, with domicile categories, and (2) by districts, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Kipkunger	Kamanga	Kalgoi	% of total	Totals
A	0	10	0	0	10
B	35	60	46	41	141
C	10	35	11	56	57
D	0	5	33	1	38
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0
	45	110	90	100	245

Schlegelova Q-5 (ca. 1934) 197-98
FLA Dorobo File

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several lawyers at the present time. *Wakore* and *Wakiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Wakore* collectively) are the last with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekito, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Wakore* is at Tukumani.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Wakore* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Tukumani.

The *Wakore* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Wakore* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Wakore* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

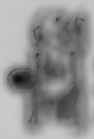
[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 177. [4] *Ahaw*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as useless.

women and they own. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening and other Bukusu state that the *Ayaywaandi* live on Mount. I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Ayaywaandi* of Mulaja live on Mount, and so do many *Ayaywaandi* in the central areas of Trans-Nzoia Reserve, but I suggest that the Dondo living on the north-east of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plains (north-west of the Ngorongoro Crater), who live a purely bush life, are also *Ayaywaandi*.* Lukio was positive in the assertion that all the Dondo living on and in the northern areas of the Trans-Nzoia Mount Elgon Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dondo in the Kenya Mount Elgon Reserve,* are *Ayaywaandi*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there are to be another type of Dondo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Ayaywaandi* and *Bukidiga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dondo in Kenya, and that the Dondo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Trans-Nzoia Mount Elgon Reserve are almost all *Ayaywaandi*.

The *Ayaywaandi* of Mulaja are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.* They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Ayaywaandi* living further north (notably those to the west of the Elgon Wall at Sanjan, Sabei and Pokigai) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai on whom the chance presents itself.* They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Ayaywaandi* is their language. It is guttural to the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Nilotic*

* See p. 121, fn. 1. The Dondo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, conceivably, have been *Ayaywaandi*.
* Absent given to mention.
* I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dondo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.
* According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.



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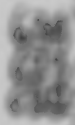

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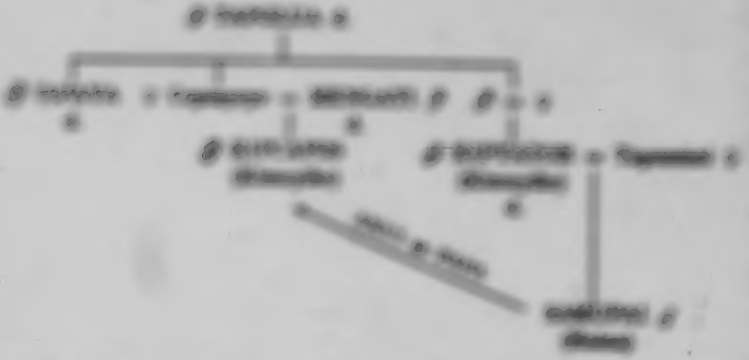

[illegible]

[illegible] ...ning Sons. There were also two old women, [illegible] mother of Imp... [illegible] and [illegible] mother of Kawaiki. With them lived Kawaiki's young... [illegible] aged about 10, who helped her brother's wife in look... [illegible] his two children, and slept either in his mother's hus...e or in the hus... [illegible] [illegible] joining with the mother in anti-Kawaiki gossip. The three... [illegible] were Sakalawa, Wiyanag, and Kwaiwai lived together, joining with other... the old women [illegible] their share of the work, while Kwaiwai took... share joining with the mother. Kwaiwai would marry one of these young... men, each time two or [illegible] the Sakalawa. Such an arrangement seems to be... quite usual. When a girl has reached puberty her hut are are here known... [illegible] as Kwaiwai. In Kwaiwai a somewhat younger girl named Kwoing lived in a small... hut [illegible] with her youngest brother Kawaiki (p. [illegible]). When... [illegible] [illegible] moved to the neighbouring settlement Wakawai she stayed with... [illegible] women there also, while they were in Kwaiwai, slept in Kawaiki's hut. No... boy going out to stay elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour pattern... [illegible] [illegible] and a sudden flare of hostility and even other people are violent and... [illegible] [illegible] the child. Here are the principal categories from whom ingrained fear [illegible]... Kwaiwai. Indeed, to a like considerable, each people have been different... [illegible] [illegible] and often as their neighbours' children [illegible] [illegible] into five or... [illegible] a Kwoma.

To a primitive people like the Kwoma there is little formality in the... [illegible] [illegible] educational system, which consists largely of training by shadowing fellow-... men, and [illegible], which are learned from the parents and others with... whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to... the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the children... with whom a child is ordinarily concerned are few [illegible]. The normal range... of contact must be established in the light of such important factors as the... absence of roads through the forest, the scattering of children, and the... abnormal distance and suspicion of the Kwoma.

Up to the age when a child was in or some help to its parents, both... [illegible] [illegible] boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business... of eating and living in a hut. She corrects children and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life... [illegible] [illegible] that have to be observed in Kwoma surroundings. The father corrects... improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of [illegible], which comes a little before the onset of... [illegible] puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a... division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son... the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to... deal animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave... like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to... manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the... menial tasks of a Kwoma woman. At this stage both boys and girls are... to see magical ground servants of the family; they have to hunt any animal... that fellow may present, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(GC cont'd)

"Each of the Chania that the Dorobo are very different, a few families of Dorobo were living here and there in the forest a few which were the Dorobo which - but they were mostly members living not a permanent existence and hiding from the real owners, the Dorobo.

"The Dorobo were, like the Ikoma, a hunting people, but I never saw that they were much more organized and accustomed to their own methods that they had, in the old days, defined laws or customs relating to hunting rights...

"The Kikuyu describe the Dorobo as the 'Kikuyu of the Dorobo' and seven years of them among themselves as the Kikuyu, which was the name by which they were known to the Kikuyu.

"The word Dorobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest areas of the Kenya highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and customs and language. For the purpose of this study we need concern ourselves only with that tribe called Dorobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which have been taken by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of which are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kiambu region and continuously on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some ten or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Dorobo of this area, and most of them have a ground or low proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their game ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ewaguis Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicines, and the animal would then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and hutted and watched themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent; and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi consonants.

The guttal "kh" and the sibilant "sh," "zh" and "ch," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Ogiek or Ombik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[P.T.]

/342 cont./
843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. [801] [171]
On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp.
844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric
[171] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words: "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (os ntua) is severed with a razor-knife (hesera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded [777] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower [856] ones: it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family.
846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious
853 reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

845 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the
847 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me
• 163 /343/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 27 aged Asa women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were
165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths
591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/429 cont./

142 Many smallpox scars on the face. Nose medium-sized and broad: root of the nose rather flat toward the forehead: bridge slightly convex: tip medium-pointed and directed straight out: nostrils roundish: alae moderately puffed out, their lower edge slightly curved upward. /430/ Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are directed somewhat forward, there is a gap of 3 mm. The teeth are rather considerably ground down from the inside and tip toward the outside and bottom (outward grinding). For many nothing at all of the original enamel of the chewing surfaces is present any longer. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad, the latter in part conditioned by considerable grinding. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged: the upper auricle-edges pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and, with the emaciation of the individual, rather flat. They run out to a point at the nipple, without the latter appearing sharply set off at first glance. The areola of the nipple is large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. The hand is medium slender. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs rather thin. The shanks bear the marks of having endured rickets. Togóni has given birth to one child.

• [163]

No. XXXX /sic: read XXXXI/.

Gaimoroneyá.♀, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El kibujuni.

♂ El kibujuni ♀ El mutigo ♂ El barutigo ♀ En dorobbo

♂ ♀

♀ Gaimoroneyá.

Emaciated. Because of this, as well as because of age, the soft parts are flabby. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest gray-reddish-brown (29), palm of hand and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (28), a very rare dark coloring for the former. Back of hand black-reddish-brown (27). Color of the iris: dark gray-yellow-brown (2). Palpebral

/430 cont./

142 fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded, almost flattened at the occiput. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Glacciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism. Chin projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose flat toward forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors have been pried out. Through this the two corresponding upper ones, between which there is a natural gap of 7 mm., have been ground off most strangely. The chewing surfaces on both teeth stand at an angle of 55° to their inner lateral edges and have been ground off concave on the outer halves, convex on the inner ones. A very considerable grinding also appears on the outer upper and lower incisors and on the canines. The teeth are small and broad. Both ear-lobes considerably /431/ stretched, the upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, flat, and shrunken because of emaciation and age. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long,
• [163] narrow. Legs thin, straight. The woman has given birth to four children.

No. XXXII /sic: read XXXXIII/.

Malimęg, ♀, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe south of the Litema Mountains. Lineage: El muiigo.

♂ El muiigo ♀ En doroboni ♂ L. eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El mamasita

♀ Malimęg.

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat darker (28), nipples a shade darker still (between 27 and 28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown

/431 cont./

142 (2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, somewhat flattened at the occiput. From the occipital view, crown and parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval and in profile orthognathous. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, rather broad, root of nose flat toward the forehead, bridge of nose somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The gap arising from that has had the effect that the grinding down of the corresponding upper incisors has not taken place parallel to the original chewing surfaces. Rather, the latter stand at an angle of 75° to the (vertical) inner edges of their teeth. The left outer incisor of the upper jaw is missing. It has been pried out, allegedly because it was painful. In general the teeth are small and broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. The breasts are pendulous, conical, and rather large. The areola of the nipples is very large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is very large, strikingly big and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and straight. Woman has given birth to four children. [163] [304] and is looking forward to her fifth confinement. A large tattooing on the abdomen.

No. XXXXIII.

Sanaschi, ♀, about 28 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

/432/

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El morinjero ♂ El barmangig ♀ El ba-indé

♂ ♀

♀ Sanaschi

18: Merker--590 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/432 cont./

142 Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and palm of hand somewhat darker (28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-
[304] brown (27). Larger tattooing on the abdomen. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly visible frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad; saddle nose; root of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out. Between the two corresponding upper ones there is a natural gap of 5 mm.; through grinding the chewing surface of the left one stands at an angle of 60°, that of the right one at an angle of 75°, to the (vertical) inner edge of its tooth. Analagous to the grinding down of the middle incisors is that of the outer ones and of the canines on each side. The set of teeth is strikingly ugly because of the grinding down of the teeth. The teeth are medium-sized to small. The ear lobes are considerably stretched, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Breasts pendulous, conical, large, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and not very projecting. Foot medium-arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs rather sturdy and, except for a rachitic curvature
• [163] at the shanks, straight. Woman has given birth to four children.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Sanye and Ariangulo have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bôni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bôni, Ariangulo, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume N.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Biasutti[2] to be connected with the Dorôbe. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UADAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA-, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The ôkl men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	uli-tok	koreme-chu	olekinye-tukul,	kimi	
We-dwell	here	country-these	of-old-always,	them-were	
Meek	koman-i	kewanni	ak	Ipkwapek	koman-in
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Masae	side-that
edgatet.	Olekinye	kimi	Kâpcheptuen	ulin-po	koreme-chu tukul
the-plain.	Of-old	them-were	the-Sirikwa	them-of (-et)	country-these all
ulin-bori	po	Soiin[3]	ko-pet-yo	keny.	Ma-ki-ese kiit'-aka.
there-down	of	Soiin	they-are-last	long-ago.	Not-we-know thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country; the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Masae on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Sirikwa' lived in the plain of Soiin below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kâmellio-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*saangutiet ap samak*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*korosita*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the Kâplelach age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1895, when the Masae suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorôbo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorôbo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] E. Cerulli, "The Folk-literature of the Gala of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 209; Massaja, "I miei trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 4, vol. vi, p. 175.

[3] Soiin was one of the Nandi emotinwek, or "counties," which was cut off after the Nandi Punitive Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorôbo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Muhoroni to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiin.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

192
197

Hair	.. ..	kwing (kwingot) ; pl., kwingon (kwingonik) (N.).
Hollow	.. ..	kuruo (kuruot) ; pl., kuruoi (kuruik) (D.).
Honey	.. ..	kumia (kumiat) (N.).
Honey and water	..	kgumo (kgumok) (D.).
Honeycomb	..	kipiriit (kipiriityet) ; pl., kipiriitee (kipiriitoonik) (D.).
Honey-wine	..	kipkotin (kipkotinik) (N.).
Hoof	.. ..	oliya (oliyet) ; pl., oloi (olik) (N.).
Horn	.. ..	lâno (lânet) ; pl., lânoi (lânek) (D.).
House	.. ..	kochongo (kochongot) ; pl., kochongon (kochongonik) (D.).
Hunger	.. ..	ichu (ichut) (D.).
Hunt	.. ..	ongan (ongania) ; pl., ongania (ongamek). Ko. kip-ongo-ian, hunter.
Hunter	.. ..	kipiokotio (kipiokotiet) ; pl., kipiokot (kipiokotik) (N.).
Husband	.. ..	maneligotio (maneligotiet) ; pl., maneligot (maneligotik) (N.).
Hyæna	.. ..	kimarok (kimarokat) ; pl., kimarokon (kimarokonik) (D.).
Idle person	..	chiito ne nyam.
Illness	.. ..	koret (koreito) ; pl., koreina (koreinek) (N.).
Abscess	.. ..	mô (môet) ; pl., môoi (môôk) (N.).
Boil	.. ..	undir (undiriet) ; pl., undir (undirik) (N.).
Cold	.. ..	lolio (loliot).
Dropsy	.. ..	mpuraa (mpuraata) (N.).
Rheumatism	..	olbai (olbait) (M.).
Sore throat	..	kipkawamook (kipkawamookit).
Insect	.. ..	kuut (kuutiet) ; pl., kuut (kuutik) (N.).
Iron	.. ..	karna (karnet) ; pl., karin (karik) (N.).
Jackal	.. ..	leluo (leluot) ; pl., leluo (leluek) (N.).
Jar	.. .. ..	soiyo (soiyet) ; pl., soiyos (soiyosiek) (N.).
Jaw	.. ..	nasiringoiya (nasiringoiyat) : pl., nasiringoia (nasiringoiaiek) (D.).
Kidney	.. ..	soromya (soromyet) ; pl., soromoi (soromôk) (N.).
Knee	.. ..	kutuiig (kutuigdo) ; pl., kutuigwa (kutuigwek) (N.).
Knife	.. ..	chambolua (chambolaet) ; pl., chambolôe (chambolôaiek) (N.).
Language	.. ..	lokoiyo (lokoiyot) ; pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Leaf	.. .. ..	sogo (sogot) ; pl., sog (sogek) (N.).
Left	.. ..	katam (N.).
Leg	.. .. ..	kel (kelio) ; pl., kelien (keliek) (N.).
Calf of	.. ..	ai (aita) ; pl., oina (oinek) (N.).
Fore	.. ..	narobrolua (narobrolaait) ; pl., narobrolaia (narobrolaiaiek)
Hind	.. ..	chât (châtit) ; pl., châtin (châtik) (N.).
Shin	.. ..	korok (korokta) ; pl., korokwa (korokwek) (N.). (D.).

[164]

/754 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
191 and also prepar them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments
that the latter ake mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
191 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
• 764 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principd illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma =
sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ahotu;
chest pain, lib agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema =
sick stomach; darrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuñgurgue;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu
or aßg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damóg; lues, en ebitiro.
Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever,
kallegoono; bilous fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibég; ascarids,
752 menana. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
755 the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandorobo, the midwife gascha-
hatta-hawa-kernt.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. 163 165 132 133

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood. 928 [231]

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game. 224 262 411 231

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. 515 825

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau. 372 824

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals. 197 199

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. 193 182

C. W. HOBLEY.

[39]

14:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939)1942
FLE Dorobo FLE

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [166]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [171]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA*, mama.

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA*, as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*pukot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*koyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

14.Huntingford E-6 (1939-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6
[P191,8]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality: among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Muuiaonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Juut*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

/342 cont./

843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words: "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (os sotua) is severed with a razor-knife (hevera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower ones: it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family. The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me /243/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 27 aged Asá women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [771]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 629 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

14.Huntingford E-S (1928-1929)1941
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO*

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1932, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Nandi Reserve. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an uncared for, landless group of outcasts living a precarious existence on the farms which stretch up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Nandi, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made their acquaintance in 1927, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took showed a total of 221 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P. 183, 8]

nies amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Akhipish and Dale-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu class claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiru and Chakamaya class say they are descended from the Sheka, the Akhachiko and Aithera from the Kamba, the Amuka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Masai, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sheka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Ringidoto and Ngumba, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Masai country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Ringidoto, but I have met a native of Ngumba whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Masai and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumba are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumba of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District. Somali, Galla, Boruna, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lakidaio, Sigiroi, and Endorumerori clans,† and they had settlements at Nyeri, Mairuaba, Kijabe, Potsis Hills, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Akhipish Masai occupied the Lukipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Fairview, the Kapetiai in the Kidong Valley, and the Turoere at Iriini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Loreum, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aiera, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kisumu[illegible]; the latter now Mumboni.‡

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Segi (or, to give him his correct name, Sogoi), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriini is said to be derived from Wiruruma chief, my Turoere woman. Turoere is the name of the most important class in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Sagala, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Digo, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Hostile to the Kikuyu, figuratively the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Aiera, who live on Mount Kere in Ravine East Africa.

|| By Kikuyu the aboriginal native clans among the most generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Digo call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Warera; orig. Wanyika.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FLA Dorobo FLA
K.Kuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Sopi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkoye an animal called Hyke (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them as the required sandals before Sopi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Elkoye the animal called Hyke.

Sopi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Elkoye from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkoye, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the same Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Elkoye. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bawbin, who is still alive and resides in one of Bargo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuti's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Elkoye, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Elkoye fought amongst themselves.

If the Elkoye were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Kavirondo, Kijabe, on Lolldaiga and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Aguruba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Kavirondo Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kaverondo and Kaviros‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Aguruba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Elkoye country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Elkoye to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from the Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land in forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very growing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkoye; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkoye may have lost enough cattle or a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Somali. (In addition not in touch with Bantu-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Suya and Sabagoya in Elkoye.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

tree," ratiment (*Kigelia aethiopica*); and *maiyek*, ebonine hair, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *kobomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *matoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkoreum ..	25	15	4
Koret of Soosiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kolpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

561 [304] [582] [884] [589]

Life Cycle

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yosotik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engilokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

602 [171]

Kinship and Behaviour

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601

Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamogo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *hipukotiet;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *hamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

li Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncia cicoio*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kovosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeshoi *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kogot, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sanalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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D 539 supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [539] M 539 829

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

D 191 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitēto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

623 [687] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms:—

Ke'ruoch figalek si kesich che miyach ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] yach, si ko-kas piik tukul. Ingoesio chiit'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-oon, si kwa emet ake.
other any, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MAGIC, AND MEDICINE.

771 *Religion.*

776 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi. They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray [782] to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[715] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiindet*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and [782] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik che miyach*) to obtain food and health, *e.g.*:—

Oiik, ipiiy'-ech omdit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiiy'-ech sapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[782] Libations of honey and water (*lagomek*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipketlaik*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*komda*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiiy'-ech omdit si kiipiiye sapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Beech, *The Suk*, for the ideas of the Suk, Enjemusi, Turkana, etc.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kiminiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum.* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisiek*) made of the skin of the tisiet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Chaw-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tâkwenyu*"; answer, "*Igô.*"

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chaw-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kainet ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

one or two features which are worth mentioning; but these are far more likely to be due to environment than to be true racial distinctions. 142

The Dorôbo are usually small in stature, averaging about 5 ft. 6 ins.; this, however, may be accounted for, because, like the Wambuti (Congo Pygmies), they are forest-dwellers.

The Dorôbo, like the Nandi and other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, are dolichocephalic, although not markedly so, and in some cases even inclined to mesocephaly. Their skulls tend to slope up from a rather flat frontal bone to the occipital, giving one rather the impression of very slight artificial cranial deformation. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain any specimens of their crania; but, even if we had, I believe it would have been almost impossible to distinguish them from any Nandi specimens. [144]

For a black race their noses are narrow, being distinctly leptorrhine, with a well-formed bridge; this may be accounted for by the fact that, although they live actually on the Equator, they live at an altitude of from 8,000 to 9,000 ft. in the dense forest, where it never really gets hot, and at night it is bitterly cold; hence they show very little tendency towards the true platyrrhine nose, so intimately associated with the tropics. On the whole, the lips of the Dorôbo appeared somewhat thinner than those of the Nandi. [131]

Colour of Skin.—The younger children, who presumably have never been out of the forest, were of a distinctly lighter colour than the average (*cf.* Congo Pygmies). Otherwise the Dorôbo were of the same colour as the Nandi.

That the Dorôbo are habitually bearded, and have hair on their bodies and legs, is an absolute fallacy. It is true, however, that several of the old men whom we met had beards, but no more so than their Nandi neighbours. We met none with hair on their bodies or legs.[1]

Hair.—In hair classification the Dorôbo are typical Ulotrichi.

Artificial Deformation and Mutilation.—The Dorôbo, like most Nilo-Hamites, pierce and elongate the lobes of the ears, and it was interesting to note that, in a great many cases, among the old men, these lobes had been broken by being caught by branches in the forest. 304 [191]

The Dorôbo usually extract the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. They also practise circumcision and clitoridectomy.

[1] We emphasize this point, because there seems to be an idea that the Dorôbo are a "bearded" people, *e.g.*, Mr. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, p. 39. Whatever other sections of the Dorôbo may be, the Kámelílo-Kápchepkendi certainly are not more bearded than any other tribe. [114]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makihat*, "one who is not greeted". 603

On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyihe* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups: 601

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuet* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuet*: all these are called *mama* by Pilo.

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyot*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimôken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *pôker*, though outside the *tiliet* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukot* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tiliet*: 601 171

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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● 191

C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).

D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

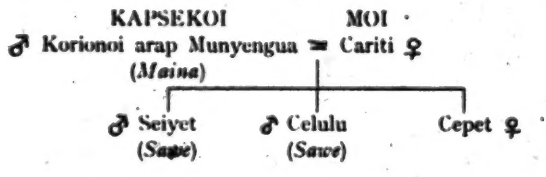
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupet* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakuet* and *akui*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tiliet*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *makikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic
596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sosoiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[9]:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timopo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

[9] In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets age-sets.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[571] [571] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

8. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *uetik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *uetik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemsisirist*, is his arm, *se naiyo ɲik*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret aɲ cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilet*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilik*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [1], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[1] As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sinetik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mmoneyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyoot*, nimmia americana.
Fruit of the *sesowiet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, gynandria cordomanis, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiwet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepesyeet* bush (*zanthia integrifolia*), or of the *sawayaat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little alcoholic beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkirisik* or *kemsik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *sutiwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as 2 feet long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kiwaa ratik, kipkele mwai ai kobwor;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft.
kiwaa ilooto ai kipkele tukuk ee sowiwet ko
they are washed in the river that they may be hot the things which are dirty of
kepsomboot. Kiwa ai kayomio. Kilindo [illegible]
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ole mii kemsiet ptoo, ai kemsonik, kilindo ongoot
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the seed-

burnt so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the fire when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the occasionally ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, the role in the Dorobo economy is minor. It cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the *chief* occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *emisit*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hunting it:

A. *Kitich ap tiondi.*
The dust of the animals.

B. *Ee, ai [partial] ipuna ye, amuti ye.*
Look, this one (is) the hartebeest, it crosses from over there, it goes over there.
Mirein, e ma mitein mirin, tinye kibwanyi kibiko.
Small, but not small very, it has no child enough.

A. *Canê nato tiondi, ani amuthiomyon; ainee*
(They are) now these animals, they are in our forest; I like (the things)
ego amuti.
which are of forest.

B. *Ingomwone aitein tiondo, agibo ani tinol ako. Ee*
Let us look over there (at) that forest, perhaps there is the animal number. What
ai ne kuthiotei ani?
(is) the that creeps about inside?

A. *Agibo kumia.*
Perhaps the ground pig.

B. *Wiein, amwoni matit. Ingomwinye kuyanda agibo ee. A mamit*
Yes, I see the hand. It (has) the face like also. But there is
kuyanda.
not face the face.

A. *Ingomwone ale mam.*
Let us see where it escapes (to).

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kenya in 1929 I was told that no rain medicine whose results, such the rain in drops on the ground, were described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who made them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient clay beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme south-east of Kavirondo, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a south-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Elodo (a prince and leader to a reigning monarch) who during a sojourn in Sudan (in the Dagoretti Province), constructed those remarkable earthworks known as *Magan Ban Mzungu* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what validity I have not, with the ruined buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Conclusions Reached.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary and more often than not some but the Elders have any knowledge of the certain significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of some practices is lost in antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the native troops of the K.A.R.) that, elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say should render them suspect. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and customs them as fact. But theories differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the remainder was contradictory. All the material was worked over, sorted, and the mutually incongruities results discarded. The issue is not very encouraging; it is, however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kavirondo are deserving of detailed study.

So far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between them and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to considering cultural origins and migrations, etc. It is wise, however, to leave this to the professed ethnologist. But perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of clan totemic

organizations, subdivisions, totems and exogamic figures (see here the peoples of Kenya may legend of the "Great Flood"). As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the commonness of these groupings, whose ghostly relationships and "siblings" are at times so disturbing, is not demonstrable, but I could not learn of occasions where generations were separated from that of the present by more than two others.

The numbers of the Andorobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and imposition of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests that the suggestion may be dangerous, that in this case adaptability and physical variability are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

Tribe.	Mean Diff. (in mm.) in Stature of Adult Males.	Mean Diff. (in mm.) in Stature of Adult Females.	Diff. in Relative Sitting Height (Adults of both Sexes).	Diff. in Relative Sitting Height (Adults of both Sexes).	Diff. of Mean Stature of Male over Mean of Females (Adults).	Diff. of Mean Stature of Males over Mean of Males (Adults).
Dorobo						
Kikuyu						
Kavirondo						
Wakamba						

/80 cont'd/

from the north and east which forced the Bantu /81/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organized for war and rapine. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

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1. So one hears of Masai Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Committee" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Giriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Giriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Committee remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Giriama in exchange for beer, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for luxuries and service. The institution of "Shegat" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inferior status and dependence of the Shegat section, who none the less retain a theoretical freedom in the body politic.

648
439
[171]

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them; the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aisakahuno clan is the Mokesen of the Masai; the Anjiro, the Tarosero; the Amboi, the Molelyan; the Akkachiko, the Aisir; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo† might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Muisi‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Muisi Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

K. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north *viâ* Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Sotik, may have settled down in these fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been deforested during, and afforested after, such occupations.

† Dorop, *pl.* doropa, means *short* in Masai.

‡ Endigiri and Muisi are different names for the same people; they are also known to the Kikuyu as Amaithachiana. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Asi. The name *Asi* itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Athi, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Asi, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. MacGregor, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amaithachiana means *child-stealers*. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived thus:—Amaitha is the name given by the Kikuyu to a *fierce people*—it is, for instance, their name for the Masai—the word Chiana means *children* or, in a secondary sense, *little people*.

[P.189, A]

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are: 561

♂	♀
yetik: uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik:* girls.
Murenik: circumcised men.	*Yosotik:* married women.
Apaiiniek: elders.	*Eygitogiiek:* old women.

Boys are *yetik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apaiiniek* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *mostinuek*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior: *Choyiniek.*
Middle: *Taparik* or *Kipalkoyek.*
Junior: *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoiinik.*

A man belongs normally to the age next but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
Kipkoiimet	*Kimnyike*	*Nyongi.*
Kaplelach	*Nyongi*	*Maina*
Kimnyike	*Maina*	*Juma*
Nyongi	*Juma*	*Sawe*
Maina	*Sawe*	*Kipkoiimet*
Juma	*Kipkoiimet*	*Kaplelach*
Sawe	*Kaplelach*	*Kimnyike*

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a man will be classed with an age next but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to. [171]

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently: [701] [182] [602]

[1] See J.R.A.I. lvii. 426, for further details of the Nandi age-set.

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them. 606

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations. 614

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living [361] in clan settlements, by the clan councils where [627] matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap orenyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or *tiondannyō* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *ornyon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value.

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kot ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilionutik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *ornyon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *ar' t' apaa*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi. [171]

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi..... } Moi ..... }	*koyonyot* (crested crane).
Kipiegen.....	*konokchot* (baboon).
Kipamwi.....	*yemwiyo* (duiker).
Kapil.....	*toralt* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi.....	*robta* (the rain).
Korapor.....	*kimaketyet* (hyaena).

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1. But the "Dorobo Committee" of 1929 recorded: "Their social standing (i.e. of the Sanya, Dahalo and Boni) is so inferior that it seems very unlikely that they can be absorbed with either the Galla or the Giriama. Intermarriage between them and either of those tribes is unknown."

of his hunting land."

Mr. A.R. Barlow wrote in 1926:

"Kikuyu girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the Aathi (hunters) who then settled among the Kikuyu. The Aathi having no stock, they surrendered areas of forest to their fathers-in-law as bride-price." (2)

2. Quoted by the 1929 Committee.

This puts the transaction in its proper light: it is incorrect to talk of girls as currency with which to "purchase" land; land, possibly, in default of goats, was currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats as currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the lands their fathers or their brothers (according to the Kikuyu story) had arranged to "purchase" from Dorobo who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "sales." That would be tantamount to ritual incest, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. Or, if there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of joint adoption by the parties to the "sale" the marriage would annul the husband's status as a ritual brother of the "buyer's" group (3). But

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3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "treated as the son of one's own mother."

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would confer no rights in land except perhaps a meagre one of cultivation only. The marriage of a Dorobo to a Kikuyu girl, the "bride-price" being paid in land, would in theory be impossible because it would mean a double uthoni and that was contrary to both Kikuyu and Dorobo custom, though marriage by exchange of girls between two groups is not a concept [p. 148] quite unknown in primitive society (1), and some of the Fort Hall elders say that many

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1. Cf. Akiga's story: the Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members transacted and annotated by Rupert East, 1939. Of the practice of exchange marriage Dr. East remarks, "It is, or has been, an institution of paramount importance, and lies at the base of the whole present tribal organization." According to the Tiv theory of exchange, daughters bear children to their father's family by proxy. Dr. East says, "The most probable explanation ... is that it represents an unconscious attempt to reconcile the patrilineal and matrilineal principles." Cf. also C.K. Meek in "Marriage by exchange in Nigeria," Africa, January 1936: "... it may be said generally that one of the main reasons for the abandonment of marriage by exchange is that women now claim the right to marry anyone they please."

years ago, land being plentiful and goats scarce, a girl was rarely handed over as the "purchase-price" of land among Kikuyu; others declare that this could not be done at all. But I doubt if we can rule this method, which would sometimes mean alliance with a family rich in goats, completely out, although it would entail an infringement of the strict Dorobo law. We have seen that such a union would become a matrilocal marriage. It would serve to keep the husband close at hand and make him something of a drone, dependent, leading a lazy life and liable to degeneration. As a long-range method of absorption it would be of some effect.

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Another method of acquiring land was that of compensation for a homicide—"blood-money." Theoretically the land would be

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 619 [844] [846] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

D M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiboron lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El asiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas [233] among the El gassurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
614 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[1] as
79 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
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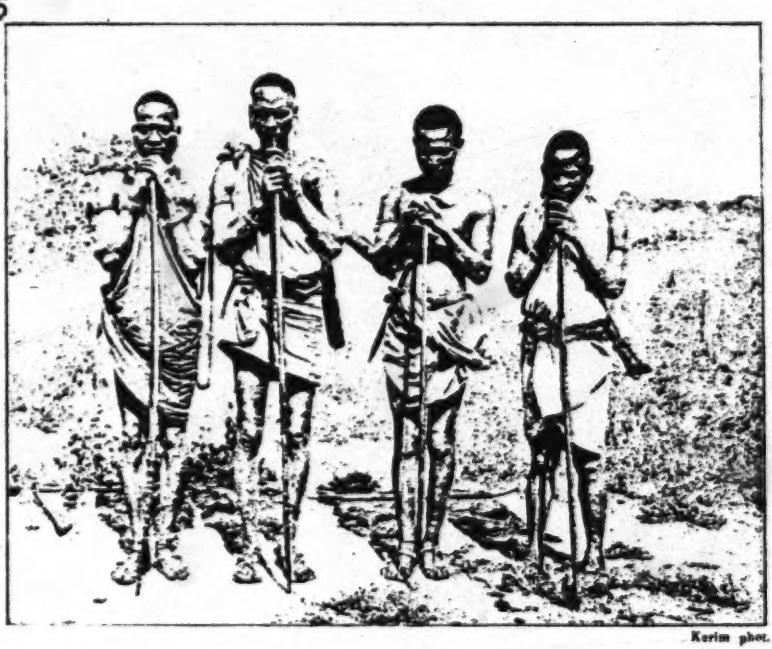

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Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

[1] [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
•171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[239] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morog) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[490] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried
[192] circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
• [171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraŭg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, schâruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haŭo, hauerɛg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribɛ́t) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw, usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
[272] only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing. Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./

512 [356] [462] After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] [281] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 439 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (nja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

[422]

Fig. 82. (1/10)

[171]

1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as diriᵹᵹ, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] [824] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

512 /237 cont./
517 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
535 Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[538] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
121 each time by song.
[321]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogeach.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogeach.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjeach.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiageach.
Mother-in-law: ratetuan.

The terms of address for relatives are:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteh.
Brother: bidjogeach, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjeach.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogeach.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same
• 171 rights as among the Masai.

For the Masai terms of address: eraijo, engijo, abula and araba,
601 the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogeach, and arimé
171 (see p. 56).

/339 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Fowling the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest • 191 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /340/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [845] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and 574 their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol genek i ol ki. in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/[Ik] cont./

[113] are bought from the Ideal for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[1137] a dish female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The
mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bride-
groom a bedikwe spiere. Instead of the bedikwe the parents-in-law
in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the
[1144] bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ko-gwesh,
bridegroom and mother-in-law ko-gor, bridegroom and the brothers
of the bride ko-nakwa, according to ancient Ideal custom.

[113] For heaviam no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
[1137] the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and
after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband
the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow
who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
[113] the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the
bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[1134] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal persons
dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid
is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the
full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for
the remainder owed.

[114] If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship,
he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment.
The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[1144] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said [to]
to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[1145] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[1171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among
the Ideal -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

[137] Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from
it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than
a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she
returns to her husband.

[112 171] Among the Ank the norm marriage obtains held as among the
Ideal, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/Fol. cont./

other necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A *jus p. n.* /*jus primae noctis*/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

/843 cont./

843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments.
[301] [971] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp.
844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric
[971] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (or navel) is severed with a razor-knife (Lemera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded
[999] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower
[856] ones: it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family.
846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious
853 reasons. [illegible] mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large porkyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

846 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the
849 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me
163 /163/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 97 aged Ank women questioned, 554 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of them, 45, therefore 52.6 per cent, were
165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 71 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths
591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/340 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names boys, girls, homes, married woman, parents.

553 The Wandorobo are not so extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother at a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Asa nor among other Wandorobo did the author find names peculiar to these tribes, the people here have those that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered "As announced and wealthy Masai was called that" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Kaisi.

[illegible] The girl, at her circumcision, is given a second name by her husband's cousin or friend, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave [illegible] deed performed in hunting his companions give the following a name corresponding to the one that the at manyat receives after killing an enemy in war. The occasion is when the slaying of an elephant, to which the names of other gift or kinship refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (ol olbor) fat, looks speckled (gir). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called ol mija. Another name is ol olby dimi (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a grocery hunting expedition is called ol dojani upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

555 After the birth of the five child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Ndolegon, the father is designated as eng Ndolegon (father of N.), the mother ene N. (mother of N.). After the death of the five child, the parents, in like manner, are [illegible]. [i.e., a Masai warrior--Ainslie]

/343 cont./
551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Aaí one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/344/ VII.

600 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

831 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
• 121 among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
541 Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendgi, bogodoffi) form an age class (ebindadgi), which borrows its name from that of the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
561 are called barnotig (sing. barnotendgi), corresponding to the ol barnot
171 of the Masai. When the latter become ol móran, the former correspondingly become dabonong (sing. dabonatog), and later, with their
[241] the Masai. The bogodoffi dress exactly like the en ribelio, and, like
[242] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol barnot) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Aaí adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes
[179] them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni, whom the Aaí also call ollorog, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadgi also choose their head -- the ol aiyoni of the Masai -- who here is called olíg or kiriríja or also aiyoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
[192] either. There the kiras kidge, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol oigwenani of the Masai. The kiríjá corresponds
[194] to the ol oiboni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in
[566] pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

4. [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Aas--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
191 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Many words of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the doboncg of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El moran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, gaiewog) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] mpiliti, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/251 cont./

224 222 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [177] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorobo, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [229] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [216] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

439 648 177 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 • 171 [511] One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and mens' capes, called e megiti and en joriba by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvient because of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e megiti, rather more often an en joriba made of calf hides, which they buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-heeled antelope. The costume of the women is here called ǯok (pl. ǯkí), as is the upper part of it (ol egischobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogessana gessána (pl. gessanán). The ol gela l el moruak is here called gok o daĕmá and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en joriba. Sandals (ischíba) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

[561] [237] [439]

301 561 832

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as [171] among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):[1] 301 192 ol orowíl, here lilúod; ol eleschua, here called the same; en gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here enguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol benīēt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiīēt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschīēt, tamagīg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeī e murt, here es segeńgeī endet to issat; es segeńgeī ol barańgasch, /253/ here es segeńgeī to lubaog; es segeńgeī en dagule, here es segeńgeī to n daguleț, and the es segeńgeī ol oreschet, here es segeńgeī to eē.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1. [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved
[171] by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary
[412] two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors
[304] are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail
[754] cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

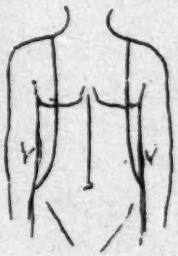
Fig 87.

302 The young men and girls color their entire
531 bodies with a paint made out of fat and red
[386] earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines
[171] (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

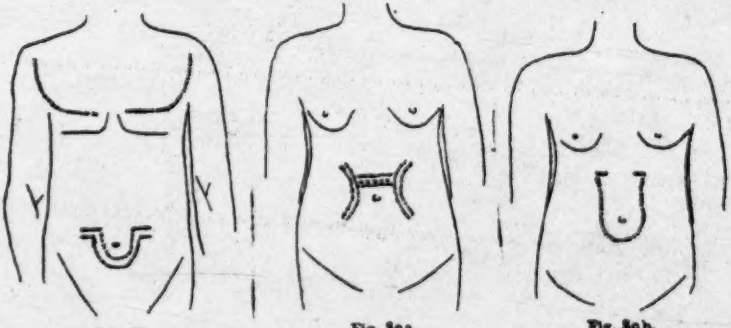
Fig. 88. Fig. 89a. Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white
[192] and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituhguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre
304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the
171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women
[531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandoróbo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors, but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma = sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ahotu; chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema = sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuñgurgue; dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu or ajōg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damōg; lues, en ebitiro. Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever, kaēsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibēg; ascarids,
752 menána. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted. On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandoróbo, the midwife gascha-hatta-hawa-kerint.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

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[171]
[511]
[556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere.
[782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Uēt, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What
765 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.1
171

428
[171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of
[171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows
768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving
[583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1, [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg,[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [177] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match M D 648 for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi D [829] is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When D 648 181 they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about D 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity • 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 171 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1, [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/256 cont./

802 [801] The Wandorobo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /257/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey or -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, [171] [192] they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers those that we became familiar with above for the Masai, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As the people stated, all Asá and also the other Wandorobo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not [439] [192] familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also annexed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among [192] the Asá a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Tatoga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

1 = kindé.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = χlam.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = sămă or sămăg.	Index finger, middle finger, and next finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = hă or hăg.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = mŭt.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = la.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = imba.	
8 = isiĕt.	
9 = endurudji.	
10 = agunġan.	
11 = agunġan kinde.	
12 = agunġan χlam.	
13 = agunġan a sama'	(or agunġan a samag).
20 = ditim.	

/257 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only seńgetók for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sătĭsch or kărătĭsch. The first, kinde satisch; the second, ŭlam satisch; the /258/ third satisch sama'; the fourth, satisch hag; the fifth, satisch mut, or kinde karatisch, ŭlam a karatisch. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely, in their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga ŭlam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 [224] For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one of the month, leheg tagarawasch, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sauaschasch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirahŏg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid saduisch.
Twilight: tara.
Night: e ramesá.

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called lɛ́tíl or lɛ́tíla, tomorrow lɛ́pe or lɛ́be, yesterday areach; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mílek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 191 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uɛ̄d. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uɛ̄d kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uɛ̄d, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uɛ̄d sigima gemiachin; for children, Uɛ̄d nge hawa; for wives, Uɛ̄d nge mai; for meat, Uɛ̄d nge aga; for honey, Uɛ̄d nge agung; for food, Uɛ̄d nge e haiug; for health if one is sick, Uɛ̄d adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- 775 [171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1. [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [791] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe.

[648] Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/261 cont./

000 D 431 D 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, D [177] [426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 628 [171] [672] As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably D [648] less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is D M 682 648 regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

M [524] [526]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uŋd nge hawa, Uŋd nge mai, Uŋd ngeri' agai and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uŋd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (moŋgg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschá́á, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo wagurú, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol moŋai, as it is also called here, besides moŋgg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,

part of Ashelland to the neighbouring area of Lolwor in Kamanja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Ashell was found incompatible with the tribal boundary. The line of march when leaving Lolwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kokwanei, in Dodoinga, I was accompanied by Captain P. Bonny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report relates could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance. Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligmann, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and the Senior Proctor.

I.—Kamanja.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Kamanja, embracing an area of 1,110 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and Soroti Administrations, being the centre of the course of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimotorongo (also known as the Kibia in Soroti District) which river it follows to its junction with the Kibedio River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Salgo; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on U. T. Lattitude due south of the highest point on Kamalogo mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lolwor District until it meets the southern boundary of Suk[illegible] Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Suk[illegible] Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Sosia; thence along the Turkwel or Sosia to the centre of the Suam to Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1926 Kamanja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Lolwor, which was treated as part of the Ashell District. Kamanja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently to the vicinity of the mountains which mark in the easterly prospect on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Elgon escarpments, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are generally occurring stone tools of a very primitive culture.[1] (Pl. [illegible], Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the foreboding type.[2] They occur rare, but they are not very common. They are due to overflowing sheets from plateau except in the Tororo hills where foreshore erosion occurs.

The area is devoid of any tree, and if vegetation is to be counted a browning steadily takes place. There are no permanent streams and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes in

[1] The Stone Implements mentioned in this address will be described in the Percy Sladen memorial for a paper concerning the antiquities of Africa.

[2] The details and occurrence of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See Geol. Mag. Vol. Dec. V, pp. 1-10, 1908.

THE DOMAIN OF THE NORTH ENGINEY FOREST (REPRESENTATIVE)

HISTORY

[1] It is clear from traditions of the Church, Manor, and Estates, as well as of the Domain themselves, that the Domain [illegible] were originally owned during the Middle Eighteenth when the Mile-Breakers and Rocky [illegible] Farm. Their land of the Domain Estates [illegible] as land which under the British Administration became Rocky Reserves (Native Land Claims), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as more Australia was concerned. But the workers (Servants, including the Eighteenth), occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Claims and Domain custody Family Reserves; hence their land rights were not considered.

[2] [3] [4] About 1937 the Commonwealth began to investigate the possibility of removing these Domains, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by workers, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], was considered to the World Land Club. This move was not successful, for within a few months about 3 per cent of these considered land usage back to the origin of the North Timber Estate, Rock and Lease, where they were living generations before 1 the land-work among these in 1938-9.

GEOLOGY

[5] The Eighteenth Domain of the western part of the North Timber Forest Reserve [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Ji Magutre G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ.

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Mossi, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Sulelkye*, though Sir Cloud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Sulelkye* are stated to have come from the Kinongo[1] district of the Mossi. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kinongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Mossi of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Sulelkye* Dorobo with the Mossi throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Mossi Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Sulelkye* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Mossi. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears[2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Mossi.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Mossi, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful slovenliness seldom to be met with in the Mossi. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Sulelkye*, but will almost always add: "We are now Mossi again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Mossi and the *Sulelkye* are one and the same. The opinions of the Mossi (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Sulelkye* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Sulelkye* are the

[1] Cf. Stahle: *Mossi Language and Folklore*; pp. xiv, etc. The name would seem to be ancestral, nowadays, to no more specific area than east and west of Arusha. (Map reference: 9 c; Kilimanjaro: S. E. 1/2.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire C-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F'LÁ Dorobo F'LÁ

descendants of the hotter members of the Mani tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Mani herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Sebei* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Sebei*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Sebei* and the Mani to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

(b) *Kireyánikyat*

The *Kireyánikyat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Mani what the *Sebei* is to the Mani proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kireyánikyat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Mani Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kireyánikyat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kireyánikyat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kireyánikyat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kireyánikyat* (who have no language but Mani),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Mani proper. The *Kireyánikyat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *Vide infra*. The Lumbwa and the Mani proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Mani of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Mani cattle. [2] See note 2, p. 191.

[3] Kwavi, neither, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to their tribe, particularly here, have adopted agricultural habits.

clans or families," after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several houses at the present time. Wakiro and Wakiak Dorobo live and hunt together all over the northern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous* (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Wakiro* collectively) are the last with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lokiro, who was the only man to record possessing a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the Wakiro is at Tukenani.* He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, asserts that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Lua*,* but no living Wakiro can remember the time when the majority of the people did not live at or near to Tukenani.

The Wakiro are to be found, consistently, living with the Masai in the bends of the lotor. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude bends of their own, close to the Masai. In these bends will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.* More often, however, the Wakiro live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn enclosure, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or die from natural causes the Wakiro is the quickly seen to become aware of the event in the most mercenary way. They will appear surreptitiously, make their camp, and remain until the carcase has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

* Men probably the former.
* Possibly one dozen including the women and children.
* The verb *a ki ray* [illegible] plain. In the non-existing the word.
* The Masai regard the eating of birds or eggs as useless.

IL-TORÓBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I grow cautious at the extent that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Meiye and who were fishermen by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect. 114

There are *Aramanik* living with the Meiye Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Dalalekye* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Wiaiso*.[1] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Wiaiso* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other. 101 177 107

An *Aramanik* named Sarbalo, of Meiye, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kijapi,[2] from a hole there used to be there but which has since closed up, near Il-Aiteipai le-Loipiniak. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Matto and Il-ololip, but have now come down here to Meiye. Others of us went north to the Serengeti plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their 113

[1] M. P. J. Hopkinson, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fishermen clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Nyeri area; ante.

[2] See the Masai, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 109-110 ff. I think the Dorobo must have an *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and Masai may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 109.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kijapi. See p. 130 in *Journal for January 1928*.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkain states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whom information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Ilaikipe* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjoo, Soloi and Piakya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mokore*

[1] See p. 271, fn. (4). The Dorobo seen by the Count Teleki were, almost certainly, these same *Aramanik*.

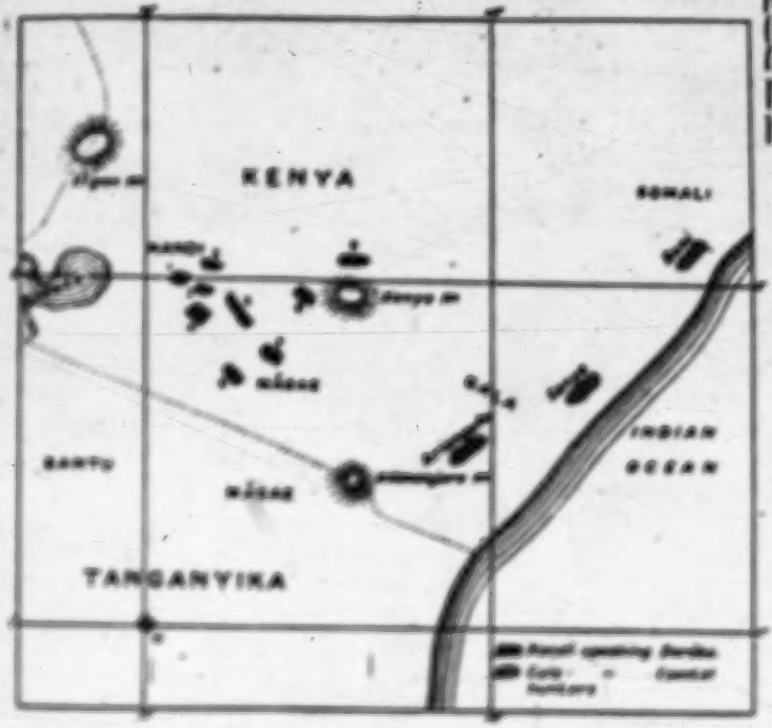
[2] almost gone to another

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 F1A Dorobo F1A

Akiba: In the Nandi story called "Kaiserekop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorobo (H.N., p. 308); and in the Nandi story "Tapoud' ap-murt" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorobo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these STORIES.



MAP 1.—

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Kisi clan, that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kimollo-Kipchapkwondi Dorobo the chief clan is the Kisi or Kaligenyet. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorobo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Sanye and Ariangulu have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bôni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bôni, Ariangulu, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume N.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Biasutti[2] to be connected with the Dorôbo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UAUAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA-, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	uli-tok	korosue-chu	olekinye-tukul,	kimi	
We-dwelt	here	countries-these	of-old-always,	there-were	
Mosk	komas-i	kewanni	ak	Ipkwapek	komas-in
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Masai	side-that
olgutet.	Olekinye	kimi	Kápcheptaen	ulin-po	korosue-chu tukul
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Sirikwa	there-of (-at)	countries-these all
ulin-bori	po	Soiin[3]	ko-pet-yo	keny.	Ma-ki-ose kiit'-akre.
there-down	of	Soiin	they-are-lost	long-ago.	Not-we-know thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country; the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Masai on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Sirikwa' lived in the plain of Soiin below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kámellio-Kápchephendi Dorôbo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*ssungutiet ap ssemak*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*dorsita*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the Kápelach age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1880, when the Masai suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorôbo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorôbo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] R. Cerulli, "The Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I mei trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 6, vol. vi, p. 173.

[3] Soiin was one of the Nandi constituents, or "counties," which was cut off after the Nandi Territory Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorôbo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Maiwenui to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiin.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

131 Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika [133] live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes [111] that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON 174 believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae 179 who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection [144] to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI[th] dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

● 173 However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[8]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

101 From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise [131] stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the 133 present Nandi Reserve[9]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[8] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 346; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[9] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

organizations, rainstones, masks and ancestor figures (nor have the peoples of Karamoja any legend of the "Great Flood"). As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the remoteness of these progenitors, whose ghostly visitations and "callings" are at times so disturbing, is not determinable, but I could not learn of ancestors whose generation was separated from that of the present by more than two others.

The smallness of the Andorobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and inspection of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests, but the suggestion may be deceptive, that in this case adaptability and physical variation are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

Tribe.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Males.	Max. Dif. (in cm.) in Stature of Adult Females.	Dif. in Stature Maximum between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. in Stature Minimum between Adults of both Sexes.	Dif. of Max. Stature of Males over Min. of Females. (Adults.)	Dif. of Max. Stature of Females over Min. of Males. (Adults.)
Dadoth	27·5					
Jie	33·3	19·3	23·6	11·7	43·0	7·6
Labwor	29·9	19·9	6·6	6·6	33·7	17·1
Wandorobo	13·4	7·2	2·6	2·6	10·6	10·6

11: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

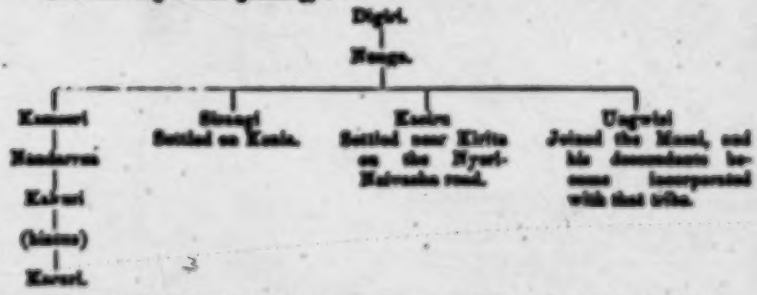
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiet), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Torobosi).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nenga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] [262] [173] [648] Kamuri, Sirangi, and Kaire are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungura, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emuru Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

11: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

captured, and commandeered as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the ancestors of the *Burugo*, *Gekonyuki*, *Loitai*, and *Damat* Masai. 173 674 648

Mr. Hollis spells these as follows:—Il-parka, Il-kak-ocnyokia, 'L-oitai and Il-damat. [114]

Some generation later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Ruruguti in the direction of Nyanwasi country; these people were like Masai and were under one Ndaruguto, the son of Ndaramwosi. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Ndaruguto was a clever leader, however, and he collected his beaten adversaries and welded them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamwezi occupied the whole of the Nandi-Lumbwa plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Ndaramwosi, or his son Ndaruguto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain rain dams which are to be seen in some of the Nandi valleys; these were certainly not made by the Nandi, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then unoccupied by that tribe, but was one of the great hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. In those days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, cultivating shambas as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwiranga, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chaga. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins. 194 [136]

On the Enemagishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Elgeyo, there are remains of a past race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, circular in shape. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mokwas (possibly the people were called Nirikwa, and the kraals Mokwas) who peopled that region previous to themselves. This is borne out by the legends of the Aggish, who state that the people who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Kajwa by the Kikuyu and Ekworia by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Parka, 'L-Aikipiak, and 'L-Oitai Masai, the bravest of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggish tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they bored a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to run they took out the plug. The form of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both knee caps in early youth. Be this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-horned cattle possibly points to an offshoot of some Hamitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migration might turn out to be contemporaneous with the Hima invasion of Uganda. Soon after the destruction of this tribe by the Masai the horned cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plagues. 193 [114]

The Aggish also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Mwalwal Chinna who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have averaged only 3 feet in stature.

They also tell that they heard from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white race (called Mwikenga) existed in the world. Doubtless news of the white man's advent was passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen inland.

C. W. HOBLEY.

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hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kaphepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter	*Meat to*
1.	Wife and children.
2.	Father and mother.
3.	Wife's father.
4.	Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saimiri*, Cobus guereza;
Chlorocebus pygerythrus;
Vervet, 'blue' monkey or *Cercopithecus albogularis*;
Kamobwai, the baboon, *Papio cynocephalus*.

5:Lambert--46 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

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Mr. H.R. Tate had recorded in or before 1910:
"The Gikuyu themselves say they came from the north and north-east, buying their land with stock from the Dorobo, or hunter tribe of nomads." (1)

1. In "The Native Law of the Southern Gikuyu of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1910.

and again:
"As far as can be ascertained after this lapse of time, all the land in the occupation of the southern Gikuyu was purchased with live stock by their grandparents or great-grandparents, who bought out the Dorobo or hunter tribe who occupied and hunted over the land up to within half a century ago." (2)

2. In "Further Notes on the Southern Gikuyu of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1911.

Mr. G.A.S. Northcote wrote of the present Gatundu and Githunguri divisions of the Kiambu district:
"There is another explanation of individual land tenure which arises from the description of the method by which the present 'Gethaka' were established. The Dorobo from whom the Kikuyu purchased the right to fell trees and cultivate, and the right to live at peace had from time immemorial partitioned out the forest into hunting areas. No Dorobo might hunt in another area without leave; nor could he hang his honey boxes elsewhere than in his own forest. When the Kikuyu came, the emigrant father of the family purchased the aforesaid rights over a portion of such an area; the Ndorobo boundaries were well known and consisted of streams where possible and otherwise of trees. These boundaries were adopted by the Kikuyu. Naturally as he cleared the forest the game went further in, and the piece of forest between the recesses of the forest and the part sold became gameless and valueless to the Dorobo owner and he would be more willing to sell that bit—and so the process went on." (3)

3. Quoted by Beech, op. cit.

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In or about 1913 the Hon. Charles Dundas wrote a paper, "The organization and Laws of some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," from which the following is an extract: /p. 86/

"As the Kikuyu advanced they encountered the Dorobo ... They appear to have found it more politic to purchase the land from them than to conquer it, and therefore the more wealthy Kikuyu bought the land ridge by ridge, and the purchasers became owners, who threw open the whole country to their tribe. Possibly, in recognition of this service their claims have remained established to this day. In Kiambu District, many of the original purchasers are still alive, and an old Dorobo who lives on the Chania River can show each parcel of land which he sold and what he kept for himself—for several of the Dorobo were wise enough to retain a part of their land, and in several instances these have become the recognized headmen."

Beech made a thorough investigation of the mode of acquisition in the Dagoretti sub-district in 1911. He says:

"My investigations were made in each location separately, and several thousands of witnesses were individually or collectively examined. The result of my enquiries ... was an unanimous agreement that all arable land was originally purchased by the A-Kikuyu from the Dorobo forest hunters whom they found in possession on their arrival." (1)

1. op. cit.

In a footnote he adds:

"I have no evidence as to how the Dorobo obtained the land. The origin of these people is still somewhat wrapped in mystery, but it is to be presumed that they followed the custom of previous tribes which they displaced, e.g., the 'Athi' of Nyeri. Wherever found, the A-Kikuyu claim to have bought the land from 'hunter tribes'. In the Kikuyu district" i.e. the Dagoretti sub-district "the emigration being so recent, it would naturally be Dorobo that they found there. The payments were originally made doubtless as a 'price of peace'. The Arabs obtained their land from the Galla in the same way."

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S:Lambert--48 G-S (ca. 1936-1960) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10 Dorobo FL4

Unfortunately Beech's record was not so thorough as his investigation; the following is a summary of the published results:

Location	Numbers of Sellers	Number of Holdings	Acreage	Notes
(a)	?	37	17,000 acs.	About one half purchased by one Kikuyu from one Dorobo.
(b)	3	37	5,000	Two of the sellers were brothers.
(c)	?	17	5,000	Originally owned by one Dorobo.
(d)	?	26	3,000	
(e)	?	30	4,000	
(f)	?	?	9,000	Nearly three-quarters owned by one Kikuyu, who bought it from three Dorobo.

At the time of the investigation there had already been considerable sub-division of the original holdings as "purchased" from the Dorobo. Concerning location (e) Beech remarked that it "was interesting as it consisted of new forest land to which the Wa-Kikuyu had emigrated not [p. 87] more than 15 years ago. Such as are here live side by side with the Dorobo with whom they have to a large extent intermarried."

S:Lambert--49 G-6 (ca. 1935-1956) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6
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Colonel John Ainsworth, then Chief Native Commissioner, wrote in 1920 a memorandum, "Kikuyu Explanation of the Origin of the Githaka and the Githaka System," in which he said:

"In the course of time, the Kikuyu got into touch with these people (the Dorobo), and, where possible, made friends with them ... These Dorobo lived on game, roots, and honey, and in order to collect the latter they hung honey barrels over wide areas of the forest. They had no cultivation. The limitation of their occupation was generally indicated by the presence of these honey barrels and by game pits. The Dorobo were few in numbers and their villages were scattered in the forests. Gradually the Kikuyu encroached for purposes of cultivation, and began to burn and cut down the trees. The Dorobo ... resented the intrusion by the Kikuyu, and demanded compensation for disturbance of their rights. Individual intruders paid the compensation demanded. On the Dorobo accepting such compensation they made blood-brotherhood and afterwards lived side by side, the Dorobo allowing the Kikuyu to cultivate and the Kikuyu recognizing the right of the Dorobo to carry on his way of living. In the course of time, numbers of Dorobo settled down as members of the Kikuyu community and took up cultivation.

"Many thousands of goats and cattle were paid by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo, not all at once, but from time to time. The Kikuyu correspondingly occupied the forest area 'bit by bit'. The Dorobo, having lost their forests, went to the Masai, to whom they paid goats and cattle for permission to reside among the Masai. They also took large presents of ivory to the Masai Laibon, Mbatian, in payment of their hunting. Others joined the Kikuyu, and became members of the community when they gave up hunting and became cultivators.

"In order to avoid quarrels and fighting among themselves, the Kikuyu agreed that the particular member of the community who parted with his goats or cattle as compensation should be recognised as the person who had acquired the rights of any particular Dorobo, and so, they argue, came into existence the githaka rights now claimed. Where Dorobo elected to remain as members

S:Lambert--50 G-S (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
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of the Kikuyu community they remained in occupation of what land they required, and in course of time they bought and sold, amongst each other, girls as wives. It is claimed that subsequent to this understanding between the Kikuyu and the Dorobo, it happened from time to time that in the case of a Dorobo still holding a large piece of forest a Kikuyu would obtain it from him in exchange for a girl or girls handed over as a wife or wives, but such a transaction did not mean that the Dorobo left the area. It simply meant that he transferred his rights to the Kikuyu concerned, and joined his community.

"The Kikuyu claim that in the foregoing manner they acquired the Dorobo rights ..."

Colonel Ainsworth recorded his own opinion as follows:

"There is no doubt in my mind that whatever goats and cattle were paid to the Dorobo by the Kikuyu, the payment was in respect of disturbance of the hunting rights and the right to collect honey enjoyed by the Dorobo up to the time of the burning of the forest by the Kikuyu."

[p. 87] Earlier in the same year the Solicitor General, Mr. K.J. Mair MacKenzie, expressed the opinion that

"... all that the evidence before the Commission (1) established was that they (the Kikuyu) or certain families amongst them had from time to time made payments to the Dorobo not so purchasing the land from the Dorobo, who are a forest-dwelling and hunting tribe, with no conception of ownership in land or any idea of land as a marketable asset; but as a mere payment to avert the depredations and raids of the Dorobo and in order that they (the Kikuyu) might remain peaceably to cultivate the land they were then in occupation of ... I should imagine that they certainly never supposed themselves that the Dorobo were the owners of the land or could pass any title to it. Though it may be that now long use has led them to consider themselves the owners by purchase."

1. Col. Ainsworth was appointed Commissioner to investigate the Githaka system in July 1932.

S.Lambert--51 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

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The following is an extract from a memorandum written, also in 1930, by Colonel O.F. Watkins.

"Their (the Kikuyu) traditions of purchase from a people knowing nothing originally of money or fincia, are obviously a later interpretation of early transactions, just as the feudal system is often alleged to have been invented by modern historians."

Evidence taken by the 1929 Committee

The evidence given by the Kiambu Kikuyu on the mode of acquisition of their land to the 1929 Committee is contained in the following account.

"Question explained. The meeting does not wish to adjourn for discussion and is prepared to proceed.

"Question 1. Way in which land was acquired.

In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wandorobo who were hunters. (At this point the meeting asked for adjournment for discussion—adjourned for about 2 hours.) When the Kikuyu first came the hunters objected on the ground that the cutting of forest for cultivation would spoil their honey supply and drive the game away from the game pulls and traps. They said if you want the land you must pay us for it and our ancestors agreed to pay. In the first place each Kikuyu who bought land ceremonially adopted a Dorobo as a token of good faith. Then the Dorobo who had been adopted fixed the price which might be 80 or 100 sheep. Then there was a ceremony of marking out the boundaries. First the amount was paid over and then the Daruma ya Ngwataa (the oath for dividing) was supplied by the purchaser. This was slaughtered and the cattle taken for the ceremony of marking out. Then the Dorobo led the way pointing out his marks on trees or holes in the ground which marked his hunting area off from that of other Wandorobo. Four or five Kikuyu elders followed planting Kiloo and other marks along the boundary, accompanied by a Dorobo witness. The Dorobo did not necessarily sell his whole area. He usually reserved a part, which might be sold separately subsequently. Usually the Kikuyu only bought a part, and bought more as he could afford it, or the land might be bought by section. If a man wanted to buy a larger area than he could pay for, he would

9.Lambert-62 C-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1962 Kikuyu Folk Stories Folk

get his relations to help with the purchase price so as to avoid having any other than relations as neighbors. Each lily planted as boundary had to [illegible] cows first smeared with cattle. If a cow was the boundary mark it was blazed with an axe and cattle smeared on the blaze. When the boundary had been marked they would go and sit down, and the Akikuyu claimed 1) the milk which had cleared the tract, 2) the axe which had blazed the cows, 3) a branding iron used for marking honey-barrels, the latter indicated that he was going to move his honey-barrels, 4) a young ewe, which had not yet borne a kid. This ewe was called the mwati ya ngoma (the ewe of the singing series). The latter was to compensate him for the clings sustained in marking out the boundary. The ewe and the ram sealed the contract; 5) a pot of honey. Up to the time when the Europeans came Wandorobo or Akikuyu were still selling land there in that way. There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania. We always bought them out and never drove them out. If we had driven them out there would have been a curse on the land. However purchase gave right of possession against others. The purchase was made by individuals. The Akikuyu always moved off the land which he sold. The adoption ceremony was as follows. The Akikuyu called the Akikuyu to his village in his own country and in the presence of witnesses they sat down on an ox-hide. Then there were brought 1) an ewe (mubuku), 2) a branding iron (ruoro), 3) a cane (rungu), 4) a cattle-branding stave (ndigi). There was also fat, 5) ivy (mūtīe thereunto), 6) oil. All these things were passed seven times round the witness and the cooked house of a man, to make the pledge binding and put a curse on any who broke it. Then the adopter and the adoptee ate the meat and put on the rubbers which was cut by two old men. Then an old woman brought oil and the ivy and rubbed it on the hands of the two parties. Then each party put his thumb into the ivy and marked the other right down the nose. Each adjured the other by the mark not to break the pregnant contract of sale and not to harm the other. Then an old woman and came all mixed with ngombe (grain) and rubbed the marks off their noses. The Akikuyu are bound by this oath to be a protector of the Akikuyu. The Akikuyu used the land for cultivation only. They were not hunters.

[illegible]

[illegible] Each man bought his himself, even though he might have to get his friends to help him with cash as in the case of buying a wife. Occasionally the Nkanda stayed on and was given a Kikuyu wife. Sometimes he accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of cash in payment in which case he had to stay. It was always an absolute sale and there was no possibility of redemption."

[illegible] African Evidence taken by Land Commission

The African evidence before the Land Commission is not very helpful. The native claims usually consist of congenital nonsense according to a set formula—"Our [illegible], who consisting of so many hundreds of people, many centuries past bought each and each a piece of land (generally ill-defined) from a Dorobo called Ol-ondi-lo for so many thousands of goats and a girl or two." The Commissioners remark that "They took evidence on several of these claims, which enabled them to understand the nature and issue of such claims generally. The evidence was very voluminous and conflicting and the Commissioners were of opinion that it was of no great assistance to them in arriving at any conclusions on the questions upon which they were called to express an opinion." Most of the oral evidence was an appeal to the emotions or a rigmarole of deceitful sophistry rather than a reasoned argument or straightforward statement of demonstrable facts. Many of the witnesses set out to be brazenly lying or clever rather than logical or even reasonably truthful. "Are lands in your country ever bought with the souls of people?" asked one, and "Can the King understand that he has taken from us not only our land but our God?" another. An original explanation of the Dorobo (probably not far-fetched to be popular) was attempted by one witness. "What about the people who came here?" he said, "Did they come because they heard that somebody was going to sell the land? The people called Dorobo or the ones who sold the land [illegible] here were the same people who came from Ulanga, but they came altogether. But the Dorobo from whom the land here was bought were the people who came down from ahead of the others and had taken up the land and driven out the elephants and buffaloes and other game, drawing them with bows and arrows and digging game pits for them, and for those why have forgotten and the land to the agricultural people who came after and that they should be asked for their aid

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and their wealth and for having to come first and do all the hard work." The "Loyal Kikuyu Peoples of Southern District of Kikuyu" tried to exploit a similar misrepresentation. "From the beginning we were buyers and sellers," they said. "Almost all our lands we bought from Dorobo, who were the original owners. The Dorobo were a part of the Kikuyu tribe who were dwelling in the forest, living on the game and blood of animals, and the other part of the tribe bought it from them." Another witness demonstrated his credibility by giving his version of the list of the Kikuyu generations ago, which must have appeared to the Commissioners to be just about as relevant to their subject as a list of the Kings of Israel until the recital came to an end with the usual emotional appeal—"Are you going to remove all our males so that there will be no more generations? ... My cry to you is for seven generations, each generation in turn for land to land to leave to each succeeding generation, and my cry is what is my generation to leave to the following generation if you do nothing about it?" It seems to have escaped the witness that the dispossessed Dorobo might have had something equally cogent to say on the subject and that the land he was now claiming as potentially but certainly not been passed on by the earlier generations as his lot to those succeeding them.

Canon Leakey's Evidence

Notice must be taken of the evidence given by the Rev. Canon Leakey to the Land Commission. Some years before (in 1919) he had written a letter to the Daily Leader of British East Africa from which the following is extracted.

> "I am aware in certain quarters it is thought that the idea of the Kikuyu having purchased their land for large numbers of cows and sheep is a faked up affair, or 'fairy tales' ... If such were the case the Akikuyu would be a clever people indeed. As it is impossible to catch the old men tripping and giving conflicting evidence with regard to the early history of their land tenure. Why! They actually had to pay the Wandorobo what may be considered a primitive form of survey fees! They were charged, beside a ram, mwori wa ringeni, or in English 'arrow maiden-ewe.' This young ewe was part of the fee claimed by the Dorobo owner for walking to a bee-line through forest

S:Lambert--SS C-S (no. 1930-0930) 1960 PLUS Kikuyu PLUS Dorobo FILE

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undergrowth instead of following paths, as the bow-legged native can unerringly perform to do, and so getting snug on his legs by a vicious kind of creeping nettle, while he exiled the boundary of the land which was about to change ownership. Can anyone be so foolish as to suppose that they made up stories of this kind on purpose to dupe the Europeans and make them believe that they bought land from other natives? I am told by well travelled men that land tenure is a practically unknown thing among primitive tribes before the advent of the white man. If that is true, and I have no reason to doubt it, then I venture to think that this particular characteristic of this tribe discoverable by a study of their folk-lore, should be considered a matter of extreme interest, and not lightly thrown aside because it happens to conflict with preconceived ideas, and in some cases does not fall in with what one wishes to prove in the case."

In a memorandum to the Land Commission Canon Leakey wrote, "Turning now to the question as to whether there is any truth in the statements made by the Kikuyu that they purchased their land from the Dorobo I can only say that I took infinite pains many years ago to try and find out if it really was a fact and I could never find anything to make me doubt it. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind that what they say about this is entirely correct."

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Findings of Land Commission

The Land Commission, like the 1929 Committee, found it difficult to come to any clear-cut conclusion as to the nature of the payments, if any, made by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo. The Commission had recorded,

"We need not deflect the exact implication of the claim that they 'bought the Dorobo out'. It is at least certain that payments were made, and that Kikuyu families are the undisputed successors in the occupation of areas over which Dorobo families once hunted. This, which is all that is important to our purpose, is common ground."

The Land Commission expressed its general conclusions as follows:

[illegible] claims by the Dorobo. There are 141 cases in which the claim

[illegible]

O.Lambeth—68 C-6 (no. 1858-1864) 1959 PLO Kikuyu PLO
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"Possibly the Kikuyu theory that their land rights in the Nairobi District rest on purchase from the Dorobo would not work out very favourably for them, if it were used as the only support of their rights. The Dorobo can reasonably contend: a) that the sales, generally speaking, are not proved, and that probably much of the land was not sold; b) that the obligation of protection conferred on these Kikuyu adoptees was not carried out, and that, as soon as the Kikuyu had got its land, the Dorobo was sometimes 'de-adopted' as the Kikuyu themselves confessed to the 1929 Commission; c) that the alleged 'sales,' when they took place at all, were not final, but only redeemable loans, as the custom of Chief Kinanjui proves, and that the alleged final payment was not generally agreed by the Dorobo and did not reach many of them; d) that in many cases they are still partners to the land; and e) that, when and in so far as they sold land, they frequently reserved a place for themselves, as the Kikuyu Land Tenure Report admits.

"We shall not take the responsibility of pronouncing on these questions, but we think that, if the Kikuyu were fully to realise their implications, they would be too ready to insist that every land question should be decided on historical grounds and would be more willing to concede something to the claims of beneficial occupation.

"In a process which combined, as we have seen, purity of alliance and partnership and purity of adoption and absorption, purity of payment, and largely of force and chicanery, the Kikuyu had already succeeded the Dorobo when Count Teleki passed through Kikuyu land in 1887 ...."

It must be remarked, however, that the Lord Commissioner's findings that the process of succession contained "largely of force and chicanery" does not entitle us, however fully we accept that finding, to reject or deny the Kikuyu claim that the complete purchase of land was possible and in fact practiced. There is no doubt the Kikuyu from another to the Nairobi District, but, as every District Officer who has served there knows only too well, to obtain by chicanery or even force rather than by purchase is not altogether repugnant to modern Kikuyu ethos.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ .

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Ndorobo*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Ndorobo* are stated to have come from the Kinongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kinongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Ndorobo* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Ndorobo* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful clumsiness seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Ndorobo*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Ndorobo* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Ndorobo* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Ndorobo* are the

[1] The spoor would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (c.a. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Ilaiokpo* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Ilaiokpo*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Ilaiokpo* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyaleksut

The *Kinyaleksut* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Ilaiokpo* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyaleksut*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyaleksut* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyaleksut* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kinyaleksut* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself " originated " in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyaleksut* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyaleksut* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] Ki-Kwavi. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes [illegible] and also to show [illegible] the Lumbwa are many enemies to [illegible]

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name " Lumbwa " is not to be found among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, particularly here, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mviru*, *Mdisi* and *Kisenkese*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* live in the country of the Wangiwa and Wasigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Mami Reserve in 1923, the Wangiwa and Wasigua inhabiting the Tabenni-Gitu-Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe*. Rumogi says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Mamiland where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wangiwa and Wasigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Mami language, as a general rule, but know Kingiwa and Kisigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mviru* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mviru*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Mami border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* Dorobo may be impoverished Wangiwa and Wasigua, but I think it more likely that they are Dorobo[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a hunter.[3] The few *Kitokwda* and *Kisongwe* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kingiwa or

[1] They are the same current among the Mami and the Dorobo in Handeni, but in many the different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni District is the Dorobo District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Dorobo.

[4] [illegible]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

ndigai who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Maasai and Il-Okiep, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Maasai and Il-Okiep respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Maipo area) are also rapidly becoming Maasai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (*O-nolyoke L'ulutwa*[1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Maasai influence than are their brethren at Maipo and Lo'ookomai. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Maasai, as are the *Dalatoga*.

The *Kitabarabo* and *Kisongora* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mbiuru* Maasai influence wanes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Maasai are willing to pay for *Mbiuru* women; the fact that the Maasai are always ready to employ the younger *Mbiuru* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mbiuru*, who are keen but far from unintelligible.

I believe the *Mbiuru* to have been once closely allied to the *Aramanik* of the East. If they were not pure Dorobo? The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a moot

[1] *Ngorongoro localities.* These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Aramanik* mentioned above by Mr. H. S. Maguire (see note 1, p. 259).
[2] See Hobley: The Dorobo, p. 6.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talassai came into contact so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilled performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Asumwek* and *Balekye*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Morans within the last few years or so.[2] Some were even broken. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kikuyu, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior often in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipturgwet* (Nandi); *Orutuki* (Masai).

[2] When my three Dorobo go into Nairobi they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally African. The duties of the latter are to guard the Masai warriors' kits, and not make themselves generally useful. Each retinue is as much seen as they can possibly

105 Wakwafi (Wa-) &c, who therefore boast of their own superior lineage. These poor people speak a language of the Wakwafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own,[1] knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Except by, of course, writing of Dorobo in contrast with the southern Nilo. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorobo, that of Hobley in the *Journ. of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1929), is disappointing, and marred by ignorance of Swahili, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorobo.

101 The subdivisions and sections of the Dorobo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorobo.

(111)

1. Kinálo-Kipsigisiyek.	In contact with the Swahili-speaking tribes of Swahili, Kamasya, and Kipsigis.
2. Le-Kumi.	
3. Siau.	
4. Ok of Kipsigis.	
5. Chebarmach, Kamish, and Kiptorch, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Nilote.
6. Ndo.	
7. Kiley.	
8. Ong.	
9. Okiek and Lokoitch, N. of Mt. Kenya (Case Egan).	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.

Tanganyika Dorobo.

10. Tatog[1] (or, D'S.
11. Mbo[2]
12. Aramik[3]

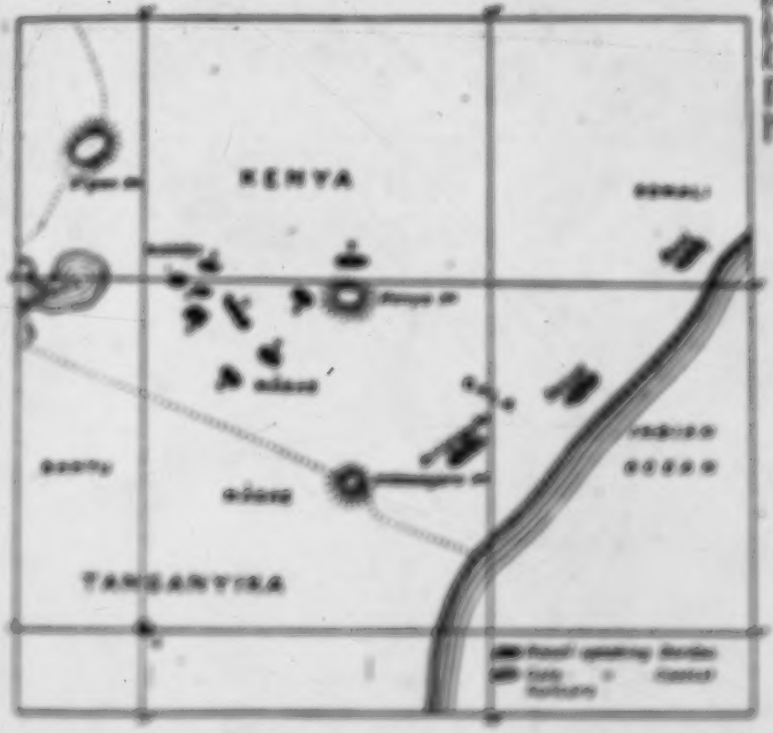
101 All these races speak dialects of Swahili, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Swahili dialect seems to be one criterion by which true Dorobo can be distinguished. (Swahili may, from the

● 104 The origin the Dorobo is uncertain. Those of the Kinálo-Kipsigisiyek group do not (or undoubtedly have the Swahili in physical characters, except in one or two details, not one particularly due to environment.) Some also are unusual, share [illegible] by Nilotes and Swahili-speakers, and to the Swahili [illegible] Others whom they are near, whom they first came into this part of eastern

[illegible]

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Aldin; in the Nimo story called "Kaiamchop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorobo (E.N., p. 900); and in the Kamli story "Tapsoiff ap mort" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo (E.N., p. 111). The Dorobo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these 194 ●



stories. Further, Hollis quotes (E.N., p. 96) a tradition of the Nisi also, that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a seedling in his bag, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kimalilo Kipchigilandi Dorobo the chief clan is the Nisi or Kalenjarin. Both

show the Dorobo resemble the Masai in features, customs, and language. We can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (921.-1923)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

on both certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting point from which to work. The theories are :—

(1) That the Dorobo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Bantu and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Bantu language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorobo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Bantu group.

(3) That the Dorobo are part of the Bantu sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorobo language, as now spoken, is closer to Bantu than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorobo and the rest of the Bantu sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Bantu language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, seeing that primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (1) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorobo if it was not of the genius of Bantu, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (2) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorobo, if both Dorobo and Suk were early offshoots from the Bantu Suk-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Nilote languages (Kavirondo, Nandi, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorobo have assimilated the language and customs of the Bantu rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Bantu element in the Dorobo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Bantu.

In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Boni,[1] Wasi,[2] and Sanye.[3] These tribes are of a very primitive description,

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

Kikuyuliteratuur E-5 (1918-1939) 191: FLA Dundas FLA

[illegible] Most of these tribes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masai of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of tribes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masai.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. Sir Harry Johnston believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masai who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masai group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pygmies. As the true pygmies avoid the forest and keep, like the Masai and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ndorobo, as well as the Watta of Mombasa; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauas of the Egyptian inscriptions of the [illegible] dynasty is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masai regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masai version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover Orchardson quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race.[1] The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/56/

58. The Dendse

The last name on the list of problems in the occupation of the land are held by the tribes of the Ubi; Dendse. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of attention, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dendse in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation; the very converse here. Some would lump all the Dendse together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by admixtures in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin that the Dendse chose to play a way behind while the others, due to pressures, moved from the hunting-trapping-fishing stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

55. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1880 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "The tribe - the tiny remnants of the Wa-ndorobbi - is a small race of people scattered over West-land for game there eaten [illegible] by the chase. They neither fish nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, white elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire. While they always find neighbouring tribes [illegible] to bring, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and so rich the Dendse are to be found very where there animals abound, as for instance

1. In the Uhehe of the present time there is a Uhehe [illegible] engaging in hunting and trapping [illegible] a certain village among the agricultural Uhehe, whereas others [illegible] Uhehe (or anybody else) who lives in the bush and lives as part of agriculture.

/SE cont'd/

and the Wagata of Kilimanjaro. The Watta may be the same as the Uasei of the Egyptian inscription of Usa (VI Dynasty), though certain Sudan authorities think the final 'r' may not be part of the name. But the Galla call the Sanye Wanya, plural Wanna[5], which may have a name Wa-, with a plural suffix in 'Y'; if we can accept this, we may see in Uasei a reduplication of the name Wa with a suffix 'Y', and if we may identify the Watta with the Uasei, we have historical evidence of the antiquity of the hunting tribes, and confirmation of the Torrit and Masai view that the Dorobo are the autochthonous inhabitants of Eastern Africa."

101

The following is extracted from a memorandum submitted by Lt. Colonel H.F. Hamilton, C.B.E., F.R.G.S.:-

"There seems little doubt that the greater part of Eastern and Central Africa, from the coast to the Congo forests, was originally inhabited in early times by short dwarfish peoples akin to the Pygmies of the Congo forests and the Bushmen of South Africa. As a result, first of these invasions, and later by invasions of Nilo-Hamites, these little people have been split up, exterminated or absorbed in part by these later arrivals, and so are now found in various parts of the country remnants of them only, some having adopted the speech and customs of the invaders either in part or whole, and all of them living lives of hunters in the hills and forests, few owning property except dogs. The most of these men with whom we are at present engaged perhaps the best known are the Dorobo (El Tuppe or Deatiq). The Dorobo, like the Ogiek and Kipsigis peoples, are hunters ...

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5. This would connect the Sanye with the Tua. But the peoples of the northern coast identify the Sanye with the Dahalo and consider the Tua a separate people.

/58 cont'd/

Physically, the Dorobo vary greatly, presumably according to the amount of mixture of other races in their blood. Some are very like the Andorobo, and therefore retain many ancient characteristics, while others are now almost indistinguishable from the non-Dorobo negroes, having lost their original characteristics and having adopted many of the Dorobo methods and customs. They, however, retain their primitive dwellings, and, except in a few instances, so far as I know, the Dorobo keep no domestic animals except the dog. Being by nature hunters, and semi-nomadic, it is not expected that their numbers will ever increase greatly, but they will in time become mostly absorbed in surrounding tribes ... In the country now occupied by the Kikuyu there were once many dwarf people akin to the Dorobo (or their predecessors) and the Ogiek. The Kikuyu are a Bantu tribe ... They attribute their origin to the Dorobo. They are invaders of the highlands, where they still up, exterminated or absorbed the original dwarf like inhabitants, known as Ogiek and Dorobo ... The present density of population of the /59/ Kikuyu is comparatively recent. They are comparatively recent migrants into the highlands. The low fertile plains previously occupied by them were not rich enough, and a growing need for land gradually forced them up to the loess belts of these forays, destroying or absorbing the aborigines as they advanced ... In the A'Kamba section, one may observe Kikuyu with features like Europeans as a result of their absorption of the primitive Ogiek and Dorobo, while in other sections, the Kikuyu have a more Semitic type of countenance as a result of these dominations ... the Dorobo have been here for many thousands of years, having probably the original or almost the original inhabitants ...

It is not certainly to be justified, without further evidence, in assuming that all these hunting people were closely related or had a common aboriginal ancestor in Africa merely because they can be conveniently classed together as hunting tribes.

(fiji cont'd)

Q.1 Her answer is that, in a very general sense, they have a common culture. All the tribes in the Land Unit, except the Swoke and Nilaka, and the 1950 Commission feel they were in fact kept of culture too old or long ago.

65. Somewhat different groupings of tribe and sub-tribe and peoples descended from the original Swoke tribe were given in evidence before the Land Commission by another witness, Mr. Carlisle Lock, based on information he had acquired by means of his position as "a chief elder in more tribes than one". He said:

> "As a result of my researches, I find that the Swoke are generally correctly the original settlers of the Colony, and have history goes back thousands and thousands of years. The Swoke are a people, not always a part of a people: the Swoke are the people which we have a Swoke all through these and Kilaya, but often we refer up here" (i.e. in the vicinity of Kisaka) "the Swoke is not a Swoke any longer in the same way. The Bay Kisaka and its tribe and these tribes in Figan are also the original Swoke ... of the coast, similar to were originally Swoke, viz., the Kulet and the Wanilaka ... There are three groups ... the Wakimara, the Wadaretta and the Tarawan or Nalibara. These three peoples were original inhabitants, and, vanquished by the incoming Wasai, were re-organised and grouped under the division of the Wasai called the Wakilyan, together with the [illegible] and the Wangarra, who remained in from the north, and fought here on the beaches for a very long period, eventually making a breach in what we called the Swoke, also on the original tribes, of which the Bagidu and the first number to be sub-tribes. They all believe together ... The Swoke [illegible] peoples came from the East and claim to be of the same descent as the Swoke. They came up here and mixed with the Swoke ... Bay Kisaka is of royal blood, I have this oath, and can trace its pedigree back for hundreds and hundreds of years ... (Bay Kisaka's tribe) have always Figan for thousands of years ... He belongs to the group

/17 cont'd/

called the Isaac Cattle Thief, who owned all his land. They are the ancient Berthee[1], the bulk of whom passed down into the south. /18/ There are scattered remains of them round Bilimaspan. The rest of the group are to be seen in South Africa. These people held title to land here for thousands and thousands of years .... the Ibanka were the ancestors of the country .... the Ibanka were the original owners of cattle, and the Ghazi and others took their cattle from the Ibanka; they were slaves.[2]

/19

66. Further work differs from the "Ibanka Committee" in that to match the Ibanka pen-artist and pen-painted cattle (the pen-artist and pen-painted) the tribe having suffered disintegration at the hands of persons invaders who took their cattle from them.

67. We now have two views of the Ibanka tribe which are certainly difficult to reconcile. One view is that the Ibanka were originally primitive peoples of a Bushman type, in a hunting, roaming stage of culture, which culture they retained in spite of many years (in certain sections) of Negro and Nilo-Hamitic blood. They neither kept cattle nor cultivated. The other is that the Ibanka were the aristocrats, the only possessors in Eastern Africa, in ethnic consequence of their ownership, considered

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[1] A. The Berthee have been held responsible for various ruins in the ground in the Kyasuu Province and elsewhere, which are in fact known as "Berthee ruins", and even apparently used as dwellings. See GG. 1 (i). Question One, in a memorandum addressed to the Land Commission, writes: "In some remote period, probably not less than 500 years ago, a tribe, about which very little indeed is known, called the Berthee, entered Elgeyo from the north and north-west. They built but no stone plinths some of which remain to this day in various parts of Elgeyo proper. It has been suggested that they were responsible for the admirably engineered series of irrigation furrows in both Sheshinon and Soab". If the Berthee were capable of such engineering I would even that the "Berthee ruins" should be attributed to another people, possibly of the Cushite type.

/Of cont'd/

intercommunity by electronic rays rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, caused a type of humanimal (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it possess them, can claim some small degree of ethnicality in both. 174 ●

Dr. D. L. S. B. Leakey told the Land Commission: - 101

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the ancient of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..." [197]

Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Ii-Kumoo of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kenya repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes: 174 [325] [439] 174 144

"... even after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

/58 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not dorr in custom, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Kamasia or Kalji, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Kericho, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In the Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect to any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

	Sheetja	Hanifi	Khas
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ol) milliem
Khas	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Kumba	/beg[illegible]/a		/[illegible]-ng[illegible]/a (ole oloibeg)
Kikuyu	(gue, bugue)		(i)kobuyo
Sheetja	ngisti (pl.)	elkoti (pl.)	
Hanifi	/beg[illegible]/anti (pl.)		
Kamphaan	nyun (pl. [illegible])		/[illegible]-nyun (ole ilpiro) meny[illegible]/
name	nyun	nun	
gi	si	si	
kidaw	nyur		
leg	sil	sil (ol)	
eat	[illegible]ti		
man	mesh	mesh	
he	ni	ni	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Sheetja words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with untrained minds; they are apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but enveloped under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Sheetja to some other dialect if such a relationship exists in fact.

If, and that, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Sheetja people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. But what these people were we cannot yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being something other than a Bantu-speaking tribe, and this Hamite of a Hanifi type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be useful to have our findings on their language, but if we cannot succeed to talk of Bantu immigrations from the east and this Hamite

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] told the 1929 Commission that they have no aboriginals (Dumbo), and said "There was an older tribe to the Nandi when we came" and "We only have of Kikuyu, Wakamba, Masai, Swahili" by which they meant that these five tribes were the only African strangers they had encountered in their pastoral territory. They had just previously told the Commission that they had bought the Wandei the possession of the ash-hide and had driven out the Masai.

But when the Masai said "Swahili" they meant Swahili, and there were in fact two Swahili present at the Barazza. They were probably of the 3 Swahili sections who were always certainly the Swahili mentioned by Meinertzhagen in his Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa as living near Kisumu (in Upper Kavirondo). Meinertzhagen wrote:

> "The Swahili people were probably all Bantu once, but much has been changed, and a large proportion of the land is cultivated by the natives, who are numerous here [...] All these people are akin to those of Kikuyu, but there is a clan of Wakikuyu (a branch of the Masai) living alongside of Kisumu, and a community of Wakamba also. They have distinct words, with different customs, live side by side."

Mr. [illegible] is an altogether remarkable, however, that his Masai were not Masai Swahili rather than Masai. Most writers who mention them appear to have considered them a section of the Masai who had taken to agriculture, and Johnston in his Uganda Protectorate says:

> "These settlements of agricultural Masai in the Kavirondo (i.e. towards the Coast) were called by the Nandi native 'Suswa', which is Masai not Kavirondo in origin, but which has been progressively wrong in its adoption by Kipsigi."

Archer, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, suggested that the name Suswa was a Nandi corruption of the Masai word [illegible] as

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Dubbondo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu mostly by stress of famine and most [illegible] occupied by Dubbondo. The Dubbondo seem to have received these immigrants hospitably and to have sold them [illegible] which were originally determined by planting 'kibanda' there and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the Dubbondo to this day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu therefore the bulk of the Dubbondo were driven from the country".

19. Dondo and Forest Kikuyu

In regard to the tertiary south of the Uaso Nyiro (the present Dondo District) it may be said with confidence that the forest area (north were occupied then than only were in the exceptions, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dondo people at the time of the Kikuyu advent. The Dondo Kikuyu and the [illegible] remember that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Dubbondo who were famous ... There were Dondo in this District as far as the Uaso".

The Commissioners recorded the opinion that "the Dondo District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dondo were living here [illegible]".

Mr. [illegible] Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dondo and other Kikuyu native law customs. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Dubbondo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of the part of the country" i.e. the [illegible] area, "and the only previous inhabitants were a few [illegible] who called by the Kikuyu Dondo, or Dondo o Ngare Nanu people, lived at present, and have been a pygmy race, but in addition, and having no organized tribal occupation even for hunting purposes.

/BE cont'd/

"Both of the Cheeks over the position are very different, a few families of Cwmtle older living here and there in the lower - a fact which even the Rhondwdds admit - but they were mostly numbered along on a generations movement and hiding from the real invaders, the Rhondwdds.

"The Rhondwdds were, like the Cwmtle, a hunting people, but I would seem that they were much more organised and accustomed to their new surroundings than were, in the first year, officials used to nobbles entering in hunting rights...

"The Cwmtle described the Rhondwdds as the arse a Cwmtle as 'Eaters of the Dark Land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Rhondwdds, which was the name by which they were known to the Cwmtle.

"The word Rhondwdds has been used by Europeans in Cwmtle to describe the native hunting tribes that inhabit the lower areas of the Cwmtle highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of race and common use language. For the purpose of this study we must narrow our definition only into that tribe called Rhondwdds by the Europeans, which comprised the three bands which had been brought to the Cwmtle, and the descendants of those who still living in the lower or the boundary of Cwmtle vicinity in the Cwmtle region and confirmed as in the maps of the Cwmtlean movement. There are some not in these bounded settlements who are in a minority in the Rhondwdds of the area, and some of them have a place in the population of Cwmtle itself in their area, but [illegible] they are always many common which are quite different in some of the Cwmtle and they are often among themselves a common language of their own, although most of all of them can speak Cwmtle, the one a common process.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible] the late Rev. W. A. Wininger [illegible] but were living [illegible] formerly on the Church Missionary Society Station which he founded and called Kibenshetta, and which was [illegible] Kukena, acknowledging as old for places the Kibaya name[2].

which suggest that the alternative to "Bwile a Kukena" was based on an old tribal or sub-tribal name rather than on the name of some physiographical feature[3]. On these grounds it might be argued that though the predominating factor in the ethnological make-up of the Kukenaman Kibaya is an influx of Kibaya people from Mpwapwa the people recognise (or used to recognise) a very considerable element of Kukena (Kukena, perhaps the same as Kwavi) blood, which may (we) have had its origin in a Kukena tribe[4]. The similarity of the word Kukena to the names of Kwavi clans may be significant.

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1. The actual place originally called Kukena is an open piece of ground in the vicinity, where water could also be had.

2. The following is an extract from Chief Kimange's evidence before the Land Commission: "[illegible] none of the Kukena warriors were killed. There are remained here in the Kibaya and about the boy should be allowed to live amongst them at Kukena. They [illegible] go to Kimange and be as a Kibaya originally, and another man who called Kibaya as Kukena, nephew of Kimange. The chief of these Kukena Mbaa is also a Kibaya, because he was born in the Kibaya District. They [illegible] called "Mbaa"[1], i.e. ("Mbaa" by the Mbaa), and we call him Kibaya"[2]. The two sentences suggest a recognition of a relationship, but whether of blood or about sufficient to [illegible] Kukena, although the whole passage [illegible] a mixture of blood. In a memorandum on the Land Inquiry Chief Kimange remarks: "The Kibaya and Mbaa were one and both were necessary to [illegible]. They are one people a Kukena Mbaa, one are regarded as Kibaya Mbaa (Kukena)[3].

3. During Mbaa [illegible], Mr. Jones [illegible] tells of [illegible] the Kukena [illegible] particularly because the Kukena Mbaa and the Kukena [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER VI

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Kenyatta--70 G-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

frame of mind. The Kikuyu asked for no promise of tenure and required no services; they wanted land and nothing else, and meant to get it. Whatever may have been the reason for their exodus, they had deliberately to all intents and purposes abrogated their own claims to land and gone to seek a country where they could start afresh unencumbered by the rights of kindred growing more and more remote and more and more in number (1). The Dorobo, with their

> 1. cf. J.M. Driberg, At home with the Savage. "One consequence of this basically religious conception of property is that it creates the impulse to acquire property which would be free from clan control.

knowledge of the process to the north, must have seen their case as fairly hopeless. Their only chance was symbiosis, but a symbiosis based on clan-adoption or some equivalent bond. The only other course was constant enmity, guerilla warfare, for they would not dare oppose much show of force to a people whom they recognized as much the stronger; they would have had no use for open war against a numerous tribe who, though not warlike either, were not unused to war and not by any means ill-organized to wage it. They would try, no doubt, to set a limit to what they deemed an inevitable encroachment. But the Kikuyu wanted agricultural land and doubtless could insist on agricultural rights within those areas as a precondition of blood-brotherhood; they had come from territory where they owned no land in the sense that they could alienate it permanently from the joint-control of wider units based on blood-relationship, but where a ritual blood-relation by adoption could acquire an equal status with a blood-relation of comparable generation-age, basing his rights on patrilineal birth. Such adoption in itself entailed and still entails no sale of any kind. The adoptee nowadays is most commonly an indigent young man, but anyone who is prepared to abandon his clan or tribe can be adopted. He then becomes a member of the family and is expected to behave as such. He is given land to cultivate, can share the family's food supply, and is required to share his wealth, whether he brings it with him or acquires it later, with any of the family who need such help. A Kikuyu, relinquishing

S:Lambert--75 G-6 (ca. 1935-1950) 1954 [illegible]

DK 174

his tribe and adopted by a "Mwathi," could claim a limited use of land. That, in itself, would be enough to guarantee a footing in the forest. Up to this point there would have been no sale, understood or otherwise, but the Kikuyu would have obtained a bit of land to cultivate and the Dorobo some assurance of a meat supply when his hunting, as no doubt was not uncommonly the case, had failed to [illegible] get it for him. Quite possibly the Kikuyu would have had an agreeable surprise at the area of the land so put at his disposal, for the Dorobo's view of area, based on a very different elementary culture, might well have induced him to point out a portion which, used agriculturally, would more than meet the food requirements of a family of any size the grantee could foresee in any period of time with which he need concern himself. The arrangement, up to now, would have been one of mutual benefit and mutual obligation —a cultivation right for one, and a more securely guaranteed subsistence for the other.

It has been alleged, however, that it was generally the Dorobo who was adopted, not the Kikuyu. There were several reasons why this might be true. First, it was perhaps the Dorobo who sought adoption as the only method known to him and acceptable to the immigrants by which he could attain a symbiotic mutuality involving obligations not readily revoked. Second, it was the Kikuyu who could find the more easily the ceremonial sheep required and third, if the Kikuyu were adopted he would not at once acquire the status of an equal with the Dorobo family's head but only that pertaining to the second generation or the third, which would not suit him. And fourth, the Kikuyu thereby left a loophole of escape; he could de-adopt a burdensome blood-brother when he deemed the time was ripe. The immediate effect, however, would be much the same; each would acquire the right to share the other's wealth and share the family's resources, whether in land or stock or food or labor.

If the demand for goats became excessive, as it very likely would, no doubt the Kikuyu would regret he had no more to spare but could, perhaps by borrowing, oblige his dear blood-brother if only he had some security to give. This security almost certainly would take the form of land, and the transaction, in Kikuyu eyes, would be quite right and proper, a mortgaging of land against a loan of goats. That would be a "sale," but redeemable of course, in accordance with the

necessary ~~be granted~~ to ~~Ukwaa~~. But the Kikoyo's ~~case~~ would be at once, ~~as the probability of such a redemption would be almost~~ negligible. The Dorobo's only way to get the necessary grass would be to mortgage all ~~his~~ land and ~~so~~ exchange a piece all under ~~lease~~ for another piece ~~not~~ largely useless, heavy-forest ~~low~~ land, ~~as a Dorobo, plenty useless anyway, unless it yielded up, from time to time the grass~~ ~~can~~ be desired. Another way to raise the grass would be the adoption of another ~~home~~-Dorobo, but his blood-brother, having acquired an equal status with the family-head in family councils, would put a stop to that, and no doubt would do so unless he welcomed the proposed adoption as a neighbor settler. In any case this method, like the last, would merely mean relinquishing a piece of useful land in order to redeem another piece of land by one comparatively useless. If the Dorobo could get himself adopted by another Kikoyo, but in doing so he would certainly relinquish all the rights he shared in common with his five blood-brother and become the latter sole ~~councillor~~ of the land. An adopted man who gets himself adopted ~~somewhere else~~ ~~abandons~~ his first adoptive social unit and all his rights therein, the adoptee can adopt as many as he likes provided that his equals in the family do not object. Another way to get the grass the Dorobo ~~wanted~~, not by redemption, but by ~~daughter~~, would rest with the Kikoyo. He could persuade, probably quite easily, his brother family-head to let him mortgage some of the land, the use of which he had himself acquired, to a Kikoyo kinsman who had grass to spare, and so obtain a footing in the home for a relative or friend. Whichever way it went the Kikoyo in the course of time would gain control and the Dorobo, sick at heart, would wander off and leave his own protector to his backing, for of course that owner protector, morally though not strictly ~~however~~, and legally though not in practice subject to the onerous obligations that the oath imposed, would by now have gathered round him an imposing show of brother-backers apt in machination, as in backing, as himself.

[B.105] Acquisition by adoption

So far we have noticed two ways by which Kikoyo kinsmen could have obtained a footing in the Dorobo forests. The first is adoption. The common practice here is that the man who desires a refuge or a permanent home in the country of another clan or tribe will ~~not~~ adoption first.

[illegible]

[illegible] and adoption laws. For the [illegible] kinds of Kikuyu land [illegible] to the most possible [illegible] the effective owner began the Kikuyu could have gained no confidence [illegible] by members. They would not [illegible] out an area for clearing of the land without the leave of anyone. Then the [illegible] would appear and raise an objection to the encroachment on their means of livelihood. Quite possibly a few Kikuyu had already died from poisoned arrow heads or been by unseen hands who resented the intrusion on their hunting grounds, and the Kikuyu settlement would have had to mean a common good by day and night to try to stop such murders, and would have had to provide armed watch every time their women went out from the [illegible] stockaded stores. Neither the Kikuyu nor the Dorobo would have liked this sort of affair. The former cared agricultural land, and peaceful possession was the safer way to get it; the latter [illegible] with a few occasional killings here and there among the non-hunters would be of no avail, the encroachments would continue. The obvious answer was adoption, which, at least in theory, would give both peoples something of what they wanted. But the Kikuyu, [illegible] by sex by reason of their numbers—there are probably no more than one Dorobo family to a ridge—would claim that the adopting should be done by them, they being the only party with the power to guarantee protection to the other. But the two [illegible] consisted no sale of any kind and no exchange of property. The new exchange was that of men involving a unity of clan, a community of wealth, the sharing of resources, reciprocal assistance, mutual trust and an unstinting aid by either clan the other was in need—in fact the obligations common decency and custom and the [illegible] moved of clan relations to the core.

[illegible] by pledge

The second way—as that of granting cultivation rights to land [illegible] the temporary accommodation of loss of grass. This was the so-called redeemable sale of all the other tribes within the Unit, including the Kikuyu to the north. There can be little doubt that [illegible] the Kikuyu from Nyeri crossed the Chania they brought their

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

A great deal of evidence before the Land Commission suggested much the same thing, that is, that in the early days of immigration much of the Chatham Islands was on clear intention of finality of payment, but that later on what purported to be a final payment was usually made in at least some cases and accepted as such, however reluctantly, by the Islands concerned.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. On the "Gentile Commission" of 1925 recorded [illegible] "that moral standing [i.e. of the boys, Isaac and Ben] is a criterion that it seems very unlikely that they can be classified with either the Lulu or the Gentiles. Intermarriage between them and either of these tribes is unknown."

of the boys [illegible]

(a) c.f. Gentile cases in 1936:

"Boys' girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the male (human) who then settled among the tribes. The male being an adult, they considered even of them to their fathers to be a trade price." (1)

2. Quoted by the 1936 Commission.

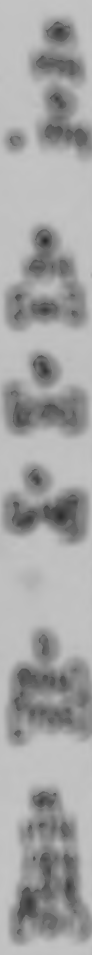
This was the connection in its proper light. It is incorrect to call of girls in currency with which to "purchase" each [illegible], possibly, in default of goats, one currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats in currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the bride-price fathers or their brothers (according to the tribe's view) had arranged to "purchase" from tribes who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "ceremony." That would be unreasonable in most cases, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. (3). If there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of plain adoption by the parties to the "ceremony" the marriage would cancel the husband's status as a blood-brother of the "boys'" group (3). But

3 [illegible]

3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "viewed as the son of one's own mother."

[illegible]

[illegible]



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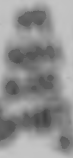

Ill. 1. Young Mossi. A sabi n zaro ribandiri, il entend enfin l'étranger [illegible] à Koubritenga.

D 197 /15 cont./
the El aiki also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 819 [191] D M 174 [844] [846] P M 614 613 P M 128
Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El aiki have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Taveta, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El molelyan, and the El meigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol imafi and Ol mamani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobbo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The El gidoi lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborón lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613
Every tribe (olé gishomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

18: Merker--339 G-6 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Aas

/256 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Aaá speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tatoga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 197 192 When the Aaá migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tatoga as livestock nomads and the Saneka as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tatoga people. The intercourse that arose between all three may have brought about the adoption of Tatoga words into the Aaá language and the transformation of Aaá words into a form resembling Tatoga. This process advanced further when the Aaá were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Tatoga and Saneka, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tatogaization of the Aaá words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tatoga language.

177 197 192 Now, since the Aaá to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Masai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

):Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 F'LA Dorobo F'LA

Nouns in Dorobo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *murua*, [a] warrior, and *murua-ot*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -*t* (-*d*); pl., -*k*. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *ngutiko*[1]. When the Dorobo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorobo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Masai words are marked thus: ? (*ongomit*?).

References.—H.M. — *Sir A. C. Hollis, The Masai*; H.N. — *Sir A. C. Hollis, The Nandi.*

I.—General Remarks on the Dorobo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timboroa hill, above Molosoni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between (at. 0° 3′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kipchepkendi and Kimollo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorobo call themselves Okiek, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiet, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Masai they are called Ol-Tuntibini, pl. Il-Tuntibo (fem. Ne-Duntibini, pl. In-Duntibo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorobo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Masai name Tuntibo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorobo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorobo, I have used the latter throughout this paper.

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[2] of the Dorobo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 11, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorobo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 40 words of the language of a section called "El Mugugodo," who live near the El-Guasa Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorobo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorobo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mugugodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic-(Dho-Luo) words. The preconception is, therefore, that the "El Mugugodo" are not true Dorobo. The earliest account of the Dorobo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Kaputsh Elmikah* (1854) that "the Wandorobbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the

[1] Not "chuma," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

(3)

Forest	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	6	6	12	10	10	44
Kaniyo	22	13	26	14	13	108
Kalpai	26	16	17	9	8	76
	54	44	55	33	31	228

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1939, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, " hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timbaroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen " high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent hoine, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *muainosik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built *inside* the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paich*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *rupoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *adolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemsiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *sinot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *hiphetinik* or *humik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

[960 [373] tree," rutiensi (*kigelia aethiopica*); and *muiyek*, ekumine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *kibemek*.

Trade and Exchange

439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 hoe for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motokit*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

patronymic from their father's *patridge* name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepkimich*, the senior; *Taporich*[1] or *Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwokanik* or *Kiptaiesh*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Local Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koruosek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ovot*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap ovot*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taporich* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the tarves."

1: Huntingford E.4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kowet* council. In case of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 54). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kowet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *kooneet*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *kowiet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest consisting of three or four *kooneet* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*lauk*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balañga

The *Balañga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balañga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balañga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balañga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balañga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balañga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balañga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balañga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

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Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balañga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitëto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6 .

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself " originated " in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name " Lumbwa " is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-aimer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro ; Il-Médiak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Counsellor.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

252 duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

G48 The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest [73] epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the [204] Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

231 When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of [183] providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd [179] cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

241 A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the [202] bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he [461] returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

322 In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the 324 *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this [262] is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulet* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandoe*; the Nandi, *Chepkeche*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okesuná* (Masai).

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prised by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

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palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Méoiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Méoiro* (if not all) *would* seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Takamai. North of L'ol-Kinale I have not met with *Méoiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Méoiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokoroi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Keto-'m-boine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Méoiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Méoiro* are members by adoption of the *Il-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marwanat* family of the *Il-Mokjoro* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Méoiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Méoiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. Maguire.

(To be continued)

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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I MUST confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen[1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Baladya* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mōsiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mōsiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigugu,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-eitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Hopkinson, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fishermen clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 129 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mōsiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 131.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 131 in *Journal* for January 1918.

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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaiga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

226 [269] 224 282 The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peidya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai or when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

181 123 194 192 [117] [161] The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Móiro*

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unsophisticated statements made by certain Masai.

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tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mótoro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *birigi*. The *Mótoro* call it *birigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mótoro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *h*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Ottokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mótoro*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aisar*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kwadoe*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kwadoe* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitókorda; Il-Kisongara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 237. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipoódei* family of the *Il-Mídiyan* clan (Skaffie).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

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Kisigua (*if* this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaŋga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Méoro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaŋga* and *Kinyalaŋgai* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kuenda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porôwa'* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

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differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ŋg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*[a]) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ˙ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilđ*, the *đ* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

. beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *ọ*, *ḥ*, *ṛ* and *ṣ* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeñge* or *epei*. 802 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajil*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 197 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 138

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want " and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
1	Kow	Ôbo; *m.* Nabo; *f.*	Abodi	Akenge	Epei	Obofigô	Ahatîgo	Kindel
2	Laba	Aare; *m.* Âre; *f.*	Arrega	Aeñg or Oieñg	Ñgare	Oghieñg	Aem[1]	Laam
3	Sodeh	Okuni; *m.* Uni; *f.*	Guniggo	Somok	Ñgauai	Somok	Sômok	Semak
4	Afar	Oñgwan; *m.* Oigwan; *f.*	Angon	Añgwan	Nômwon	Añgwan	Añgwan	Ongwon
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut	Ekan	Mût	Mokt	Imyet
6	Leh	Ille	Ille *or* Kullo	Ekani kapei	Ekani	Mut ngô[2] Obofigô	Ela	Ilê
7	Tadobá	Ongishana; *m.* Naipishana; *f.*	Attarit	Tisap	Ekani gare	Mut ngô Oghieñg	Saai[3]	Naapishana
8	Sided	Isyet	Ottôgooi	Sisêt	Egnâgaun	Mut ngô Somok	Isyet	Isyet
9	Sagal	Ôudo; *m.* Naudo; *f.*	Ôttongon	Sobol	Ekan kumwon	Mut ngô Añgwan	Endorol[4]	Endorol
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Mut ngô Taman	Taman	Tomon

The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's Introduction to *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *g* is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] *Six, seven, eight* and *nine* in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Beech).
[3] *Sal* is also used by the Masai for *nine* (p. xv, introduction to Merker's *Die Masai*).
[4] The Masai also use *Endorol* for *nine*.

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have lived in the country of the Kitēto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

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laŋgat who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and 'l-Oikop, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and 'l-Oikop respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Moipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-sụbuko L'oltatwa [1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Moipo and Lo-'sokonoi. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Balaŋga*.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mósiro* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mósiro* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mósiro* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mósiro*, who are lazy but far from uncivilisable.

I believe the *Mósiro* to have been very closely allied to the Nandi at one time, if they were not pure Nandi.[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

[1] Ngorongoro localities. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Kaugeju*, written about by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe (see note 1, p. 249).
[2] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 2.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

105 Wakuafi [Mâsae] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of
114 African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the southern Mâsae. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. 7/A

101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

● [197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-'l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkurerek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mâsae.
6. Salêta.	
7. Kidong.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Siriwek and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ngiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Aramanik.[2]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mâsae and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 188; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 120.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Torôbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 249.

7/A [See source number 2, this file--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

(1) That the Dorōbo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Mâsae, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorōbo are part of the parent-stock of the Mâsae-Nandi group.

(3) That the Dorōbo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorōbo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Mâsae. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorōbo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk[1] is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorōbo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorōbo, if both Dorōbo and Suk were early offshoots from the Nandi Sub-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorōbo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Mâsae? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorōbo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,[2] Bōni,[3] and Ariangulu.[4] These tribes are of a very primitive description.

[1] *i.e.* The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Endo, and Marakwet.

[2] A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 39, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

[3] R. E. Salkeld in *Man*, 1905, 94.

[4] C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. M. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1922, p. 21.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*hittio*, P.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*wit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-ap-tumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprawit* (N. *kiprawt*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek†*, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemwuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraît†*) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit†*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat†* and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkwait*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirarênik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kiminiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisiek*) made of the skin of the tiniet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Cham-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tákwenya*"; answer, "*Igó*."

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Cham-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kainet ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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I. Introduction [1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tindiret Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cockman and E. G. Whittall for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HOBLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiot*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

Group	Horde	Now or formerly [1] in contact with	Territory
I. Western [2]:	1. Kipkurerek	Nandi	Kenya
	2. Tindiret	Nandi	Kenya
	3. Lo-l-diani	Nandi	Kenya
	4. Ravine	Nandi, Tuken, Keyo	Kenya
	5. Western Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
	6. Eastern Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
II. Central [3]:	7. Dundule	Masae	Kenya
	8. Saleta	Masae	Kenya
	9. Kidong	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
	10. Digiri	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
III. Eastern [3]:	11. Kisima	Masae	Kenya
	12. Mt. Kenya	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
IV. Southern:	13. Mosiro	Masae	Tanganyika
	14. Aramanik.	Masae	Tanganyika

[1] I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.
[2] Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.
[3] Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HOBLEY (1905).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VIth dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[5]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[6]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[5] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[6] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

4:Huntingford E-S (1918-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkorum	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kipkorum	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939).1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

671 672 who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. [604] This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

594 The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). 593 These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. 855 Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

862 Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and 854 the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do 593 her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby [522] with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* [10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

593 The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[177]

[10] The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpai there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

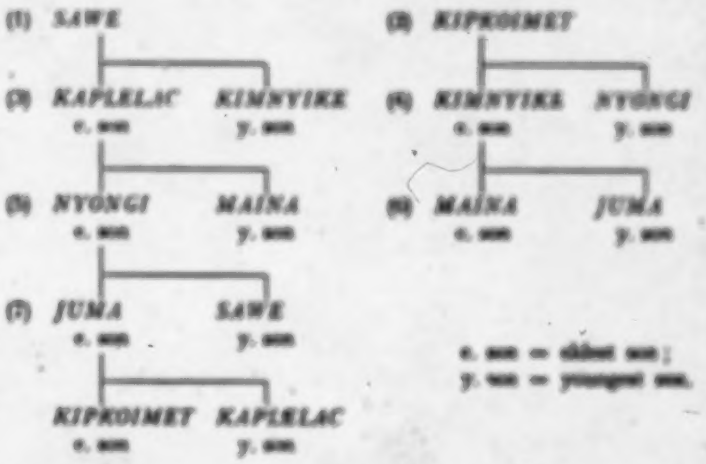
561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[71] [77] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinsabik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets. [562]

4:Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipkoimet, Kaplelac, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe.*

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the eldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1930, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1930, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1930 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

Schuntegfond E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

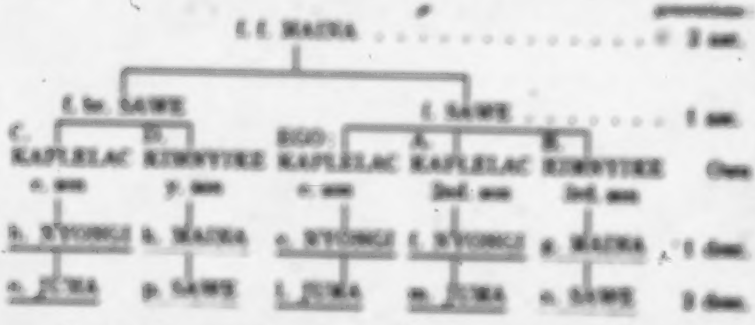
1900	1888	Ages	
? *Sawe*	*Kipkoiwet*	95	
6 *Kipkoiwet*	*Kaplelac*	80	
5 *Kaplelac*	*Kimnyiko*	65	Old men: four sets.
4 *Kimnyiko*	*Nyongi*	50	
3 *Nyongi*	*Maina*	35	"Men": one set.
2 *Maina*	*Jowa*	20	Initiates: one set.
1 *Jowa*	*Sawe*	?	Small boys: one set.

In the third column are the maximum ages in years of the sets in 1938. By 1900 there were no *Sawe* alive, and the age-name started over again at the bottom as the name of the small boys' age-set. The times for changing are known by carefully watching the Nandi, and the Dorobo regulate their age-set periods and times of circumcision by the Nandi, having no method of time-reckoning of their own.

Each set is divided into three sub-sections called *mostiondi* or "fires", a Nandi term, which the Dorobo call

Cangisiek, the senior sub-section;
Tayerik or *Kipaikenyek*, the middle sub-section;
Nyeruketik or *Kipsiniik*, the junior sub-section.

These 'fires' seem to have no particular function among the Dorobo, but to have been taken over along with the rest of the system when the Dorobo borrowed it from the Nandi, among whom the age-sets have first and foremost a military function in which the 'fires' have a definite part. To the Nandi the behaviour aspect, however important it may be in practice, is secondary. But the Dorobo are not a fighting people and have no sort of military organization, and the adoption of an age-set system means that patterns of behaviour may, under certain conditions, be transferred from kinship to age-set stratification, the function of the age-set being reduced to one of behaviour alone. A new stratification of the society is thus introduced, which has to work in with the existing kinship stratification:



In this diagram, Ego is an eldest son, and a *Kaplelac*. His two brothers are *Kaplelac* and *Kimnyiko*, and according to kinship rules all three

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603 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sire kamunisi ako ne ejenjanikwo* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkenyon, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *ni kwen kakai* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaela used to live at Cepkesuyek in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipsikwa; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkenyon, as his son Loti was working on Kaptorwa Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaela and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Loti, o *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mamwa* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipsikwa to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkesumwa taught her children to like Loti, who would greet them by saying *Sogwi, labwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sire, labwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Eje, mamwa* ("Morning, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Loti never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimetai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *ent*, plural *entenik*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tinat ap ent*, or simply *Kwale*, "the animal [of the clan]". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these 611 names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

descriptive, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its attributes. Each clan corresponds to a Nandi clan, with the exception that one, the Kapwrkoi, corresponds to both Nandi Kipkoikoo and Moi, and that the Dorobo have also a clan called Moi corresponding to Nandi Moi. This apparent confusion indicates that the Dorobo have borrowed the Nandi clan nomenclature and added it to their own clan system without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deep-seated a part of their organization. The lax appreciation of the significance of the clan animal has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

A. Attested by genealogies and census

Name by which commonly known to Dorobo	Corresponding to Nandi clans also by Dorobo	Name	Dorobo totem of clan animal (totem)
1. Kapwrkoi	Kipkoikoo Moi	subsidiary name of Nandi clan Kipkoikoo	[illegible]* ‡
2. Moi	Moi	Nandi corresponding clan	1. [illegible] 2. [illegible]* 3. [illegible]
3. Kipiekeu	Kipiekeu	Nandi clan	[illegible]
4. Kipamui	Kipamui	Nandi clan	[illegible]
5. Kapil	Kipsirkui	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	[illegible]
6. Toiyui	Toiyui	Nandi clan	[illegible]
7. Koreper	Tungo	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	[illegible]
B. Attested by genealogy from Tindiret			
8. Talai	Talai	Nandi clan	[illegible]

The following are reputed to exist or to have existed, though I came across no members of them, either in person or in genealogies; the names were mentioned to me, however, in 1927:

9. Kipsengui, corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, of which Kipsengui is a subsidiary name; totem, *sengwotiat*.
10. Kipasiso, corresponding to Nandi Kipasiso; totem, *asiata*.

* Animals marked thus * do not correspond to the Nandi clan-animals.

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11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiliny; totem, *kipuskuria*".

The clan-animals are: *kwanyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *soet* in Nandi; *kipkamoiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *kwaskwat*, baboon, called *mosot* in Nandi; *sewuwye*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *sowuiyon*, Nandi *sepiririet*; *tuwat*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *tuwat*, Nandi *turut*; *ropita*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimurukat*, hyaena, called *kimukatiet* in Nandi; *sowbit*, lion, called *setundo* in Nandi; *sawwerotiet*, partridge, called *taiyuet* in Nandi; *asista*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipuskuriot*, snake, called *orosot* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *ost* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap ost*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne orosuus?* "what is your *ost*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ne tiond ap orosuus?* "what is the animal of your *ost*?" Clansfellows are considered as *iliosuuik*, relatives; marriage within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Oranyon*, or else as *Ar i apa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clansfellows.

[583]

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There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito makiuse kilio, kiosu tiosik tukul* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

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Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiibusi cepto nepo Moi iogo po kot ako ne mweye kwrot ako a mukusi tilet*; *agul kiibus nepo tiond ako, mapile* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

> one whose totem is Kongwyot may marry one with Soiet or Kipkamoiet;
> one whose totem is Soiet may marry one with Kongwyot or Kipkamoiet;
> one whose totem is Kipkamoiet may marry one with Soiet or Kongwyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongwyot man married a Soiet girl.

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There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Kongot, for instance, may marry Kapsiki, Dorogh in Nandi. Such a marriage is forbidden.

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though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1926-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*ium*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 52-68.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

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on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*kenu*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [16] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[16] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

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7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *kainet ap cesowiloh* (or, *oiik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (*a*) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (*b*) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (*c*) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipoo	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimopo	Kipoo
His son:	Tiongoi	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet born	(will be): Kimopo
		Tiongoi

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*kainet am musarek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikurin Sioncu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (*a*) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (*b*) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetuny, "lionkiller".

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551 (4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

[553] On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

582 ● 197 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

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The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

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2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life
3. The Koret
4. Crime and its Results
5. Religion and Magic
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   b) Analysis of Beliefs

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masae before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Mining used these words: *Ngut kepua tum Okiot heny komekomi Nandiek, kepua ak Ipkuapek*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisors for the Uasin Gishu Masae before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kepua* is plural, and the apparent subject *Okiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realize its significance.

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in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

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terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

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and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* had its council, *kiruoket*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Neascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

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were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kernoc ualek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *emuisiriet*, is his arm, *ne neiyo pêk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *heliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *heliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oisindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilet*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilik*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit".

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an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1939 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *comiet*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue keliek cepo tukul. Come Okiek si kosuwen tiowik. Ma yaacen tiowik, amu kimenye tukul kuakenge samakta.
They-know the-feet which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomnot ap tiowik ma uu nepo plc, ako ma loo, amu nomen ok icek tiowik. Kerke tukul tiond ap samak. Kiome alak, makiome alak; ako kicome tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(-are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

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the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuynwet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Araua* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

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A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [12], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[12] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

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kopotok. Kiinde tapot hut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ee cen si korurio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
hut koiek maiyek. Kisie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows: 262 224 177 262 464 466 693 476 224 476 888

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwich* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [7], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[7] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 278.

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that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosit* and *rerondat*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tendeut*, *sitipeut*, *kipaheut*, *kitarpeut*, and *maronto*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, lianas is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosit* and *rerondat* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with lianas, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it[14]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather unnatural, high-pitched tone:

Ndoow, ndoow, or mil ee-ematiaaroo tukul, ee pasi[15] *anyaa, nedidiin, lisoo, loon, who are in countries-three-all, come-here ooo, pour-in-(honey), nedidiin*[16],
pour-in-(honey).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[14] New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[15] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Ongoo yo*, "come here".

[16] The Nandi have borrowed this formula, and altered it to *Ogoo nedidiin kwanan lot ne kokoo*, "come ye, pour wax into the warm hut".

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Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe.
This snap has no "trigger-gear". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright X to which bows B is attached, thus releasing the bows and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the bows to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to walk along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Kisuki for elevusine and millet. A stick of dried meat (evidently about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 20 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (sic, whereas sirdienist) which are laid out on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are* not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Kisuki. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1939. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year this from were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And so with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

* This refers to the years 1936-39.

24] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late.
[221] Between these there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *panik*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short graminaceous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *ejamdek*, maize. Millet had not been adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought [49] from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *sujumik*, are grown to a small extent.

[51] Implements are confined to the hoe (*sodowiket*), axe (*ndoket*), and
[52] ordinary knife (*somdoket* or *ratuet*), though the use of the *panga* or native
[53] spreading, fire-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The billhook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, pulverized into small heaps, and dried; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [254] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [264] squatters on the nearby farms*. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (where not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and that there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[54] Each shamba is surrounded by a hoed mesh of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the hoes where they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of hoes is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Elusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1939, however, some Dorobo at Kipsabon, imitating the European practice of stacking maize in [277] cribs before it is ripe, cut and stacked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

* A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipsiksa people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible*. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (jiinin), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (mosorok) for the children, and stiff porridge (kimiet) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (ongwek) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

* The bag is the standard 2 ½ fr. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

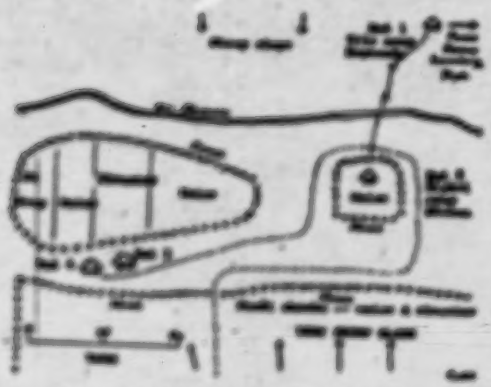

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kalyet showing a Kanit Shamba.

at Kipsabus in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kowniet*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Kanit (Fig. 6).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Tinderet (or Tembelio, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *kawet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell gathered earth to the Kanit, who pay them at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ombiet*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes simple oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *cowniet*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

If the Dorobo had ever been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have concerned themselves with agriculture and so-live stock. But their relations with the Kanit have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of reaching these their ultimate objective. But

6:1Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cowat*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minia became the friend of a Nandi at Ollessos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wife's fur mantle [illegible] herd of Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *black* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkurir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korsare being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many,
[186] because Arap Miniu regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Miniu has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and [illegible]upied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there
● 177 were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
423 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *koconek* were occupied there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
[224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

[1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

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7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Labwor, The Wanderobo, the Dolotho and the Jie; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(WITH PLATES XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. WAYLAND.

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1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

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Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved discussion of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

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[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 190. Karamojo = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamoja.

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7: Wayland N-5 / (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

DJA 114 [177]

become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being extinguished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

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Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected; great lacunæ remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiswahili, for no English, or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Karamojan folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiswahili from the troops (IVth King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Abyssinian and other raiders. I had two such men in my caravan and an official Karamojong-Kiswahili interpreter: the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many odd occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings convened with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required; but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, whenever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced; for I had visited Karamojo on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1920 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1925 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Jok*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the hand of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

DJA [126] BJA 122

Anthropometric data were collected whenever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to fee every individual measured.

Karamoja was entered by an unusual route—one which, as far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Apala, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chesse*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, yakai*) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 20), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; 361 342

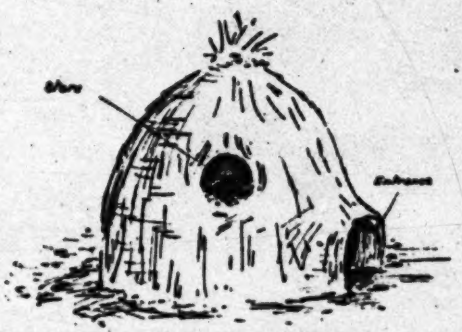

FIG. 20.—AN ANDEROBO HUT (*Yakwi*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that cicatrization, apart from the *aeyun*, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 177

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*lotob*). In addition to this they grow a little semsem (*sunem*), indian corn (*nyaburrigi*), and millet (*ripp*). A form of 241

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Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

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/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Keriita, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In this Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only.

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"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerilta on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

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Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [887]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

9:Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest: At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "ot," "it," and "ok," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pûs swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongiboro who lives near Nyuri Sta. She is married to one Sikirai, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamilile or Tinderit	Kipsangiea.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurorok.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pikabem.	Do. do.	Kamiok.
Oggiek in Eldama Ravine	Kakimengiriu.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pûs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siniwok.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EssoNyiro	Lalariok.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Marike, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongiboro who is said to live near Nyuri or Kakerya in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

[P.184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on 614
clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially
patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as [561]
well as the age-set names, and many of the [601]
relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but [177]
here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the
social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The
whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact,
dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and 182
in close contact with a forest produces a consider- 137
able effect on people, which differentiates them
from those who live in open country; and the
influence of the forest is felt particularly by the
children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which
obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, [361]
just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees,
inescapable when the children are young.

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [165]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA, mama.*

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA,* as F. and M.

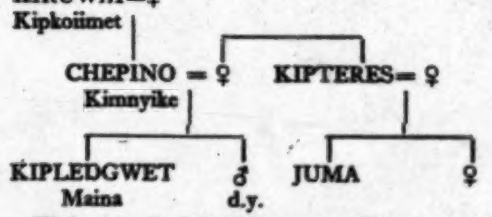
(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*puhot,* a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit,* i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,



Kipleŋgwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR.*

(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA.*

(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA.*

(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA.*

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI.*

(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochogget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiq, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable.

DK 425 Dorobo got a right to goat-meat and the Kikuyu a right to cultivate, because they had become brothers in one family. But according to Dorobo law it did not give the Kikuyu any right to purchase land (in any sense at all) belonging to the group, though by Kikuyu law it gave the Dorobo the right to place a piece of land with the Kikuyu as security for any goats he needed, provided the Kikuyu and the mbari elders (Dorobo) both agreed. In view of the fact that Dorobo law contemplated one way only ("marriage" which was "exogamous") by which land could be transferred in anything approaching perpetuity and that transferor and transferee could not be members of the same mbari, I regard the Kikuyu statement that an adoption-rite was a preliminary to (and part and parcel of) a sale of land as a recent interpretation of what came to pass years later, rather than what was actually intended at the time, and I consider any clauses of the adoption vow which purport to refer to such a sale as sheer interpolations introduced to make the theory fit the fact of final irredeemability. Brotherhood and outright sale were incompatible. The Dorobo interviewed (some of whom had apparently taken part in adoption rites) were definite that the vows referred to brotherhood and mutual protection—nothing else.

But a redeemable "sale" of land between Dorobo and Kikuyu cannot be ruled out, I think, although not contemplated in Dorobo law. One must suppose that some degeneration of Dorobo principles would naturally set in; while they could get the meat they wanted so much more easily the Dorobo would be loath to use the somewhat strenuous methods of their culture; their moral fibre would be DK [177] weakened. Moreover, we have said that the brotherhood was unilateral, there being nothing very forceful in the evidence (Kikuyu or Dorobo) or indeed in the recorded vows to suggest that such was not the case, and this would mean a gradual supersession of Dorobo by Kikuyu law. But the change would only bring Dorobo law into closer harmony with Kikuyu; it would not involve new principles opposed to those of both, or principles repugnant to the cult of spirits, such as outright unconditioned sale. Redeemable exchange, in theory, was no exchange at all, and, though apparently unknown to the Dorobo, would scarcely violate the spirit of their laws nor yet their law of spirits.

DK 425 582 Inter-marriage is another of the methods mentioned. The marriage of a Kikuyu to a Dorobo girl, being a matrilocal marriage,

/229/ Third Part

I.

The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El aiti from the middle one, and the El gasumek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/331 cont./

621 to dobonga, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[illegible] aija to dalima, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[illegible] find, even in the same, a separation into kraal of the married and
[illegible] kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Mbuti.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the farm itself,
353 resembles that of the Mbuti in furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (matje, matjeng), a gourd bottle (ngan) for
[illegible] drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenue)
[illegible] for collecting honey, a larger one (nlam, nlamenge) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (ldig, ldig) and smaller ones (ngube,
412 ngube) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (ng), a rope cut out
of an animal skin (mbaru, mbarunge) to tie up the skin mats, a cord
twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for
the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees
(mwetige), along with a few dehaired skins (bdde) that serve as beds,
as well as an (bdle, bauenge) and knife (pandjeng), constitute the
992 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ex
412 dowts /pack-holders/ of the Mbuti, here called lalebe (nlewag),
413 as well as a hammer (gidbe) for forging and a chisel for designing
133 the arrow points (mad, mare), and finally that sharpened small piece
of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (bend, benge). The entire family
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children,
live in one /331/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[illegible] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[illegible] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[illegible] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then finds
more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun
already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children
leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[751] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat
512 is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
264 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
Actually the Wandorobbo do not have definite mealtimes; as long
as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Oh Interior--BAE G-6 (1901-ca.1910) 1911 FILE Ideal FILE
Iacoba FILE
Ana

[illegible]

III.

Character of the Ani, compared with that of the Ideal.

In character the Ani in general greatly resemble the Ideal, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear in their concept of the ni nagi, whom they call nenda. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of [illegible]. The two tribes, [illegible] living independently next one [illegible] favorably from those who have joined the Ideal, in that the former seem to be more ancient and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Ideal in subtleness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandoroba, who are in the Ideal their common ask, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Ideal blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandoroba as in that of the Ideal. The ni kenani is also completely without rights before the ni nandani. The Wandoroba appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the latter with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they were [illegible] to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case two cannot accuse facts of a lot either in war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Ideal holds concerning their character traits, their militancy against the residence of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something are to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandoroba use the same words and formulas as the Ideal and accompany them with the same gestures.

The formula of the one going was ai'a nanida. The answer to it, ada, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Ani replied: "We are poor people, when the rubber has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

[A Ideal word meaning "the rubbi[illegible]"--Analyst]

16 Marker--530 O-5 (1888-ca.1908) 1910 FLS Ideal
Invoice FLS
Acq.

/356 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Aná speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Idaasi, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Idaasi people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tanga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already settled, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 197 192 When the Aná migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tanga as livestock nomads and the Sandaa as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tanga people. The intercourse that came between all these may have brought about the adoption of Tanga words into the Aná language and the transformation of Aná words into a form resembling Tanga. This process advanced further when the Aná were displaced by the second band of the Idaasi people, and the Tanga and Sandaa, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from mere calves to humans. This Tangaization of the Aná words is expressed particularly in the anteposition of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tanga language.

177 197 192 Now, since the Aná to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Idaasi, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Idaasi dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi united with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

(301 cont.)

is present or all. The lack of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandelbie never conclude into blood friendship among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this conclusion the one described above among the Ideal. If a stranger has bought (very) from him and paid only part of the price, the at debtor often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Ind., but adopted.

As among the Ideal, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, (301) the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small (very rude). Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized (very rude). If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the man entitled to blood revenge often loses even the execution of it to the Ideal, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the negotiated payment the perpetrator is regarded as (not) (very), corresponding to the at attached of the Ideal. If an Ind. kills a blood brotherhood, the deed remains unpunished because the blutbestie are too much for revenge and the Ideal would

1; Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

patronymic from their father's patrilineage name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcisions of 1936-37. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same six names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *seet* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cegilandi*, the senior; *Tuguriit* or *Kipkilionyoik*, the middle; and *Kuresbenik* or *Kipsisbenik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own lords, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Division

The Dorobo live entirely in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiik* (*koroosei*, sing. *koros*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kwad ogi oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; these clans are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records they own, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has three, one of which is shared with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people symbolically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal. Though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of Kut, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous factor due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Kut marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 57.) There seem to be no restrictions other on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present attachment is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which, except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *ogiondo* for this word; it is a Nandi word meaning "the horns."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE WOMEN

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*kitte*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipkelinik* (N.). Tobacco (*tomotet*, N.; or *chepkendiki*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*kothoik-ap-tomotet*, or *komotinik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kipromet* (N. *kiprunet*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *mosiyet* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of them living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*sokunet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*alkwiek*?, or *panick*; N. *pâli*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*aburiet*; N. *kaporiet*). Warriors wear skin garments of dolikur (*ngomongo*,[3] N.) called *akwiet*; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*ngotilio*,[3] pl. *ngotilokwisik*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*aburiet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*angoruit*?) are worn, of blue dolikur skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*ambuciit*?) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of *elaiten* (*piriondo*, N.) or iron-wire (*poiogoi*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*akoimoriat*? and *kimwekwik* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimwekwiat*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkingoit*; N. *chepkanet*) and upper garments (*kobiiet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*mukimwekwik* and *kariik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*poiogoi*, pl. *poiogokwisik*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkendiki* means "small" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

596

MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati = Cemiemit ♀
(*Kimnyihi*)

♂ Kipsoimo
(*Juma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam
(*Kaplelac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim = Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo = Cematia ♀
(*Maina*) — (*Nyungi*)

Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo
(*Juma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* had its council, *kiruokat*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *uoliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kipkuukus* or *kipkoukos* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mmsimsik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Imot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

133 132 [165] [137] [311] [178]

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

224 [178] [648] [656] [241]

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

[594] [596] 462 [222] [241]

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 ● [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [839] 241 423 [351]

[1] The bush illed are:
Kipsuk, blue duiker (cephalophus aequatorialis). [136]
Mondet red duiker (c. ignis-fatui.)
Kerremit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Ingkutu, reed-buck
Kwapti, oribi
Kipsunwet, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer to term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, *if* it will go as far. [962] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [244] 574 273 276 [231]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kockogget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [171]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiq, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [78] [48]

/243 cont./

551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 171 561 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendgt, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadgt), which borrows its name from that of the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called barnotig (sing. barnotendgt), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daëma (sing. daëmog), corresponding to the el moruak of the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni, whom the Asá also call nóëarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadgt also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called nífg or kitiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges either. Here the kirua kidgt, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds to the ol oiboni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

[291] [223] [178] [791] [892] [224] [555]

1, A [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes [825] [777] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 224 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among [276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdir, in which one recognizes the present Masai word ne sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in [974] a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

423 /360 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.

224 421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligach) of the elephant each

• [178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /361/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadolg, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family

425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobbo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a

452 422 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens

[383] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife: in the latter instance, he deducts the

[372] amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable, and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

tree," oatmeal (*Nigella schimperi*); and *mariyek*, shoulder hair, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *kimmek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force or rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about) } fit for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a boy's wounding or the smith's goodwill;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually buck-hunt);
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 cow basket.

The bag, *mutokiet*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the completion of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Kores of Kipkoross ...	20	12	2
Kores of Saimo ...	84	18	4
Kores of Kaiget ...	22	8	2
	86	36	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

Is Huntingford B-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

patronymic from their father's personal name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's clansman, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcisions of 1936-39. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole process of circumcision (save in identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mut* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepkwanik*, the senior; *Tapsiriik* or *Kipkilionyek*, the middle; and *Kamokonik* or *Kipsoloik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality: for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own lords, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Local Divisions

The Dorobo live entirely in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiet* (*koroonik*, sing. *koror*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ovet*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem. *Ovet* ap *ovet*, the animal of the clan.[1] The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records; they were, however, mentioned to me by name as well as in 1936-8. Each of these clans has one totem, except Bet which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of Bet, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Bet marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 97.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present correlation to a totem borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *ageruet* for this sort; it is a Nandi word meaning "the totem."

her straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out on the [illegible] Church, though if there is a living baby, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, grouch (defined as among the Dundee, p. 99), easy for of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1938 the Dundee said there were no witches at all in the three districts of England, Eglantine, and Dundee, and probably no cases of witchcraft ever discovered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dundee went to a Dundee diviner, unknown, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to kill the victim on the first Sunday, and baby with the fat of a sheep. If the witched, she was laid to a wood by a living female rightly versed her husband and begged kill the sprout.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Presenting a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dundee to wild animals is unlike that of the Ainus to whom hunting is an event of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life around them, perhaps because they are wild and themselves. The conversation of Dundee going through the forest more quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they call the Dundee call creator, "affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described to a man, to which a Dundee said: "The Dundee have the spirit of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we read they all dwell in the forest together. The Dundee spirit of animals is not like that of people, for it is not very different, the animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we do make each one others, because we the Dundee and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dundee have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have wood-block [illegible] which were blown to call people together in the [illegible] forest.

women and they were. How we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Sarbula states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Meiigo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Transmara Reserve, but I suggest that the Dorobo living in the north and of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lalitio was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living or work in the northern areas of the Transmara Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had an opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumptions be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Andalgo* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Transmara Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* of Meiigo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Sith Hill at Sanjan, Sokut and Poldyin) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is pertinent to the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or Nilotic

[1] See p. 111 *fin. cit.* The Dorobo seen by the Count Teleki may presumably have been *Aramanik*.

[2] Check point to mention.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who have not tasted the eating of fish as mentioned.

[4] According to unconfirmed reports made by certain Masai.

A: Magazine G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

101 apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough,
104 would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of
speaking Kinembi. The pronunciation of the K'wavi, once
heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and consonantless, with
(107) invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and."
The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to
which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over
for no apparent reason. *Kainjiki* commonly becomes
Kain'i'a. *Fare* is often rendered *Fare*—but this may be due
to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kinembi-speaking Masai is more
correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words
and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employ-
ment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The
Arusha speaks like the K'wavi, but without the pervasive nasal
quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with
representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European
can will not fail to detect the difference after a little experience.

114 [illegible] I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I
have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai,
which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MACGREGOR.

[1] [illegible] heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency
in Kinembi—sometimes exaggerated by the Arusha—to drop intervocalic
consonants, especially *r* and *v*.—(Ed. W.)

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and downside, carefully extinguishing the fodder where he has smoked the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the extremely ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nuuk, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dheerden life would be vain and empty.

6. Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dheerden men, and though they hunt but little now, combining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dheerden walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nuuk call *wanisi*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this example, which I took down after hearing it:

A. *Kalak ap tiwak.*
The feet of the animals.

B. *Ee, ai jhiwi, jhawa ik, wanil ga.*
Look, this-one (is) the footmark, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Mixie, a ma mixie mixie, tiwga kakwanga! Kakiku.
Small, but not small very. It has the-child small.

A. *Cawk rale tiwak, wai wanilkwanga; ganga*
(They are) now these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the-image)
ogka wanak.
which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingwanawa ulaka tiwa, ogka wai tiwi ala ik*
Let-us-look over-there (is) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal number. What
ai ne kakiwi wik?
(is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Ogka tamia.*
Perhaps the-giant pig.

B. *Wiwia, wanawi wiki. Ingwatinga kayanda ogka ne. A wanil*
Yes, I-see the-head. It-is-dead the-boar I-kill that-one, for there-is
kayanda.
not-here the-boar.

A. *Ingwanawa ala wana.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes (to).

Fig. 6. Plan of a Combe Dundle or Antique dungeon, a Frank Dundle.

or Kingsbow in 1938 the ring was so much damaged by earthquake, slips and a sort of mass orbital movement, that the original dundle had to be given up, and the occupants took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dundle has a dundle all to himself, more often, however, several people divide the area inside a town, each contributing to the labour of digging it, and in some cases Dundle share part of a bound dundle with Frank (Fig. 6).

Though not connected with cultivation, the men sometimes have the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. But soil when earth is heard over Thirtheme (or Frankbarne, as the Dundle call it), and men go in parties of two or three to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, basket, made of a sharpened pole, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when when Dundle lived in the earth-enclosing ring, a digging party would set forth to dig from the near ring beyond even that layer of land, and though we for some to have been quiet. It is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dundle ever has done, this could not be verified. To-day the Dundle still coloured earth to the Frank, who pay them at the rate of a shillings for a large bag of earth. Rich earth, probably is also valued with for (as sometimes colours still) for rubbing on the head, while earth, coarse, is used as a magical remedy in cases of backache.

(i) Cattle

Of the Dundle had not have to each does connect with a people about primary income to his own earth. It is possible that they would have cultivated (but cultivated) but failed to take on cattle for stock, and to settle that not possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are plainly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] S.I.T. [illegible]

[illegible] and to have sacrificed to them; the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Monday) to their ancestors. They speak a Dravidian language[1]; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dravidic researches say that they, the Kurs and the Ellayrs are the descendants of a common ancestor who called the Kurlghrs, and that their ancestors came from Upper Kurs Kurya. They also maintain that the clans of all these tribes are named Kurs Kurya. They also maintain that the clans of all these tribes are named Kurs Kurya. They also maintain that the clans of all these tribes are named

19 Meiser--358 G-5 (1895-ca.1900) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
Asa

XII.

Character of the Aaé, compared with that of the Masai.

In character the Aaé in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el mo[illegible] whom they call mundo. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Aaé living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobbo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobbo as in that of the Masai. The el lenyeti are also completely without rights before the el dombani. The Wandorobbo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they were /356/ to have acted in premature self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something are to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobbo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

ash, is said to mean "yes". To the objection that this is an very courteous, an aged Aaé replied: "We are poor people, when the rainer has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the called-to-more"--Anal.ref.]

9:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the bands is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *kowt* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *kowt* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain bandocracy by bringing together elements from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *kowt* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of band-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity creates the *kowt* foundation, and is the main factor that keeps the bands together under conditions which would under primitive any institution less strong.

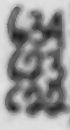
The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men corresponding to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Huntingford (G. W. B.), op. cit. (n. 1).

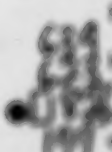
5:Hastingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpai, Kipkoreon and Sowtiyo (with which Moiben has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *kwanek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *kwanek* correspond with the Nandi *koitinosk* (sing. *koit*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *kwat* had its council, *kiruokat*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *ajaiyat*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *mitigtin kitis*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interesting fact of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a bush-chief could have done.



In 1939 no *kwat* council met, so far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkoreon was one Cheserem arap Cipandos, a Kimoyeiki, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sowtiyo had been Kipkutum arap Ngumenguan, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Kelpai was Tomeno arap Gorbba, a Kipkoimet who died "many years ago", and must have been very old at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a prime local power who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.



These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *kwat* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their commercial contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and [illegible] of the days when the Dorobo had her some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

9:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they seemed to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *koret*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kiruon ankit ai kotit ro meiyan ak ee yan, ai kotun yik tukul. Ingemis ak ake tukul, kuon ai kon enet ake,* "We take counsel that we may find what is good and know what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after hearing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing, they know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that ancestor ghosts, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these matters are doubtful even fertile, but they are effective [illegible] and carry on the existence in fear of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council held less interest as an almost daily business, but to feel almost sure as to the equivalent of a civil, though without the conveniality of a civil. But this is not possible for people who

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized beings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunderbirds an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might also assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the ideas of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm / Set that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of a people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest dwarfs rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought rain. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not much, and although the lowest known rainfall, 30 inches in 1933 at the plain recedes from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest) would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches never does any more than cause temporary inconvenience when there are camps to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tinderet Hill is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged a dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to eat or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relations is not so much the between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals that's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of meat, or his inability to kill or catch what is there to slaughter.

Social aims. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value. Since between man and them there is created a relationship which man must remain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on a given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But sometimes as much a life might seem, there is no evidence that in this or there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. Their men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if [illegible] got back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and few well informed persons will talk about it, but it is also true that when the food supply throughout the emergency is found adequate,

Schoolcraft Box 3 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1930 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of awareness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Kamili (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslatable word *cumsiet*, and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but more the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Kamili to the sight of a hare or rat spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Tun kebisi ogbo kebisi Cumsiet Chisik ol Dorobo
They know the best animals are all. They like the Dorobo that they may see

Cumsik. Ko gamsie Cumsik, ame kimenyo kebisi kaskuge ametabin,
the animals. Not but the animals, for we should be all together the forest.

Ogomsiet ogi Cumsik ma ne ogbo gik, ako ma ko, ame ametu
Intelligence of the animals not like that which is of men, but not like the intelligence

ok kebisi Cumsik. Kebisi kebisi ritwet ogi somok. Ki'ame ebisi, mebi'ame
of wild Cumsik. Kebisi kebisi ritwet ogi somok. Ki'ame ebisi, mebi'ame

kebisi. Ako kebisi kebisi. Ki' ko somok, ok kebisi ne ko somok
which. Not we like all. Where is there, not they which are of there.

(The Dorobo knows the names of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

Schuttinglaan E-1 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dembo FLA

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike*; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves reared, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression ki Okiek, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression ki Nandi, "we are Nandi", given when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures basic solidarity.

Personification and evil-being. Pale and inscrutable mountains the Dorobo are perhaps more striking to a forest than the sea, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "Oki was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi Oki has the form of a bird. This personification represents and fulfils the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom the Cicers Nelson saw defying the "rain-god" †. The notion of Oki is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while Oki may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, Oki seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the bush is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public debts is necessary to prevent disaster to the bush. Public debts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

* That is, although some animals (the human kind or hunting) are more intelligent than others and although the human kind are aware of the others but not all, co-existence they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live and die in the forest.

† Man 1909: 66.

Schlesinghaus B-3 (1934-1935) 1954 FLA Dowden FLA

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Aza*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dowden (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the ancestors, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the talisman against the evil eye, ornaments against consumption, and perhaps the double spiral earrings ceremonially worn, although the significance of the last among the Dowden is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the powers as protectives.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Aza*[ka], borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother *Ge ameet*, for the aromatic myrtle *Ameet* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Aza* plays in Dowden religious life, but he owes the less profound the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for extension of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for the notion of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Aza* and still tried to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dowden, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dowden that the ancestors, the evil spirits, are the same as the evil or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more natural than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. [illegible] they return to visit and take care of the living, to whom they [illegible] and the part taken by the evil in Dowden life may be fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide an antidote food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can thwart a man and so spoil his luck and overwhelm his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between men and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits exist (there), and good spirits exist (), which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits are also being (there). But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the considerations of public debate centre on them, as that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "both things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion*, and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

* As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series) Nairobi 1953.

Rev. [1-45.] S.A.R. [1900.

They are said to be very prolific, having litters of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their natural increase very shortly [illegible] mortality is probably due to the cold damp climate of the Blue Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 1,000 to 4,000 feet.

Their game consisting consists of nothing of a dog's race, and the surrounding parties thus spoken was nothing with the Black.

They live principally on Edibles and other vermin, which they shoot in the forests [illegible] they eat and have big game on the plains, known as the Bongolo Plains; they rank [illegible] this game is very fat, does have to be [illegible] hunting. They are [illegible] among the big game, no [illegible] even the smallest, they [illegible] They have kept in order to their hunting and employ them to get young dogs for the purpose. They will eat them they first gave the fly certain medicines, and the natives [illegible] them with gums.

They are very clever elephant hunters and likewise are their other they [illegible] some on elephant they must [illegible] and tusked and skilled themselves very carefully [illegible] aspects of most of the human ones, and that they live does also to approach a charging elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a Boomerang. The Box is produced in the ordinary way for the Circles of one inch upon round cardboard by a depression to another piece of wood, which is held firm between the feet feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the property of Box.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Roman numerals.

The grades "[illegible]" and the suffixes "[illegible]" and "[illegible]" are, I think, brought in from the Dutch language, but many of the rest of the words in the table differ from those of the tribe are only spoken. Dutch and other educating this vocabulary to some extent they appeared to have forgotten the English. Dutch must has given the Dutch words, and had to commit nothing themselves and very many have not the proper ones. The language is also evidently changing from each [illegible] to [illegible] gradually becoming quite extinct in the next Century.

G. W. Schlichter

[illegible]

[P 114, B]

The social structure of the Creoles is based on [illegible] class aristocracy, the class being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The class names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the [illegible] relationship terms, are of French origin, but [illegible] have the constituent units, and it is seen that the [illegible] social structure is unlike that of the French. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, Australian. There is no doubt that living in [illegible] in close contact with a forest produces a condition [illegible] this effect on people, which differentiates them [illegible] from those who live in open country; and the [illegible] influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar features of forest life, which [illegible]

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing [illegible] just large enough to hold two or three huts.
2. The continual presence of large trees, [illegible] especially when the children are young.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The age-grades, through which a person passes [illegible] in turn are:

♂	♀
[illegible]: uncircumcised boys.	[illegible]: girls.
[illegible]: circumcised men.	[illegible]: marriageable women.
[illegible]: elders.	[illegible]: old women.

Now an [illegible] (♂ circumcised), when they become eligible for the 10-year period of their age-set and their [illegible] when the change over occurs? The sub-divisions, [illegible], of the [illegible] age-sets could not but the same sub-divisions were called:

[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] or [illegible].

A man belongs normally to the age-set but one before that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Youngest son may belong to:
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

It may happen, as in French, that a man will be [illegible] (1)
[illegible] with an age-set but one before that of his father (as in the two schools above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these [illegible] features, the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] age-sets in the French [illegible] [illegible] (1)
[illegible] [illegible] (2)
[illegible] [illegible] (3)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Ac Integrore G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the scarcity of the cook's temper.

The Masai are good to the *Mdorobo* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mdorobo* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mdorobo* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mdorobo* at the request of the Masai. Lekire told me of one drive in which he and about ninety *Mdorobo* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mdorobo* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mdorobo* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwellings or sleeping-places.

A few *Mdorobo* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mdorobo* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mdorobo*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mdorobo* has at his command an extensive

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normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Mokinyo papa ne kenie a kojine kakwat; mokinyo kokwa papa; mokinwaet kochot ol olon mokit ee ormis, amos ya, ngat mokit ap kwenisat*; (literally-translated: "A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i.e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'close kin'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a male or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything so drastic as *Amwie ndakat* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit would took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iow piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Now deaf, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Cossino and his wife, to whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

[illegible] Environment of ritual relations with the spirits is affected by the exceptional offerings made to them, and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

[illegible] The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of [illegible], the Creator plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. This might almost always from this fact to say believed to be an earth-dweller who began a normal life in the sky as the Creator-god who controls the rain, but the notions of rain, rain, and thunder are all interwoven, and the relation to 'the one of the two there were the two'. These myths reflect the friendly attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent rain, and it would be surprising if an old rain fell among them the conception of rainy part of rain-falling who brought rain. Again, there was a plentiful and delightful sun, the stimulator of all animal, and although the forest [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] a place rain rains from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere. In the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional fine rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience when there are no crops to be damaged and the slight general flooding. The Tasmanian forest is, in fact, an ideal place for humans to live in. Seasonal prolonged fine dry weather, the conditions for which are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the later-children is not as much that between men and nature in general, but between men and the animals. Man's strong thing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or the inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

[illegible] Social Values. Things which are important to men because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between men and them there is created a relationship which men must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is inevitable, however on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But perceptions as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Since hunting magic does certainly was, and has well ignorance garnered has talk about it, but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries a forest antagonist,

1 Und als das Lamm das siebente Siegel öffnete, da ward eine Stille im Himmel, etwa eine halbe Stunde lang. 2 Und ich sah die sieben Engel, die vor Gott stehen, und ihnen wurden sieben Posaunen gegeben.

3 Und ein anderer Engel kam und trat an den Altar mit einem goldenen Rauchfaß, und ihm wurde viel Räucherwerk gegeben, daß er es gebe zu den Gebeten aller Heiligen auf den goldenen Altar vor dem Stuhl. 4 Und der Rauch des Räucherwerks mit den Gebeten der Heiligen stieg auf von der Hand des Engels vor Gott. 5 Und der Engel nahm das Rauchfaß und füllte es mit Feuer vom Altar und warf es auf die Erde; und es wurden Donner und Stimmen und Blitze und ein Erdbeben.

6 Und die sieben Engel mit den sieben Posaunen machten sich bereit, daß sie posaunten.

7 Der erste posaunte; und es ward Hagel und Feuer, gemischt mit Blut, und fiel auf die Erde. Und der dritte Teil der Erde verbrannte, und der dritte Teil der Bäume verbrannte, und alles grüne Gras verbrannte.

8 Und der zweite Engel posaunte; und es fuhr wie ein großer Berg mit Feuer brennend ins Meer. Und der dritte Teil des Meeres ward Blut, 9 und der dritte Teil der lebendigen Kreaturen im Meer starben, und der dritte Teil der Schiffe wurden verderbt.

10 Und der dritte Engel posaunte; und es fiel ein großer Stern vom Himmel, brennend wie eine Fackel, und fiel auf den dritten Teil der Wasserströme und auf die Wasserquellen. 11 Und der Name des Sterns heißt Wermut. Und der dritte Teil der Wasser ward zu Wermut, und viele Menschen starben von den Wassern, weil sie bitter geworden waren.

12 Und der vierte Engel posaunte; und es ward geschlagen der dritte Teil der Sonne und der dritte Teil des Mondes und der dritte Teil der Sterne, daß der dritte Teil an ihnen verfinstert ward und der dritte Teil des Tages nicht hell schien, desgleichen der Nacht.

13 Und ich sah, und hörte einen Engel fliegen mitten durch den Himmel und sagte mit großer Stimme: Wehe, wehe, wehe den Bewohnern der Erde von den übrigen Posaunen der drei Engel, die noch posaunen werden!

9 1 Und der fünfte Engel posaunte; und ich sah einen Stern gefallen vom Himmel auf die Erde, und ihm ward gegeben der Schlüssel zum Brunnen des Abgrunds. 2 Und er tat auf den Brunnen des Abgrunds; und es ging ein Rauch auf aus dem Brunnen wie der Rauch eines großen Ofens, und es verfinsterte sich die Sonne und die Luft von dem Rauch des Brunnens. 3 Und aus dem Rauch kamen Heuschrecken auf die Erde, und ihnen ward Macht gegeben, wie die Skorpione auf Erden Macht haben. 4 Und es ward zu ihnen gesagt, daß sie nicht schaden sollten dem Gras auf Erden noch irgendeinem Grünen noch irgendeinem Baum, sondern allein den Menschen, die nicht das Siegel Gottes an ihren Stirnen haben. 5 Und es ward ihnen gegeben, daß sie sie nicht töteten, sondern daß sie gequält würden fünf Monate lang; und ihre Qual war wie die Qual von einem Skorpion, wenn er einen Menschen sticht. 6 In jenen Tagen werden die Menschen den Tod suchen und nicht finden; sie werden begehren zu sterben, und der Tod wird vor ihnen fliehen.

7 Und gleich sahen die Heuschrecken aus wie Rosse, gerüstet zum Streit; und auf ihren Häuptern waren wie Kronen, gleich dem Gold, und ihre Angesichter waren wie Menschenangesichter. 8 Und hatten Haare wie Weiberhaare, und ihre Zähne waren wie Löwenzähne. 9 Und hatten Panzer wie eiserne Panzer, und das Rasseln ihrer Flügel war wie das Rasseln der Wagen vieler Rosse, die in den Krieg laufen. 10 Und hatten Schwänze gleich den Skorpionen, und Stacheln waren an ihren Schwänzen; und ihre Macht war, zu beschädigen die Menschen fünf Monate lang. 11 Und sie hatten über sich einen König, den Engel des Abgrunds, dessen Name heißt auf hebräisch Abaddon, und griechisch hat er den Namen Apollyon, das ist: Verderber.

12 Das eine Wehe ist dahin; siehe, es kommen noch zwei Wehe nach diesem.

13 Und der sechste Engel posaunte; und ich hörte eine Stimme aus den vier Hörnern des goldenen Altars vor Gott, 14 die sprach zu dem sechsten Engel, der die Posaune hatte: Mache los die vier Engel, die gebunden sind an dem großen Wasserstrom Euphrat. 15 Und die vier Engel wurden losgemacht, die bereitet waren auf Stunde, Tag, Monat und Jahr, daß sie den dritten Teil der Menschen töteten. 16 Und die Zahl des reisigen Volks war vor mir zweimal zehntausendmal zehntausend; ich hörte ihre Zahl. 17 Und also sah ich die Rosse in dem Gesicht und die darauf saßen, die hatten feurige, hyazinthene und schwefelgelbe Panzer; und die Häupter der Rosse waren wie Löwenhäupter, und aus ihren Mäulern ging Feuer und Rauch und Schwefel. 18 Von diesen dreien wurden getötet der dritte Teil der Menschen, von dem Feuer und Rauch und Schwefel, der aus ihren Mäulern ging. 19 Denn ihre Macht ist in ihren Mäulern und in ihren Schwänzen; denn ihre Schwänze sind Schlangen, haben Häupter und mit denen richten sie Schaden an.

20 Und die übrigen Menschen, die nicht getötet wurden durch diese Plagen, bekehrten sich nicht von den Werken ihrer Hände, daß sie nicht anbeteten die Teufel und die goldenen, silbernen, ehernen, steinernen und hölzernen Götzen, die weder sehen noch hören noch wandeln können; 21 und bekehrten sich nicht von ihren Mordtaten noch von ihrer Zauberei noch von ihrer Hurerei noch von ihren Dieberein.

10 1 Und ich sah einen andern starken Engel vom Himmel herabkommen, mit einer Wolke bekleidet, und der Regenbogen auf seinem Haupt, und sein Angesicht wie die Sonne, und seine Füße wie Feuersäulen; 2 und hatte in seiner Hand ein Büchlein aufgetan. Und er setzte seinen rechten Fuß auf das Meer und den linken auf die Erde 3 und schrie mit großer Stimme, wie wenn ein Löwe brüllt. Und als er schrie, redeten die sieben Donner ihre Stimmen. 4 Und als die sieben Donner geredet hatten ihre Stimmen, wollte ich schreiben. Da hörte ich eine Stimme vom Himmel zu mir sagen: Versiegle, was die sieben Donner geredet haben, und schreibe es nicht! 5 Und der Engel, den ich stehen sah auf dem Meer und auf der Erde, hob seine Hand auf gen Himmel 6 und schwur bei dem, der da lebt von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit, der den Himmel geschaffen hat und was darin ist, die Erde und was darin ist, das Meer und was darin ist, daß hinfort keine Zeit mehr sein soll, 7 sondern in den Tagen der Stimme des siebenten Engels, wenn er posaunen wird, so wird vollendet das Geheimnis Gottes, wie er hat verkündigt seinen Knechten, den Propheten.

8 Und die Stimme, die ich vom Himmel hörte, redete abermals mit mir und sprach: Gehe hin, nimm das offene Büchlein in der Hand des Engels, der auf dem Meer und auf der Erde steht. 9 Und ich ging hin zu dem Engel und sprach zu ihm, er wolle mir das Büchlein geben. Und er sprach zu mir: Nimm hin und verschlinge es; und es wird dich grimmen in deinem Leibe, aber in deinem Munde wird es süß sein wie Honig. 10 Und ich nahm das Büchlein von der Hand des Engels und verschlang es; und es war in meinem Munde süß wie Honig, und da ich es gegessen hatte, grimmte es mich in meinem Leibe. 11 Und er sprach zu mir: Du mußt abermals weissagen vor vielen Völkern und Leuten und Sprachen und Königen.

11 1 Und es ward mir ein Rohr gegeben, gleich einer Rute, und der Engel trat und sprach: Stehe auf und miß den Tempel Gottes und den Altar und die darin anbeten. 2 Aber den Vorhof außerhalb des Tempels wirf hinaus und miß ihn nicht; denn er ist den Heiden gegeben, und die werden die heilige Stadt zertreten zweiundvierzig Monate lang. 3 Und ich will meinen zwei Zeugen geben, daß sie weissagen sollen tausendzweihundertsechzig Tage, angetan mit Säcken. 4 Das sind die zwei Ölbäume und die zwei Leuchter, die vor dem Herrn der Erde stehen. 5 Und wenn jemand ihnen will Schaden tun, so geht Feuer aus ihrem Munde und frißt ihre Feinde; und wenn jemand ihnen will Schaden tun, der muß auf diese Weise getötet werden. 6 Diese haben Macht, den Himmel zu verschließen, daß es nicht regne die Tage ihrer Weissagung; und haben Macht über die Wasser, sie zu verkehren in Blut und alle Plagen auf die Erde zu legen, sooft sie wollen.

7 Und wenn sie ihr Zeugnis geendet haben, wird das Tier, das aufsteigt aus dem Abgrund, mit ihnen einen Streit anfangen und wird sie überwinden und wird sie töten. 8 Und ihre Leichname werden liegen auf der Gasse der großen Stadt, die da heißt geistlich Sodom und Ägypten, da auch ihr Herr gekreuzigt ist. 9 Und es werden Leute aus allen Völkern und Stämmen und Sprachen und Heiden ihre Leichname sehen dreieinhalb Tage lang und werden nicht zugeben, daß ihre Leichname in Gräber gelegt werden. 10 Und die auf Erden wohnen, werden sich über sie freuen und fröhlich sein und werden Geschenke einander senden; denn diese zwei Propheten hatten die Leute auf Erden gequält.

11 Und nach dreieinhalb Tagen kam der Odem des Lebens von Gott in sie, und sie traten auf ihre Füße, und große Furcht fiel über die, welche sie sahen. 12 Und sie hörten eine große Stimme vom Himmel zu ihnen sagen: Steiget herauf hierher! Und sie stiegen auf in den Himmel in einer Wolke, und ihre Feinde sahen sie. 13 Und zu derselben Stunde ward ein großes Erdbeben, und der zehnte Teil der Stadt fiel, und wurden getötet in dem Erdbeben siebentausend Namen der Menschen. Und die andern erschraken und gaben Ehre dem Gott des Himmels.

14 Das zweite Wehe ist dahin; siehe, das dritte Wehe kommt bald.

15 Und der siebente Engel posaunte; und es wurden große Stimmen im Himmel, die sprachen: Es sind der Reich unsers Herrn und seines Christus geworden, und er wird herrschen von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. 16 Und die vierundzwanzig Ältesten, die vor Gott auf ihren Stühlen sitzen, fielen auf ihr Angesicht und beteten Gott an 17 und sprachen: Wir danken dir, Herr, allmächtiger Gott, der du bist und der du warst und der du kommst, daß du hast angenommen deine große Kraft und hast das Reich eingenommen. 18 Und die Heiden sind zornig geworden, und dein Zorn ist gekommen und die Zeit, zu richten die Toten, und zu geben den Lohn deinen Knechten, den Propheten, und den Heiligen und denen, die deinen Namen fürchten, den Kleinen und den Großen, und zu verderben, die die Erde verderben.

19 Und der Tempel Gottes ward aufgetan im Himmel, und die Lade seines Bundes ward in seinem Tempel gesehen, und es wurden Blitze und Donner und Stimmen und ein Erdbeben und ein großer Hagel.

eventually developed maxillary wombs. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The bilateral peculiarity of crossing or cross leg has been observed in the Bisaro, but it is not seen so often or to the case of the Bunei. I have been unable to discover any example of pre-natal ectrogenic in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Bunei women, and who are prized by the Bunei for this reason. The Bisaro are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Bunei elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. Bisaro of a certain age would seem to be less under Bunei influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Bunei at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that as one accustomed to looking on Bunei will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dambo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Bunei from the Dambo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the Bisaro is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to have instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the animal being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the Bisaro will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The Bisaro knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter. He is never at a loss for a message-point and, on the whole, is resourceful and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon him to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, sound cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that note, to my

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 10. Translate me.

[illegible] quantity from Dendo but how [illegible] Most, who, having had their wives, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dendo in question were Babinga, though the Ghost was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original Babinga are stated to have come from the Kivanga [illegible] district of the Most. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kivanga originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Most of Tongaryika Territory. It is certain that there are no Babinga Dendo with the Most throughout the length and breadth of the Tongaryika Most Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find Babinga who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own bills or are much godly to live with their native landlords or with the Most. The younger men have never had a bush life. They marry [illegible] when opportunities [illegible] and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Most.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the Kivanga sportsmen, a few old men (Most), to all appearance [illegible] with quite their appearance [illegible] generally accompanied by Babinga. During [illegible] seasons, they will proceed to dig and build very large quantities of the Bubi into a [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] which is not sold to the Most. When the Babinga have been [illegible] as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quickly depart, leaving [illegible] for a [illegible] of [illegible] proportions. Should one ask, they will [illegible] that they are Babinga, but will observe [illegible] with "We are not Most again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Most and the Babinga are one and the same. The opinions of the Most [illegible] unanimous in which the equality of [illegible] and the Babinga themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any [illegible] of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the Babinga are the

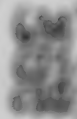
[illegible]

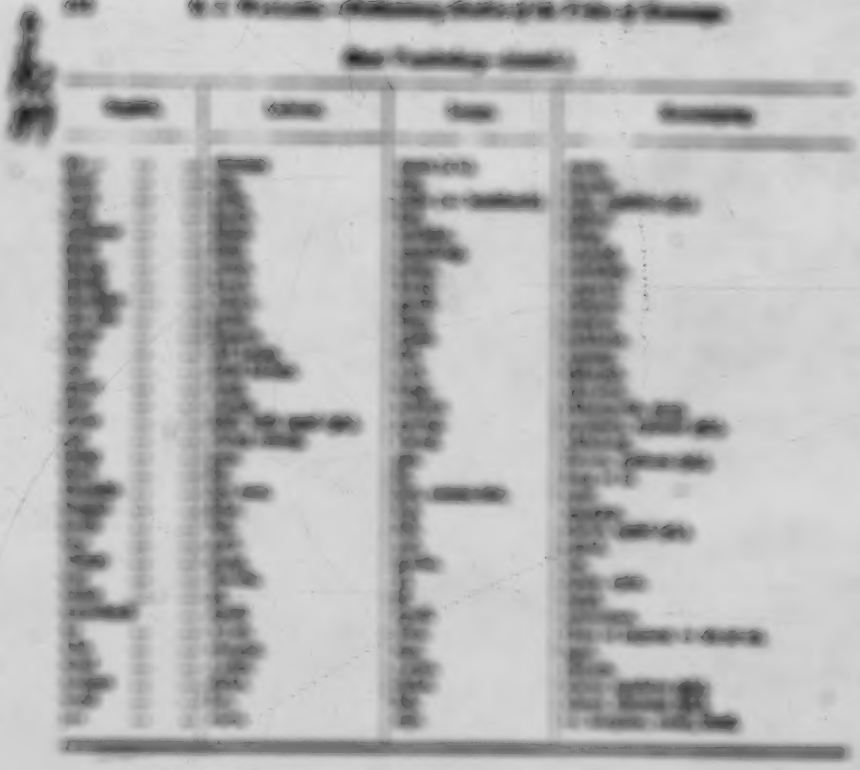
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[





[illegible]

[illegible]

(3)

Characters of the [illegible], compared with that of the Ideas.

In characters the Ideal is general gravity resembles the Ideas, except that the actual arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty. Though it will still always appear to their concept of the [illegible] times they will remain.

It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have already come into contact with them incessantly only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Ideas. On the whole, the Ideal living independently would not favorably from those who have passed for Ideas, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Ideal in understanding. The understanding of the two tribes is [illegible] the complete antagonism of the Presidencies, who are to the Ideal their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Compared to this are the Ideal characteristics, who owed as low to the ministries of the Presidencies as to that of the Ideal. The [illegible] to the completely ardent rights before the [illegible]. The Presidencies [illegible] peaceable except making reasonable and ordinary litigants. When they were dealt or by forces with political crimes, without having been involved themselves, they were [illegible] to have acted in presumed self-defense in any case are almost always those of a bad either for one or for another. With these observations, what has been said above about the Ideal's reasoning here characters rests, their arbitrary against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something are to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, [illegible] because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Presidencies are the same words and formulas as the Ideal and accompany them with the same gestures.

The [illegible] of the one going was [illegible]. The answer to it, [illegible], is not to mean "go!" To the objection that this is an very [illegible], an aged Ideal replied: "We are your people, when the master has given us no longer need give him any of our food!"

[illegible] [A literal word meaning "the called [illegible]"—Translator.]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)/929 FLA Dorobo FLA

MODERN HUNTERS: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE KÂMÛLÔ-KÂPCHEPKENDI DORÔBO (SIRIKWA) OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XXVI-XXVIII.]

By G. W. B. Huntingford.

[With an account of the Physical Features by the Hon. F. L. O'Brien, M.A.]

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Preliminary Note.

This paper is based on information collected in Eastern Nandi (particularly of Kimoiliu and Kâpchepkendi), where this section of the Dorobo live. When visiting this district, I was accompanied by the Hon. F. L. O'Brien, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the account of the Physical Features, which is given on p. 374. My information was obtained through the medium of Nandi—which the Dorobo speak, even among themselves—and without an interpreter, chiefly from Dorobo elders of the Kâpchebarâ age. The Dorobo were told that I wanted to see them by Parkipitany arap Kipenjegan, a former chief, whose acquaintance I made through his son Chesimbo, one of

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"[illegible] of the Okiek are the dances are very different, a few [illegible]
[illegible] of Okiek were living here and there in the forest -
a fact which even the Dorobo admit - but they were mostly
herders living on a pervious existence and living from the
[illegible] herds, the Dorobo.

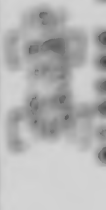
"The Dorobo were, like the Okiek, a hunting people, but [illegible]
it would seem that they were much more organised and accustom-
ing to their own territory than they are at the present,
although [illegible] is rapidly changing to hunting rights...

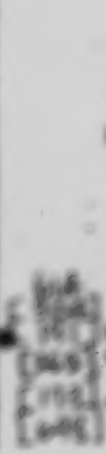
"The Okiek described the Dorobo as the [illegible]
'Owners of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among them-
selves as the Kikoben, which was the name by which they were
known to the Okiek.

"The word Dorobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to [illegible]
describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest areas
of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the
name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities
which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in
distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom
and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern
ourselves only with the tribe called Dorobo by the Europeans, [illegible]
which inhabited the forest land which has been taught by the
Okiek, and the descendants of whom are still living in the
forest on the boundary of Okiek country in the Kipkabi region
and northwards as far as the slopes of the Aberdare mountains.
Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to [illegible]
represent the Dorobo of this area, and most of them have [illegible]
a greater or less proportion of Okiek blood in their veins, but [illegible]
[illegible] they still retain many customs which are quite different
to those of the Okiek and they still speak among themselves [illegible]
a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them
also speak Okiek, but with a marked accent.

[illegible]

(5)





[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to be observed is [illegible] would seem to have [illegible] from the Greek. There are certain other words which the Greek has the [illegible] have taken from them. The [illegible] and the [illegible] is the case. It is [illegible] as in the [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible].

Questions of words in the [illegible] language have an [illegible] basis, and the language as a whole, in the case of a very few [illegible] [illegible], would seem to be more [illegible] than that of the Greek. Grammatical [illegible] [illegible], in the frequent occurrence of a [illegible] [illegible] of the construction of a word. Again, the [illegible] [illegible] differ from the Greek as to [illegible]. I have given [illegible] [illegible] of some length, but all my [illegible] [illegible] are unanimous in making [illegible] [illegible] words for numbers above [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] borrowed from the Greek. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Investigation of the Semitic [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] Greek would undoubtedly be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are [illegible], but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As to the case of the [illegible], some [illegible] are stated to have been adopted, as Dalo believed them, into regular Greek [illegible] the [illegible].

The Greek [illegible] [illegible] had a [illegible] of Gods [illegible] which was not generally understood by the Greek. However, it was universally agreed to be a [illegible] Greek, and the [illegible] were never asserted to be anything but Greek. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dionysos we have seen so far.

(i) (ii) [illegible] ; (i) (ii) [illegible]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these [illegible]. Whether they are two distinct types of Dionysos

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

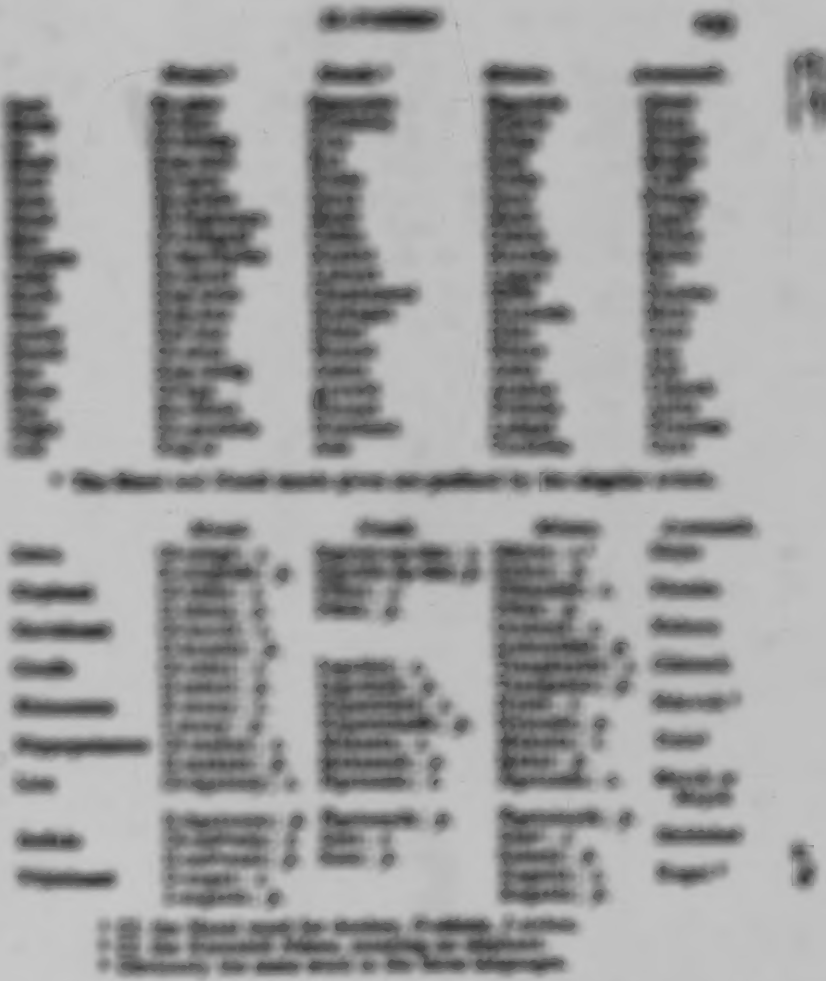
[illegible] Dialects South and North. I have left them just as they were written to the first listeners, as it would seem an unnecessary proof of vanity to contend that the Orkney and the Dutch are very closely related. On checking them over with the Orkney and with Sutter's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the Orkney words could more economically be written by substituting more closely to Sutter's Dutch spelling. The language of the Orkney, though undoubtedly of one root-stem with Dutch, has become, owing to Norse and other influences, very generally modified, and I think that a Orkney from Tuloma and a Dutch might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

[illegible] The difficulty of writing down verbal forms which would accurately reflect and which appear to vary only owing to the different [illegible] tendencies in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the [illegible] to the suspension of pronouns, in the sense that "I go home" and "they went" are more or less the same to him. The reader is to be answered about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Hanseatic), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

[illegible] Only few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and [illegible] paper of this nature.

[illegible]							

[illegible] The Orkney, Icelandic and Faroese names given are as near [illegible] to the Dutch [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



In Shami, Vanili, and Gizzio there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The Aramaeish words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Vanili and Mizzio.

In the Mizzio tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

[0] [Untitled or non-obvious section]

● [1.1] [1.2] [1.3] The most common to give nothing from to [illegible] or otherwise and it would be difficult to say more with about it.

The [blank], despite their rarity in the use of [blank] case which [illegible] is a widely, and, curiously enough, exceptionally accurate to their use of the [blank] which, [illegible] [illegible] language. (See p. xxiii of the introduction to [illegible], [illegible] Language and Folklore [illegible]. See also p. [illegible] of the text of [illegible].)

[1.3] [1.4] A Comparative [illegible] table of the [illegible] Forms of [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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Friend	chorua (chpruet); pl., choruoi (choruoik) (N.).
Frog	kimaayari (kimaayarit); pl., kimaayaria (kimaayariaiek) (D.).
Garment	akur (akuriet); pl., akurua (akuruaiek). (*Cf.* N., inguriet.)
Generation	ipin (ipinda); pl., ipinua (ipinuek) (N.).
Geographical division	kor (koret); pl., koroona (koroouek) (N.) (for the pl., *cf.* Sap., koetaiek).
Gift	melek (melekto); pl., melekua (melekuak) (N.).
Girl	simboroikwo (simboroikwet); pl., simborokua (simboroikfoik) (D.).
	tie (tiepto); pl., tipin (tipik) (N.) (for the secondary sing., *cf.* Ko., kiepto).
Goat	chepkwoch (chepkwochet); pl., chepkwochoia (chepkwochoiaiek) (D.).
God	asis (asista); pl., asisua (asisuek) (N.).
Good-bye	asisere (N.).
Grain	olbai (olbaiak). (Sap., paak. N., pâk. M., olpaaki.)
Grass	samsam (samsamiet); pl., samsamu (samsamuik) (D.).
	kesakset (kesaksetiet); pl., kesakset (kesaksetik) (D.).
Grasshopper	chemonjorua (chemonjoruet); pl., chemonjoroi (chemonjoroik) (N.).
Gratis	puch.
Grey hair	kaluai (kaluaiet); pl., kaluaiea (kaluaieaiek). (N., kaluaiet.)
Grindstone	liti (litita); pl., litiua (litiuak) (N.).
Groin	paliu (paliet); pl., paliui (paliik) (N.).
Haft	kunyuk (kunyukto); pl., kunyuk (kunyukik). (As N., except the secondary sing., whose N. has kungit.)
Hail	koiya (koiyat). N., koiyat. Sap., koiyât.
Hand	ruiwi (ruiwito); pl., ruiwuia (ruiwuiak) (N.).
Head	roikoyui (roikoyuit); pl., roikoyuia (roikoyuiaiek) (D.).
Health	supo (supet) (N.).
Heart	olelan (olelanit); pl., olelania (olelaniaiek). M., ol-tan.
Heaven	tororr (tororret).
Herd	tutuilig (tutuiligto); pl., tutuilgua (tutuilguak). Ko., chitilgio. Sap., titilgio.
Hero	ingok (ingokiet); pl., ingokui (ingokuiik) (N.).
Hide, ox	muik (muikto); pl., muun (muuoik). N., muito; pl., muiuuk. Ko., muito; pl., muiuik.
Hill	tuluo (tuluet); pl., tuloloi (tuloloiik) (N.).
Hip	lip (lipit); pl., lipin (lipiniek) (Ko., lab-it; pl., labini. Sk., lep; pl., lepini); kiwet-ap-lip.
Hippopotamus	ruskas (ruskasto); pl., ruskasua (ruskasuak) (N.).

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Hold	kwing (kwingat) ; pl., kwingon (kwingônik) (N.).
Hollow	koruo (kuruet) ; pl., kuruoi (kuruôk) (D.).
Honey	kumia (kumiat) (N.).
Honey and water ..	lagume (lagomek) (D.).
Honeycomb ..	kipiririt (kipiriritye) ; pl., kipiriritos (kipiriritoniek) (D.).
Honey-wine ..	kipkotin (kipkotinik) (N.).
Hoof	siiya (siiyet) ; pl., sioi (siôk) (N.).
Horn	lâno (lânet) ; pl., lânoi (lânok) (D.).
House	kochonge (kochongat) ; pl., kochongos (kochongosiek) (D.).
Hunger	ilcho (ilchet) (D.).
Hunt	sagas (sagasta) ; pl., sagasos (sagasosek). Ko. kip-sagas-ian, hunter.
Hunter	kipiokotio (kipiokotiot) ; pl., kipiokot (kipiokotik) (N.).
Husband	manoligotio (manoligotiot) ; pl., manoligot (manoligotik) (N.).
Hyæna	kimarok (kimaroket) ; pl., kimarokos (kimarokosiek) (D.).
Idle person ..	chiito ne nyara.
Illness	korot (koroito) ; pl., koroios (koroiosik) (N.).
Abscess	mô (môet) ; pl., môoi (môôk) (N.).
Boil	undir (undiriet) ; pl., undir (undirik) (N.).
Cold	lolio (loliot).
Dropsy	mpuras (mpurasta) (N.).
Rheumatism ..	olbai (olbait) (M.).
Sore throat ..	kipkwamook (kipkwamookit).
Insect	kuut (kuutiet) ; pl., kuut (kuutik) (N.).
Iron	karna (karnet) ; pl., karin (karik) (N.).
Jackal	leluo (leluet) ; pl., lelue (leluek) (N.).
Jar	soiyo (soiyet) ; pl., soiyos (soiyosiek) (N.).
Jaw	nasiringuiya (nasiringuiyat) ; pl., nasiringoio (nasiringoiniek) (D.).
Kidney	soromya (soromyet) ; pl., soromoi (soromôk) (N.).
Knee	kutuliig (kutuliigio) ; pl., kutuliigwa (kutuliigwek) (N.).
Knife	chamlolua (chamloluet) ; pl., chamlolôs (chamlolôniek) (N.).
Language	lokoiyo (lokoiyot) ; pl., lokoiyos (lokoiyosk) (N.).
Leaf	sago (sagot) ; pl., sag (sagek) (N.).
Left	katam (N.).
Leg	kel (kelilo) ; pl., kelios (kelielk) (N.).
Calf of	ai (aita) ; pl., oios (oiosk) (N.).
Fore	narolrolua (narolroluait) ; pl., narolroloôs (narolroloôniek)
Hind	chât (châtit) ; pl., châtin (châtik) (N.).
Skin	korok (korokta) ; pl., korokwa (korokwek) (N.). (D.).

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Leglet (girl's)	ndapakwa (ndapakwet); pl., ndapakon (ndapakônik) (N.).
Leopard	melil (melilto); pl., melilua (melilusek). (Nandi dialects mostly have meliklo. Sic., meril.)
Lightning	koliel (kolielet); pl., koliekei (koliekik) (N.).
Lion	arnôi (arnôit); pl., arnôis (arnôisiek) (D.).
Liver	emunywai (emunywait); pl., emunywaiis (emunywaliaiek) (M.).
Lizard	cheringis (cheringisiet); pl., cheringisai (cheringisaiik) (N.).
Log	subeu (subenet); pl., subenai (subenaiik) (N.).
Lover	sanya (sandet); pl., san (sanik) (N.).
	ochôpen (ochôpenit); pl., ochôpenis (ochôpeniaiek) (D.).
Lover (girl)	murer (murerist); pl., mureres (murereaiek) (N.).
Lung	puonyo (puonyut); pl., puon (puonik) (N.).
Magic	chepkericho (chepkerichot) (N.).
Man	chii (chiito); pl., piich (piik) (N.).
Man (old)	olmoruokcho (olmoruokchot); pl., olmoruokis (olmoruokisiek). M., ol-moruo; pl., il-moruak.
	apaiyo (apaiyet); pl., apaiis (apaiisiek).
Marrow	kutot (kutotet); pl., kutotis (kutotisiek) (D.).
Matter (pus)	pururut (pururutik) (N., purutek).
Meat	nyanya (nyanyait); pl., nyanyais (nyanyaisiek).
Medicine	kericho (kerichot); pl., kerich (kerichek) (N.).
Middle	kwen (kwenet); pl., kwenus (kwenusiek) (N.).
Milk	chô (chôko) (N.).
Monkey—	
Baboon	konokcho (konokchot); pl., konokchois (konokchoisiek) (D.).
Cercopithecus albigularis	tisis (tisiet); pl., tisai (tisaik) (N.).
Cercopithecus griseo-viridis	chepkiroinyo (chepkiroinyet); pl., chepkiroinyes (chepkiroinyesiek) (D.).
Colobus	saire (sairet); pl., saires (sairesiek) (D.).
Moon	arawa (arawet); pl., arâ (arawek) (N.).
Morning	korun.
Mosquito	tingwich (tingwichet); pl., tingwich (tingwichik) (N.).
Moss	kochinchir (kechinchiriet); pl., kochinchir (kechinchirik) (D.).
Moth	tapurpur (tapurpuriet); pl., tapurpur (tapurpurik) (N.).
Mother	kôko; eiyo (N.).
My mother (man speaking)	pôkine.
My mother (woman speaking)	eiyo.

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Mouth	.. ..	kut (kutit) ; pl., kutua (kutusk) (N.).
Nail (finger)	..	siiya (siiyet) ; pl., sisi (sisik) (N.).
Name	.. ..	kaina (kainet) ; pl., kainoi (kainōk) (N.).
Nape of neck	..	keringich (keringichet) ; pl., keringichets (keringichetsisk) (D.).
Navel	.. ..	kāpwal (kāpwalda) ; pl., kāpwalua (kāpwaluek) (N.).
Neck	.. ..	kāt (katit) ; pl., kotua (kotuek) (N.).
Necklace	.. ..	saingai (saingait) ; pl., saingals (saingalsiek) (N.).
Neighbour	.. ..	takowos (takowosit) ; pl., takowosis (takowosiek) (D.).
Net (trap)	.. ..	porōwo (porōwet) ; pl., porōon (porōōnik) (N.).
Neutral land	..	melel (meleiet) ; pl., meleles (melelesiek) (D.).
Night	.. ..	mesundei (mesundeito) ; pl., mesundeiua (mesundeiuek) (N.).
Nose	.. ..	ser (serīt) ; pl., serīn (serīnek) (N.).
Ostrich	.. ..	tiendʼ-ap-aongul (N.).[1]
Ox	.. .. ..	tany (tēta) ; pl., tich (tuka).
Paint (clay)—		
Brown, red	..	erokoi (erokoit) ; pl., erokoiis (erokoiisiek) (D.).
White	.. ..	eworio (eworiot) ; pl., ewor (eworik) (N.).
Partridge	.. ..	changweret (changweretiet) ; pl., changweretes (changweretesiek) (D.).
Penis	.. ..	kiruk (kirkit) ; pl., kiruk (kirukik). N. = bull.
Penis (uncircumcised)		monyis (monyiset) ; pl., monyis (monyisiik) (N.).
Perspiration	..	kaot (kaotik) (N.).
Phlegm	.. ..	seper (seperik) (N.).
Pig	.. .. ..	tora (torset) ; pl., toroi (torōk) (N.).
Pig (giant)	.. ..	tum (tumsia) ; pl., tumua (tumuek) (N.).
Pipe, tobacco	..	teret-ap-tumatet ; pl., terēnik-ap-tumatet (N.).
Pit (trap)	.. ..	ngure (nguret) ; pl., ngurus (ngureseik) (D.).
Plain	.. ..	oñgata (oñgatet) (N.).
Poison	.. ..	ñgwon (ñgwonit) (N.).
Porcupine	.. ..	sabit (sabitet) ; pl., sobit (sobitik) Ko. Sap., sabetet ; pl., sabitik. N., sabitiat = quill.
Porridge	.. ..	kimio (kimiet) ; pl., kimoi (kimoiik) (N.).
Powerful person	..	kauwel (kauwelet) ; pl., kauwelos (kauwelosiek) (D.).
Prostitute	.. ..	kiplelkoñg (kiplelkoñgyat) ; pl., kiplelkoñgis (kiplelkoñgisiek).
Purgative	.. ..	seketet (seketetik) (N.).
Quiver	.. ..	mboñg (mboñgit) ; pl., mboñgis (mboñgisiek) (D.).
		moot (mootiet) ; pl., mootoi (mootōk) (N.).
Rabbit	.. ..	nakutil (nakutilit) ; pl., nakutilis (nakutilisiek) (D.).

[1] = "The-animal-of-the-(ostrich)-feather."

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Rain .. .. rob (robta); pl., robua (robuek) (N.).
Rat .. .. .. muria (muriat); pl., mur (murek) (N.).
Rat (mole) .. .. nturumetyo (nturumetyot); pl., nturumetis (nturumetisiek) (D.).
Razor .. .. kipchâpet-am-metit.
Rhinoceros .. kipkam (kipkamit); pl., kipkamis (kipkamisiek) (D.).
Rib .. .. .. karas (karasta); pl., korosua (korosuek) (N.).
Right (side) .. tae (N.).
Ring (ear) .. .. olaimer (olaimeriat); pl., olaimeres (olaimeresiek) (M.).
kimeitai (kimeitaiit); pl., kimeitaiis (kimeitaiisiek) (N.).
River .. .. ilos (ilosto); pl., ilosua (ilosuek) (D.).
Road .. .. or (oret); pl., ortinua (ortinuek) (N.).
Root .. .. tlkltio (tlkltiot); pl., tlklt (tlkltik) (N.).
Saliva .. .. ñgul (ñgulek) (N.).
Scar .. .. soremyo (soremyet); pl., sorem (soremik) (D.).
Seed .. .. kesua (kesuot); pl., kesui (kesuek) (N.).
Shade, shadow .. tomirimir (tomirimiriet); pl., tomirimirai (tomirimiraiik) (N.).
Sheep .. .. olgine (olgineit); pl., olgineiis (olgineiisiek) (M.).
Sheep (ram) .. enturume (enturumeēt); pl., enturumeēs (enturumeēsiek) (Kikuyu ndurume).
Shield .. .. loñg (loñget); pl., loñgotinua (loñgotinuek) (N.).
Shoulder .. .. rukumbo (rukumbet); pl., rukumbon (rukumbōnik) (D.).
Side .. .. komas (komasta); pl., komosua (komosuek) (N.).
Sister .. .. *See* "Girl."
Skin (human) .. iririo (iririot); pl., iriren (irirēnik) (N.).
Skirt .. .. chepkaiyu (chepkaiyuit); pl., chepkaiyuis (chepkaiyuisiek) (N.).
Skull .. .. takungu (takungut); pl., takungus (takungusiek) (N.).
Smoke .. .. iye (iyet); pl., iyes (iyesiek) (N., iyet*).
Snake .. .. kipsekeer (kipsekeriet); pl., kipsekeres (kipsekeresiek) (D.).
Python .. .. indara (indaret); pl., indoroi (indorōk) (N.).
Puff adder .. kipinchuse (kipinchuset); pl., kipinchuses (kipinchuseeiek) (N.).
Snuff .. .. olaisuk (olaisukit) (M.). Ko. has "oloisiogit."
Son .. .. .. *See* "Child."
Son of .. .. arap (N.).
Song .. .. esingolyo (esingolyoit); pl., esingolyois (esingolyoisiek). M., e-singōlio.
Spear .. .. olmorondoi (olmorondoit); pl., olmorondoiis (olmorondoiisiek) (M.).

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Star .. .. tapoiya (tapoiyat); pl., tapoi (tapoiik) (N.).
Stick .. .. kiruk (kirukto); pl., kirukua (kirukuek) (N.).
Stone .. .. koii (koiita); pl., koii (koiek) (N.).
Sun .. .. .. cheptalil (cheptalilit); pl., cheptalilis (cheptalilisiek) (N.).
Sword .. .. weaek (weaekto); pl., weaekua (weaekuek) (D.).
Tail .. .. wâtut (wâtutiet); pl., wâtutai (wâtutaiik).
Testicle .. .. tolkêlyo (tolkêlyot); pl., tolkêl (tolkêlik) (D.).
Thief .. .. chorin (chorindet); pl., chor (chorik) (N.).
Thigh .. .. kupes (kupesto); pl., kupesua (kupesuek) (N.).
Thing .. .. kii (kiito); pl., tukun (tukuk) (N.).
Thirst .. .. melel (melelda) (N.).
Throat .. .. mook (mookto); pl., mookwa (mookwek) (N.).
Thunder .. .. ilat (ilet); pl., ilot (ilotik) (N.).
Tinder .. .. sasya (sasyat) (D.).
Tobacco .. .. tumato (tumatet); chepkochût (chepkochûtit) (N.).
Tobacco-box .. kiprauwi (kiprauwit); pl., kiprauwis (kiprauwisiek) (N.). Ko. chep-kiraut. Sap., in-giraut = snuff box.
Tongue .. .. olgeche (olgecheit); pl., olgecheiis (olgecheiisiek) (M.).
Tooth .. .. kelda (keldet); pl., kelat (kelek) (N.).
Tree .. .. .. ket (ketit); pl., ket (ketik) (N.).
Udder .. .. sorio (soriet); pl., soroi (soroiik) (D.).
Vagina .. .. kâpin (kâpiniet); pl., kâpin (kâpînik) (N.).
War (raid) .. .. lug (luget); pl., luges (lugesiek) (N.).
Warrior .. .. muren (murenet); pl., muren (murenik) (N.).
Water .. .. engare (engaret); pl., engares (engaresiek). M., engare.
Wife .. .. *See* "Woman."
Wind .. .. usoon (usoonet); pl., usoonai (usoonaiik) (N.).
Witch-doctor .. ponin (ponindet); pl., pon (ponik) (N.).
Witch-doctor (diviner) orkoiyo (orkoiyot); pl., orkoi (orkoiik) (N.).
Woman .. .. korko (korkot); pl., korus (korusiek) (N.).
Barren .. .. soon (soonet); pl., soonotinua (soonotinuek) (N.).
Married .. .. yôsôtio (yôsôtiot); pl., yôsôt (yôsôtik) (N.).
Old .. .. engitog (engitogit); pl., engitogis (engitogisiek). M., engitok = the wife.
Word .. .. lokoiyo (lokoiyot); pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Wrist .. .. walel (waleldo); pl., walelua (waleluek) (N.).
Year .. .. keny (kenyit); pl., kenyis (kenyisiek) (N.).
Zebra .. .. oloitigo (oloitigoit); pl., oloitigois (oloitigoisiek) (M.).

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(*b*) Verbs.

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Verbs are given in their stem (*i.e.* the imperative sing.) only. The following, after a verb, denote that it is a derived stem, and conjugated as described in the Grammar under the heading which is affixed to it:—Pros. = motion hither. Apo. = motion thither. Dat. = dative. Rf. = reflexive. Cs. = causal. Rp. = reciprocal.

Able (be)	imûch (N.).	Copulate	kum (N.).
Abuse	chup (N.).	Cough	lal (N.).
Angry (be)	nereket (N.).	Count	iit (N.).
Answer	iyan (N.).	Cry	rer (N.).
Arise	ñget (N.).	Cut	til (N.).
Arrive	it-un (N.) (Pros.).	Delay	ikaa-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ascend	lany (N.).	Die	*S.* 1. a-me (N.).
Ask	tepen (N.).		*P.* 1. ki-pek-un (N.).
Assist	toret (N.).	Dig	paal (N.).
Be	mi (N.).	Do	yai (N.).
Bear (fruit)	ii (N.).	Drink	iye (N.).
Beat	pir (N.).	Drunk (be)	pôkit (N.).
Beckon	ñgweeh (N.).	Dwell	meny (N.).
Beg	som (N.).	Eat	am (N.).
Blink	mismis (N.).	Enlarge, increase.	tes (N.).
Blow	kuut (N.).		
Bore	parpar (N.).	Enough (be)	yam (N.).
Box ears	rapach (N.).	Extinguish fire	mis (N.).
Break	iri (N.).	Fall	iput (N.).
Break wind	kwot (N.).	Fatigued (be)	ñget (N.).
Breathe	ipus (N.).	Fear	iyuei (N.).
			muen (D.).
Brew	rieeh (N.).	Fight	pir-kei (N.) (Rf.).
Bring	ip-un (N.) (Pros.).	Fill	inyêt (N.).
Build	tech (N.).	Fill with food	ipiiy-en[2] (N.) (Rp.).
Burn (act)	pel (N.).	Filled with food (be)	piiy-en.[2]
Buy	al (N.).	Finish (act)	tar (N.).
Call	kur (N.).	Finished (it is)	ka-ko-pek (N.).
Carry	ip (N.).	Fold	aruny (N.).
Chop	yep (N.).	Follow	isup (N.).
Circumcise	muratan (N.).	Forget	yutie (N.).
Close	ker (N.).	Get	sich (N.).
Come	ichôm-un (M.) (Pros.).		
Cook	kwany (N.).		

[1] *Present*, a-'kooikei.

[2] These two verbs are irregular: *Present*, a-piiy-onyi; *Past*, ka-a-piiy-e. The first is the Cs. of the simple form.

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Give	kôn ; ikôchi (irreg. as in Naṅdi).
Go	ichôm-den (M.) (Apo.).
Grind	ñga (N.).
Growl	moror (N.).
Have	tinye (N.).
Hear	kaa (N.).
Hunt	sagaa
Hurt	am (*e.g.* am-a esikoyoit, *my head hurts me*).
Ill (be)	mian (N.).
Kill	par (N.).
Kindle	inam ; ilal (N.).
Know	sue (D.).
Laugh	rori (N.).
Leap	toromben (N.).
Let alone	met-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Love	cham (N.).
Marry	itun (N.).
Meet	nyor-un (N.) (Proa.).
Open	yat (N.).
Overturn	uwech (N.).
Pour	roñg (N.) ; roñg-un (N.) (Proa.) ; roñg-jin (Dat.).
Prepare	yai-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Put	in-de(n) (N.) (Apo.). konor (N.).
Quiet (be)	sis (N.).
Rain	robon (N.).
Refuse	yesien (N.).
Remain	tepi (N.).
Remember	ipwat (N.).
Remove	nem-un (N.) (Proa.).
Return (act)	iwech (N.) (Ca.).
Return (intrans.)	we-i-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ripen	rur-ien (N.) (Rp.).
Run	lapat (N.).
Say	mwai (N.) ; ile (N.).
Say to	mwa-un (Proa.). mwa-chin (Dat.).
Scowl	injurur (N.).
Search	cheñg (N.).
See	suwen[2] (D.).
Sell	al-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Sew	nap (N.).
Shoot	mwog (N.).
Shut	ker ; rat (N.).
Sleep	ru (N.). ru-ien (Rp.).
Smell (act)	iñgu (N.).
Smell (intrans.)	ñgu-ten (Apo.).
Spit	ñgutut (N.).
Spoil	ñgem (N.).
Stand	tonon (N.).
Steal	chor (N.).
Sweep	ipûch (N.).
Take, hold	nam (N.).
Throw	wer (N.).
Tie	rat (N.).
Travel	ru-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Understand	kas (N.).
Unfasten	yat (N.).
Untie	itiach (N.).
Upset	turur-ten (N.) (Apo.). tum-den (N.) (Apo.).
Wait	kany (N.).
Walk	wend-ote[3] (N.).
Want	mach (N.).
Wash	iuun (N.).
Wash oneself	iuun-gei (Rf.).
Well (be)	sap (N.).
Yawn	ime (N.).
Yell (shout)	wach (N.).

[1] *Present*, a-we-chi-kei.
[2] *Cf.* Sk. sow-, *see.*
[3] *Present*, *S.* 1. a-wend-oti ; *P.* 1. ki-pend-oti.

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197 *Note.*—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (N.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Nandi word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorôbo word. In several cases the Nandi words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorôbo word, *e.g.* "mesundeitu," the Dorôbo for "night," means in Nandi, "darkness when there is no moon." And when, *e.g.*, "paal" is marked (N.) it does not necessarily follow that the Nandi is "paal" (in this case the Nandi is "pal"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Nandi, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Masai.

Examples of Dorôbo. (True Dorôbo in italics.)

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539 Ker-oti *Obirk* si ko-ase *kochongwiet*
They-are-walking-about-looking-at the-Dorôbo that they-may-know the-bush
chepo piik ap *asmeita.*
which-are-of the-people of the-forest.

Ma-ngo-mi *sombieiek* *asmaiuek* koroswe-chu.
Not-and-there-are the-lions (in) the-forests (in) countries-these.

Mi-i *kiasmet* no lony-e *iloito.*
There-is the-bridge which it-crosses the-river.

Ki-ichôn-doi-i *ki-augus* *âlg* *ôpkik.*
We-go that-we-may-hunt with the-dogs.

Ko'lan *olmoruakchet* A-mach-e *simboroiuet* *ko-chôn-us* si ko-ram
And-he-says the-old-man I-want the-girl that-she-comes that she-may-draw
engare.
the-water.

Ki-pendi *asmak*[1] ki-*augus* torset no mony-e ye mi-i
We-go forest we-hunt the-bush-pig which it-dwells where there-
oldamiyoit.
the-olive-tree.

VII.—LIST OF TREES AND PLANTS.

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197 | Dorôbo. | Nandi. | Botanical Name. |
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chelumbut	čwât	
chepkeipet		
chesicheiyot	chesicheiyet	
choruet	choruet	*ficus* sp.
ketit-ap-lnaiik		
kâposwet	serengwet	
kâput-kalial	kâpkiloluet	

[1] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Ravine Dorôbo (*Man*, 1903, 21), the phrase "kibe asmak," lit. "we go to forest," is given for "hunt."

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
keliet	keliot	*acacanthera Schimperi.*
kesainet	serkutiet	
ketuyuwet	martit	
kipeichekwet	siriat	
kipkomotet	kipkoakosit	
kipserpuet	kipsepuet	*tilia* sp.
kiptililiet	kipuimetyet	
kiseruet	kuseruet	*sedum* sp.
koropanyat	kormanyat	
kuriot	kuriot	
kwimereryet	chepsañgalnet	
laropat	ket-ē-ka	
lemeiyuet	lamaiyuet	*zimenia americana.*
mêchet	soiyet	
marorto	sakomwet	
masaita		
mindeyuet	masiririet	*polygonum senegalense.*
moiyuet	cheptangolik	parasite, tree-rope.
momonyat	momonyot	*rubus rigidus.*
mukupchot	lepekwet	*dracæna* sp.
ndorokyat		
nganasyat	chepkeleliet	
nyaklet	kipsutiet	parasite, tree-rope.
olchapalait	chepltet	
oldamiyoit	emdit	*olea chrysophylla.*
ororuet	teldet	*ficus* sp.
pôpônet	sikaiket	
porôwet	silipchet	*dombeya* sp.
rêreulet	kuresiet	*euphorbia candelabrum.*
rosopeiyet	leltonget	*abutilon indicum.*
saptet	tarakwet	*podocarpus* sp.
sâsuriet	sasuriet	*musa enscte.*
seet	seet	
senetwet	senetwet	*cassia didymobotrya.*
señgseñgwet	sosciyat	
sestuet	katet ; sertuet	*acacia robusta.*
sitotwet	sitotyot	
soboitit	simotuet	*ficus* sp.
sosoiyat	tekat	*arundinaria alpina.*
sumbeiyuet	sumbeiyuet	

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Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*Juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*Acanthus arboreus.*
tenetwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*Emilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorōbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsiktsin (Kipsiktsindet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsiktsisk). il-Kakesant.
Māsae, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Mee (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kapcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorōbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorōbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorōbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Māsae to the Bantu " savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = " the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning " boy."

[2] For physical types, *see* Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*kesy*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [16] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[16] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sosoiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Meteitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tinet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkolelac (I), Kapsituni (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group N° I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipungei, and Kipsan, three brothers; N° II by Arap Minin; and N° III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sosoiyo. The Ain ap Tinet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Korucu who lives at Kipkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area N° V is held by the Kapcepouaita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepouaita who live at Ndoroton. Above this is area N° VI, held by the Kaptokoni, represented by Korionoi who lives at Upper Sosoiyo in the forest. And finally N° VII is the easternmost area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkou in the forest and Lower Ngatepkou outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamnasutik, represented by Totē; Kamereua, represented by Nekoi; Kapkorongos, represented by Kilanya; Kapkimancari, represented by Arap Euni; Kapkipopo, represented by Kipirec; and Kapkuikoi, represented by Sulio[21]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of N° VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkolelac II. Family Kapsituni IV. Family Kamuru	Clan Moi.
III. Family Kapsingira	Clan Kipieken.
V. Family Kapcepouaita	Clan Kipamui.
VI. Family Kaptokoni	Clan Kapsekoi.

[21] The prefix *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e. g. *Kapsituni* is named from *Situni* the wife of Arap Minin's father's father.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
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albeit with dialectical variations, is common to the rest of Kavirondo (except the hill tribes of Mount Debasien (Kadama) and Mount Moroto), they have a language of their own.

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WANDEROBO MEASUREMENTS, TAKEN AT KOKONGOA.

Name.	Apparent Age.	Head. L.	Head. B.	Head. C.I.	Head. Average C.I.	Height.	Remarks.
1. Nyatoko ...	20	18·1	13·2	—		148·2	
2. Letoko ...	20	18·2	12·7	—		166·7	
3. Langole ...	17	18·2	13·4	—		156·5	
4. Lekupon ...	50	18·9	12·9	—	71·4	158·9	Women.
5. Kimeno ...	40	17·6	13·0	—		159·0	
6. Narutt ...	30	18·8	13·5	—		159·9	
7. Masoro ...	30	18·7	13·4	—		151·7	
8. Kimeno ...	6	18·00	12·4	66·60		134·0	
9. Masoro ...	5	17·20	12·6	73·25	71·02	126·0	Young Females.
10. Kiyonga ...	25	—	—	—	—	174·6	
11. Chavy ...	30	—	—	—	—	171·2	
12. Lomo ...	32	—	—	—	—	177·4	
13. Ngorok ...	28	—	—	—	—	165·4	Men.—owing to chignon not possible to measure heads.
14. Lokuja ...	35	—	—	—	—	170·8	
15. Kamkongolo ...	50	—	—	—	—	160·9	
16. Napuanut ...	45	—	—	—	—	163·4	

Average 148-2.
Average 166-26.

No navel measurements taken on this occasion.

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Sample Vocabulary.

English.	Dorobo.	Karamojong.
Earth	Alup.	Alup.
Death	Batlugutak.	Ekoto - a dead person.
Spear	Ilos.	Akwara.
Marriage	Bugsten.	Kaat.
Village	Chuwo.	Are.
Ox	Chiok.	Ekong.
Cubl	Chithwo.	Ekhutorot.
Monkey	Chwt.	Ekhoekhkhot.
Tree	Duck.	Egitoi.
Elephant	Duba.	Ekoss.
Meat	Emm.	Aring.
Ant (black)	Eyeth.	Emukunyo.
Hill	Futara.	Emukuru.
Rock	Guass.	Emoru.
Bird	Gwa.	Nyikun.
Hut	Ho (Yakai)	Akhayi.
Fight (to)	Iwintan.	Kijiste.
Shield	Kewn.	Asporai.
Grass	Kun.	Nginya.
Sky	Kyalis.	Akudy.
Snake	Nyep.	Amun.
Valley	Sabo.	Apak.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

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Sample Vocabulary—(contd.).

English.	Dorobo.	Karamojong.
Blood	Se.	Akkat.
Hut	Okhut.	Khaiyet.
Needle	Tekek.	Amukat.
Rain	Wott.	Akiru.
River	Yongaleko.	Angolol.
Fish	Yokoiya.	Ekhoilio.
Hoe	Ekbere.	Ewekeke.

J
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THE DODOTHO.

The Dodotho resemble the Labwor and the Wanderobo in appearance and dress. Their country, like that of the Jie, is that of the plains; and, like the Jie and the Karamojong, they are "cattle people" and possess enormous herds.

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The Village.—The Dodotho village (*ure*)—Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2—resembles that of the Wanderobo, except that there is but one outer stockade (a very strong one), and the interior stockades round the hut groups are to a greater or lesser extent omitted. There is also a special compound for cattle. The huts, too, are purged and well made, and the entrances are larger than those of the Wanderobo.

J
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The purging[1] of the hut walls is done with clay and is rendered with cow-dung. A well-built hut has a little portico to the door and two upright supports, also purged and rendered, are placed in front of this (Text-figs. 21, 21A and 21B).

J
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621

Each village is the home of a paterfamilias, his wives, sons and grandsons, and their wives and children. The villages occur in widely separated groups, each group being occupied by a section of the tribe. The sections are exogamous and non-totemic.

J
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Clothing and Adornment.—Little need be said under this head, for what is true of the Labwor is also true of the Dodotho in this respect. It may be mentioned, however, that the people are very fond of ornaments of all sorts, and not infrequently one sees old men whose heads are surrounded by a circlet of sheeps teeth (Pl. XXV, Fig. 2).

J
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Food.—The essential food of the Dodotho is blood, milk and meat. The first two they swallow raw. Now that they are growing grain this is eaten too. Very frequently it is mixed with fresh blood taken from live cattle bled at intervals for this purpose, or from a sheep or a goat, the body cavity of which is used when the animal is killed as a receptacle into which the warm blood is allowed to flow. Several kinds of grain have been introduced, but millet is by far the commonest grown. An attempt on the part of the District Commissioner in 1920 to introduce bananas proved a failure, owing to the long droughts from which the country suffers.

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[1] "Purging" is an old-fashioned technical term for a process of smearing the inside of fireplaces with cow-dung. Its modern equivalent is "rendering."

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D 174 144

Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumba and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost on similar lines to those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumba and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumba as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the masters of the forests ..."

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/59/ 66. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Keriita, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In this Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect isolated from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose this particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by their tribe in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. As far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Substantives are given in the form with the article and verbs are shown as stems only.

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NANDI FL13

/59 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
one	agenge	akenge	
two	oii	oieng'	
three	thumuk	somok	
four	ang'wan	ang'wan	ong'wan
five	mut	mut	(imyet)
six	lot	illo	(ille)
seven	nabishana		naapishana
eight	isiit	sisiit	isyet
nine	naudo		naudo
ten	taman	taman	tomon
twelve	taman ag oii	taman ak oieng'	
hundred	ib		ip
man	chiito, or ng'etat	chiito	
woman	chibagat		
women	oruzhik	korusiek	
warriors	murenik	murenik	il-muran
girls	tiibik	tipik	
elder, old man	boiyondet	poiyot	
leopard	melildo	melildo (Kipsigis)	
lion	ngetundo	ng'etundo	
elephant	kiruobit		
forest pig	tumda	tumda	
goat	artet	artet	
ram	mingit	mengit	
heifer	iyuoget		
cow	tullondit	iyuoget	
bullock	hito	eito	
rain	bwaget		
sun	athita	asista	
food	imdit	omdit	
hut	kot	kaita, kot	
tree	ketit	ketit	
war	luget	luket	

/59 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
witchdoctor	bonindet	ponindet	(ol-oibon)
Masai	iguobshondit	ipuapehot	
Kamba	ilong'u		'l-oo-ng'u (the stinkers)
Kikuyu	igue, kugwii		il-kokoyo
Dorobo	ogiek (pl.)	okiek (pl.)	
Swahili	Kong'aiek (pl.)		
European	ojuju (pl. ijuju)		'l-ojuju (the hairy ones)/60/
come	nyon	nyo	
go	ui	ui	
follow	nyur		
buy	ol	al (ol)	
eat	nuth		
want	moth	mach	
tie	rat	rat	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Dorobo words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with untrained minds; they are so apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but smothered under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Dorobo to some other dialect if such a relationship exists in fact.

67. And that, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Dorobo people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. Just what these people were we cannot yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being something other than a Bantu-speaking tribe, and Nilo-Hamite of a Nandi type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be unsafe to base our findings on their language, but if we permit ourselves to talk of Bantu immigrations from the east and Nilo-Hamite

VOCABULARY OF ELGONYI, OGIEK OR OGIEK PEOPLE.

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Arm	Kwoto	Hunt	Sagse
Arrows	Kibungus	Iron	Kagurok
Baboon	Kumbukut	(To) Kill game	Kagusa
Bad	Kolyo	Knife	Wuut
Bundu	Obiluriet	I know	Kamak
Beard	Ulwoseyuk	I don't know	Kaata
Bee	Lotorikiok	Leg	Ndokit
Bird	Ulgwonyot	Leopard	Abolyetkuin
Blood	Olokuk	Lion	Sumbit
Bone	Karwot	Man (old)	Pamongo
Bow	Isugha	" (young)	Dwogunuk
Brother	Kotiebo	Meat	Kwonde
Brass wire	Tungait	Mother	Kaginga
Buffalo	Kiborokiot	Mouth	Kakapait
Cap (made of skins)	Ngiroit	Mtama (grain)	Kibungurok
Child (male)	Obiaswoswost	Nails (finger or toe)	Kiokiokobo
Child (female)	Obkiamagot	Nose	Kwangwongda
Circle	Kaiolingot	Pus gumbo, Mucopus	Kibkungot
Cloth	Ngwoiot	Penis	Mooyiot
Colobus monkey	Soiot	Poison (for arrows)	Kokuok
Come	Iskuuse	Rain	Ookuk
Cooking pot	Kiot	Rhinoceros	Kipiemet
Cow	Kwowok	River	Ilotu
Cowrie	Umgwik	Sky	Chomongoo
Dog	Ogbin	Sorcerer	Mollin
Ear	Ushoiot	Sheep	Ekiwomet
Earth (red, for paint)	Gwongwyot	Silver	Sisiwongwok
Elephant	Emejoi	Snake	Tiaskipsowok (Snake is Kwoli root for great)
Eye	Lebiok	Spear	Kimwot
Father	Tata	Stick	Sikwiet
Fingers	Magwagwuk	Stomach	Ngiloit
Fire	Kwaiist	Stool	Chorigait
Firewood	Oyowiok	Sun	Tungiyot
Foot	Kokpiliok	Supreme Being	Kobo-ribbis
Forest	Samoito	Sword or steel	Wumkin
Giraffe	Timugunjoyo	Teeth	Mosomok
Go	Iskundoo	Tobacco	Kipomdik
Goat	Kibwolyoimet	Tongue	Kokiet
Good	Singbi	Tree	Kokkwot
Grass	Sotoiliot	Water	Pokot
Hand	Kokoito	Wimbi (Eleusine grain)	Ngwomuk
Hair	Okmuik	Woman (old)	Mwotkit
Hartebeest	Kapwoiet	" (young)	Tirik
Head	Kokapyuk	Zebra	Okoligait
Hide (of an animal)	Ulmiot		
Hill	Okkiok		
Honey	Iskot		
House	Kwothwot		

IP: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FLA Dorobo FL6 Masai FL12 Nandi FL12

D M N 192 197

—	Numerals as Expressed in Kamba.	Numerals as Written.	Numerals as Written (Swahili).	Forms.	Notes.

FLA Dorobo FL4
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13.

DMN 190- 197

—	Numerals as Expressed in Kamba.	Lessons or Exercises.	Sentences or Words (Detached).	Nouns.	Remarks.
Mouth					
Ear					
Hand					
Foot					
Eye					
Nose					
Tooth					
Tongue					
Head					
Hair					
Beard					
Neck					
Breast					
Belly					
Navel					
Back					
Arm					
Elbow					
Leg					
Knee					
Calf of leg					
Shin					
Ankle					
Heel					
Toe					
Finger					
Thumb					
Nail					
Skin					
Flesh					
Bone					
Blood					
Heart					
Liver					
Intestines					
Penis					
Vagina					
Milk					
Urine					
Excrement					
Sweat					
Fat					
Sun					
Moon					
Star					
Rain					
Cloud					
Fog					
Lightning					
Thunder					
Wind					
Fire					
Water					
Stone					
Earth					
Sand					
Mud					
Ashes					
Smoke					
Tree					
Wood					
Leaf					
Root					
Bark					
Fruit					
Seed					
Flower					
Grass					
Thorn					
Gum					
Honey					
Bee					
Wax					
Ant					
Fly					
Mosquito					
Flea					
Louse					
Tick					
Bug					
Spider					
Scorpion					
Centipede					
Caterpillar					
Snail					
Worm					
Snake					
Lizard					
Frog					
Crocodile					
Tortoise					
Fish					
Bird					
Egg					
Feather					
Wing					
Claw					
Horn					
Tail					
Hair					
Skin					
Ox					
Cow					
Calf					
Bull					
Heifer					
Goat					
Sheep					
Dog					
Cat					
Lion					
Leopard					
Hyena					
Jackal					
Elephant					
Rhinoceros					
Giraffe					
Buffalo					
Zebra					
Antelope					
Hare					
Rat					
Mouse					
Monkey					
Baboon					
Man					
Woman					
Child					
Boy					
Girl					
Father					
Mother					
Brother					
Sister					
Husband					
Wife					
Son					
Daughter					
Grandfather					
Grandmother					
Grandson					
Granddaughter					
Uncle					
Aunt					
Nephew					
Niece					
Cousin					
Friend					
Enemy					
Chief					
Slave					
Master					
Servant					
Smith					
Hunter					
Herdsman					
Cultivator					
Potter					
Basket-maker					
Weaver					
Tailor					
Carpenter					
Doctor					
Rain-maker					
Witch					
Sorcerer					
Dance					
Song					
Drum					
Horn					
Flute					
Bow					
Arrow					
Poison					
Spear					
Sword					
Knife					
Shield					
Axe					
Hoe					
Pot					
Gourd					
Basket					
Mat					
Skin					
Bed					
Stool					
Fire					
Smoke					
Ashes					
Water					
Milk					
Meat					
Fat					
Honey					
Beer					
Food					
Cooked					
Raw					
Roasted					
Boiled					
Fried					
Salt					
Pepper					
Sugar					
Tobacco					
Snuff					
Pipe					
Smoke					
Cloth					
Bead					
Ornament					
Ring					
Bracelet					
Necklace					
Anklet					
Money					
Rupee					
Cowrie					
Trade					
Buy					
Sell					
Price					
Cheap					
Dear					
Market					
Village					
House					
Door					
Window					
Roof					
Floor					
Wall					
Fence					
Path					
Road					
Bridge					
Boat					
Canoe					
Paddle					
Oar					
Sail					
Rope					
Net					
Trap					
Pit					
Hole					
Ditch					
Water-course					
Well					
Spring					
River					
Lake					
Sea					
Island					
Mountain					
Hill					
Valley					
Plain					
Forest					
Bush					
Tree					
Wood					
Fire					
Charcoal					
Ashes					
Smoke					
Light					
Darkness					
Day					
Night					
Morning					
Noon					
Evening					
Midnight					
Yesterday					
To-day					
To-morrow					
Year					
Month					
Week					
Hour					
Minute					
Second					
Time					
Long time					
Short time					
Long ago					
Now					
Soon					
Sky					
Heaven					
Earth					
Hell					
Spirit					
God					
Devil					
Good					
Bad					
Big					
Small					
Long					
Short					
Broad					
Narrow					
Thick					
Thin					
Deep					
Shallow					
Heavy					
Light					
Hard					
Soft					
Rough					
Smooth					
Sharp					
Blunt					
Wet					
Dry					
Hot					
Cold					
Warm					
Cool					
Sweet					
Bitter					
Sour					
Salt					
Fresh					
Rotten					
Clean					
Dirty					
Beautiful					
Ugly					
Old					
New					
Young					
Strong					
Weak					
Brave					
Coward					
Wise					
Foolish					
Clever					
Stupid					
Lazy					
Industrious					
Quick					
Slow					
Rich					
Poor					
Free					
Slave					
Alive					
Dead					
Sick					
Well					
Lame					
Blind					
Deaf					
Dumb					
Mad					
Drunk					
Hungry					
Thirsty					
Tired					
Rested					
Happy					
Sad					
Angry					
Pleased					
Afraid					
Ashamed					
Proud					
Humble					
Kind					
Cruel					
Truthful					
Liar					
Thief					
Murderer					
Adultery					
Marriage					
Divorce					
Dowry					
Law					
Court					
Judge					
Witness					
Oath					
Punishment					
Fine					
Prison					
Death					
Burial					
Grave					
Ghost					
Spirit					
Offering					
Sacrifice					
Prayer					
Blessing					
Curse					
Oath					
Promise					
Lie					
Truth					
Secret					
Friend					
Enemy					
War					
Peace					
Fight					
Quarrel					
Reconciliation					
Agreement					
Disagreement					
Meeting					
Council					
Chief					
Elder					
Warrior					
Spy					
Messenger					
Guide					
Stranger					
Visitor					
Host					
Guest					
Feast

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

D MN 192 197

D 114 101 614

NOTE.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neumann (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Ewaso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mageyudo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Mau.

D 192

Mr. Neumann collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neumann's vocabulary of the language of the Mageyudo :—

Arrow	Lagh.	Child (of either sex)	Loyo.
Bad	Entari.	Boy	Kuti.
Bird	Legui.	Come	Yata.
Blood	Sago.	Cooking pot	Dure.
NOTE.—In Lur language sago means bone; in The-Lur bone is shego.		Cow	Gwis.
Bone	Metcho.	Dog	Kabo.
Bow	Pako.	Elephant	Sogomd.
Buffalo	Piko.	Father	Abusi.
		Fire	Ilu.

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Foot	Mídyi.	Man (young)	Ngurua.
Forest	Eisi.	Meat	Yoba.
Giraffe	Jongitoki.	Mother	Iyata.
Go	Thata.	Poison	Moriya.
Goat	Ó.	(The tree from which arrow poison is made is called ol moriju in Masai.)	
Gourd	Erimbobaaba.	Rhinoceros	Orm.
Grass	Ekile.	River	Ngoi.
Hand	Upa.	Snake	Morbat.
Hair	Lúin.	Spear	Tor.
Hide	Hregat.	Stomach	Ira.
Hill	Ki.	Sun	Kisa.
Honey	Soka.	Supreme Being	Tiori.
House	Ai.	Sword (same as knife).	
Knife	Sha.	Tree	Kolon.
I know	Ngkona.	Water	Anta.
(The Lau word for know is ngwan.)		Zebra	Loitika.
I do not know	Nakakua.	(Masai for zebra is ol-oisigu.)	
Lion	Arabo.		
Man (old)	Bulyaishi.		

C. W. HOBLEY.

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[P 44]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *muryu*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[239] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morōg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
• [192] aija to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereré). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandoróbo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in [171] hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):[1] 301 • 192 ol orowíl, here liliód; ol eleschua, here called the same; eń gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here eńguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol beniĕt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haliĕt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschiĕt, tamagīg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeĭ e murt, here es segeńgeĭ endet to issat; es segeńgeĭ ol barańgasch, /253/ here es segeńgeĭ to lubaog; es segeńgeĭ en dagule, here es segeńgeĭ to n dagulet, and the es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet, here es segeńgeĭ to eĕ.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1. [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

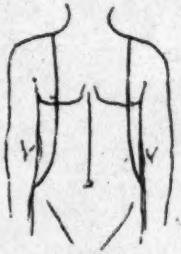

Fig. 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

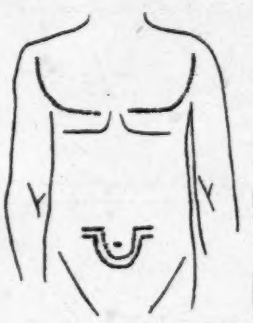

Fig. 88.

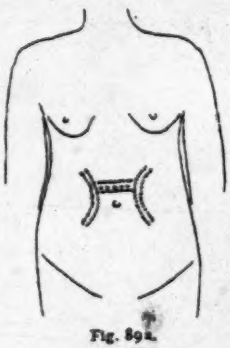

Fig. 89a.

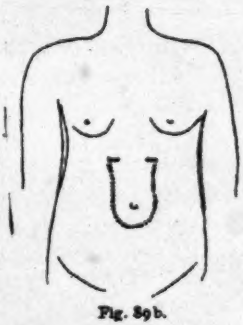

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eñ gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors, but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
• 192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma = sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ạhotu; chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema = sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuṅgurgue; dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu or ajŏg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damŏg; lues, en ebitiro. Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever, kaẽsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibŏg; ascarids,
752 menāna. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted. On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandorobo, the midwife gascha-hatta-hawa-kerint.

18: Merker--339 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/256 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Asá speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tatoga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

174 197 192 When the Asá migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tatoga as livestock nomads and the Saoska as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tatoga people. The intercourse that arose between all three may have brought about the adoption of Tatoga words into the Asá language and the transformation of Asá words into a form resembling Tatoga. This process advanced further when the Asá were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Tatoga and Saoska, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tatogaization of the Asá words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tatoga language.

177 197 192 Now, since the Asá to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Masai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

/256 cont./

802 [801] The Wandoróbo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /257/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey or -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, [171] [192] they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers those that we became familiar with above for the Masai, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As the people stated, all Asá and also the other Wandoróbo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not [439] [192] familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also annexed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among [192] the Asá a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Tatoga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

1 = kindé.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = χlam.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = sămă or sămăg.	Index finger, middle finger, and next finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = hă or hăg.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = mŭt.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = la.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = imba.	
8 = isiĕt.	
9 = endurudji.	
10 = aguṅgan.	
11 = aguṅgan kinde.	
12 = aguṅgan χlam.	
13 = aguṅgan a sama'	(or aguṅgan a samag).
20 = ditím.	

/257 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only sengetok for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sätisch or käratisch. The first, kinde satisch; the second, ñlam satisch; the /258/ third satisch sama'; the fourth, satisch hag; the fifth, satisch mut, or kinde karatisch, ñlam a karatisch. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely, in their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga ñlam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 [224] For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one of the month, leheg tagarawasch, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sauaschasch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirahōg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid saduisch.
Twilight: tara.
Night: e ramesá.

/258 cont./

805 Today is called letíl or letúla, tomorrow lápe or lábe, yesterday
• 192 aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mílek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those
191 that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that
796 they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uēd. In songs God is also frequently
(821) called the black God, Uēd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uēd, for the same reasons as
782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uēd sigima gemischin; for children, Uēd nge hawa; for wives, Uēd nge mai; for meat, Uēd nge aga; for honey, Uēd nge agung; for food, Uēd nge e haiug; for health if
775 one is sick, Uēd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul --
[171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

101 [124] of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balañgai	Il-Balañga
2. Ol-Kinyalañgati	Il-Kinyalañgat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro [3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added 101 197 incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo [4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their [614] relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the [193] type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve. [4] *Il-Aramanik.*

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigi*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósirõ*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunõno*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunõno* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitokorda ; Il-Kisangara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuydni* family of the *Il-Mõlelyan* clan (Hollis).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want " and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
1	Kan	Ôbo; *m.* Nabo; *f.*	Abodi	Alenge	Epei	Obolgô	Abolêgo	Kindel
2	Laba	Aare; *m.* Âre; *f.*	Arrega	Aeig *or* Oleig	Ngare	Ogheig	Aan[1]	Laam
3	Sodeh	Okuni; *m.* Uni; *f.*	Guniggo	Somok	Ngoni	Somok	Sômok	Somak
4	Afar	Oolgwan; *m.* Olgwan; *f.*	Angon	Alagwan	Nômwon	Alagwan	Alagwan	Ongwon
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut	Ekan	Mût	Mokt	Imyet
6	Leh	Ilo	Ilo	Ilo *or* Ekaal	Ekaal kapei	Mut ngô[2] Obolgô	Êla	Ilô
7	Todobô	Ospishana; *m.* Nasipishana; *f.*	Attarit	Kullo Tinap	Ekaal gare	Mut ngô Ogheig	Saal[3]	Nasipishana
8	Sided	Iyet	Ottôgoni	Siolit	Egnigwan	Mut ngô Somok	Iyet	Iyet
9	Sagal	Ôudo; *m.* Naudo; *f.*	Ottongun	Sobol	Ekan buswon	Mut ngô Alagwan	Rudoro[4]	Rudoro
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Mut ngô Taman	Taman	Tomon

The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *g* is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] *Siz, seven, eight* and *nine* in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Beech).
[3] *Sal* is also used by the Masai for *nine* (p. xv, introduction to Merker's *Die Masai*).
[4] The Masai also use *Rudoro* for *nine*.

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	Masai.[a]	*Nandi.*[a]	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Goat	En-gine	Ngocorjet	Ñgarárie	Olerit
Sheep	Ol-karr	Kochiriet	Kojirie	Haau
Ox	Ol-kitéñg	Teta	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aina	Eut	Eeie	Moñgo
Foot	En-geju	Keido	Keida	Yeéh
Nose	En-guma	Serut	Seru[1]	Etinga
Head	El-lughunya	Metit	Metit	Sogo[2]
Man	Ol-tuñgani	Chilto	Chilch	Kinde
Woman	E-ñgoróyóni	Korket	Karaka	Maito
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Úo
Knife	Eng-alem	Chepkeswai	Silélé	Pandeu
Bow	Eng-áuo	Kwanget	Kueanda	Matu
Arrow	Em-bae	Kótet	Kâte	Gare
Sword	Ol-alem	Rotuet	Rótue	Joo
Sun	Eng-oloñg	Asista	Asíta	Ájit
Moon	Ol-apa	Aruwet	Araâue	Leheuk
Day	En-dáma	Ékonet	Fetinda	Ajóta
Night	En-gewárie	Kembaut	Lañgat	Eramesa
God	Eng-ai	Asis	Tororéta	Oyet

[a] The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Zebra	Ol-oitigō; *s.* Il-oitigōshi; *p.*	Sigiriet-ap-tim; *s.* Sigirišk-ap-tim; *p.*	Sikirie; *s.*[1] Sirkon; *p.*	Shijio
Elephant	Ol-tōme; *s.* Il-tōmia; *p.*	Pēliot; *s.* Pēlek; *p.*	Pēliandee; *s.* Pēlek; *p.*	Fánaku
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; *s.* Il-kondin; *p.*		Orobout; *s.* Iroboutisie; *p.*	Naboru
Giraffe	Ol-mēut; *s.* Il-mēuti; *p.*	Ingotiot; *s.* Ingotinik; *p.*	Tiangányiet; *s.* Taanganyo; *p.*	Giáiesuk
Rhinoceros	E-muny; *s.* I-muny; *p.*	Kipsirichet; *s.* Kipsirichaiik; *p.*	Nyiee; *s.* Nyiooeie; *p.*	Ndovuk[2]
Hippopotamus	Ol-makau; *s.* Il-makain; *p.*	Makasta; *s.* Makasuek; *p.*	Makaita; *s.* Makai; *p.*	Dalo[3]
Lion	Ol-ñgatuny; *s.* Il-ñgatunyo; *p.*	Ñgetundo; *s.* Ñgetunyik; *p.*	Ñgetunda; *s.* Ñgetuinyik; *p.*	Merok *or* Majok
Buffalo	Ol-osō[b]wan; *s.* Il-osō[b]wani; *p.*	Soet; *s.* Soen; *p.*	Saie[4]; *s.* Saieeni; *p.*	Shódahat
Wildebeest	O-engat; *s.* I-engatin; *p.*		Engaita; *s.* Engatin; *p.*	Engat[4]

[1] Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-sibiria, I-sirkon.*
[2] Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.
[3] Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi, and *Mósiro* there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The *Aramanik* words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and *Mósiro*. [193]

In the *Mósiro* tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

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192 the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise
197 and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The *Mósiro*, despite their laxity in the use of their own
193 article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p. xxii of the introduction to *The Suk; their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 52 of the text of that work.)

193 197 A COMPARISON BETWEEN SOME OF THE SIMPLER VERBAL FORMS IN MASAI, NANDI AND *MÓSIRO*

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*
I follow	A-suj nanu	A-'sup-i ane	A-mateŋ (ane') [1]
Thou followest	I-suj iye	I-sup-i inye	A-mateŋ inyet
He follows	E-suj ninye	I-'sup-i inendet	A-mateŋ anet
We follow	Ki-suj iyook	Ki-sup-i achek	Ki-mateŋ eechek
You follow	I-suj-nuju 'ndae	O-'sup-i okwek	O-mateŋ aakwek
They follow	E-suj ninje	Isup-i ichek	'mataŋ eechek
I do not follow	M-a-suj	M-a-'sup-i	M-amateŋ
Thou followest not	M-i-suj	Me-i-'sup-i	M-amateŋ
He does not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	M-amateŋ
We do not follow	Mi-ki-suj	Ma-ki-sup-i	Mi-mateiyu
Ye do not follow	M-i-suj-usuju	Mo-o-'sup-i	Amo-mateŋ
They do not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	Mai-mateŋ
I do not know	M-a-iyólo-u	Maonget	Mangun (ane')
Thou knowest not	M-i-'yólo-u	Minget	Mingun inyet
He does not know	M-e-iyólo-u	Minget inne	Mangun anet
We do not know	Mi-ki-'yólo-u	Mokinget	Makingun eechek
Ye do not know	M-i-'yólo-lo'	Nenyu mwonget	Moongun aakwek
They do not know	M-e-iyólo-u	Menget icek	Maingun eechek
I followed	A-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-a-'sup	Ara-mateŋ
Thou followest	I-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-i-'sup	Ara-mateŋ
He followed	E-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Aré-ko-mateŋ
We followed	Ki-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-ki-sup	Aré-ke-mateŋ
You followed	I-tu-suj-usuju-tuá [2]	Ki-o-'sup	Ar'-oo-mateŋ
They followed	E-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Ara-ke-mateŋ

[1] May be, and often is, omitted.

The negative present of the Nandi verb "to know" as conjugated above is taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to Sir Claud Hollis's *Masai Language and Folklore*. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi tenses is derived from
127 Hollis's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mósiro* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are submitted with diffidence. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mósiroi* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the conjoint pronoun. Very few *Mósiro* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effort to reduce the *Mósiro* tenses to some form of lucidity entailed more work than I should
128 have believed possible. The results are submitted for what they may be worth—I cannot vouch for their accuracy.

[2] Or I-tu-suj-u-tuá?

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Nouns in Dorobo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *mosyon*, [a] warrior, and *masyon-ot*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -*t* (-*d*); pl., -*k*. Words of both language are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *sopiko**. When the Dorobo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorobo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Masai words are marked thus: † (*ingerait*†).

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorobo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Timboroa hill, above Molosoni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kipchepkendi and Kimalilo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorobo call themselves Okiek, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiek, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Masai they are called Ol-Torróbôni, pl. Il-Torróbo (fem. En-Dorróbôni, pl. In-Dorróbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorobo. The meaning of the name Okiek (stem Okí-) is unknown; the Masai name Torróbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropo*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorobo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not. Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorobo, I have used the latter throughout this paper.

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorobo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 31, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorobo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mogogodo," who live near the E-Unano Ngiro, and who are thought to be Dorobo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorobo language may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Masai, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorobo. The earliest account of the Dorobo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandorobbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

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VI.—Language.

197 The language of the Dorobo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorobo language. Masai (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

• 193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Sir A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *b* is often inclined to a *p*-sound: in such cases it is written *b*; *b* sometimes inclines to a *w*-sound. There is in some words a lateral *s*-sound, here written *sz*, for which Nandi has *s*; the lateral *ts*-sound which Hollis heard in Tsogoyiku appears here as *dz*[1]; I could hear no trace of the replacement of *p* by *s* which he also heard. (S.H., p. xxviii.)

[194] *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) sing., -i, -ti, -ki, -ni, -ri; (ii) pl., -ik, -tik, -ik, -nik.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i.)

When the sing. endings are -et, -(i)ot, the pl. ends in -es-ik:—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*bird*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*cloud*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*earthworm*

(ii.)

When the sing. endings are -it, -et, -ot, -(i)ot, the pl. ends in -i-ik:—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*buffalo*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*beast*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*spear*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*arrow*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*kidney*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*hair on*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*face map*

[1] Though occasionally *ss* is heard.

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(iii.)

When the sing. ends in -et, the pl. may end in -da-isk :—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(iv.)

When the sing. ends in -et, -et, -it, or -ot, the pl. may end in -ek or -ik :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(v.)

(a) When the sing. ends in -et, -a-et, -yuet, the pl. may end in -da-ik :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(b) Sing. in -et may have pl. in -da-ek :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(vi.)

When the sing. ends in -a-et, and, in one or two cases, -et, the pl. may be in -da-isk (-aa-usk) :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*deformed person*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*thigh*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*country*

(vii.)

When the sing. ends in -et, the pl. is often in -ik (for -ei-ik) :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] For kirsh-it.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(viii.)

● 193 The sing. in -et, -let, is sometimes followed by a pl. -ai-ik, as in Nandi :—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
rotion	rotion-et	rotion-ai	rotion-ai-ik	*fore-arm*
wütut	wütut-let	wütut-ai	wütut-ai-ik	*tail, broom*

(ix.)

When the sing. ends in -ta, -to, -la, or -do, the pl. generally ends in -u-ek :—

rob	rob-ta	rob-u[1]	rob-uk[1]	*rain*
ai	ai-ta	ai-u	ai-uk	*calf of leg*
mulil	mulil-to	mulil-u	mulil-uk	*leopard*
mutalg	mutalg-da	mutalg-u	mutalg-uk	*cheek*
tutulg	tutulg-do	tutulg-u	tutulg-uk	*heel*

(x.)

The following, as in Nandi, are irregular :—

chil	chil-to	pürch	pü-k	*man*
tie	tiep-to	tip-in	tip-ik	*girl*
tuny	ti-ta	tich	tu-ka	*cow*
kolg	kolg-da	kolg-in[2]	kolg-ik	*eye*
tokoch	tokoi-ta[3]	tokôch	tokôch-ik	*face*
mil	mil-t	mo-o-tin-u	mo-o-tin-uk	*fire*
omit	om-dit	omit-ung	omit-ungik	*food*
mulk	mulk-to	mu-on	mu-in-ik	*skin*
kol	kol-do	kol-ion	kol-iek	*leg*
kwon	kwon-et	kwon-u	kwon-u-iek	*centre*
kät	kät-it	kot-u	kot-uk	*neck.*

Adjectives.—The pl. of adjectives is mostly formed by the suffix -ech or -ach, as in Kony :—

Bad, ya ; pl. yäch.
Black, tuiuh ; pl. tuen.
Cold, kaitit ; pl. koititech.
Dirty, samin ; pl. sominech.
Few, lgerinech.
ma-ti-a
Fierce, korom ; pl. koromech.
Good, mlyo ; pl. mlyach.
Hard, uiyuh ; pl. uiyuyech.
Heavy, nyigin ; pl. nyiginech.
High, long, koi ;-pl. koien.
Hot, purke ; pl. purkeech.
Large, ô ; pl echen.
Little, miniñg ; pl miñgechen.
Many, much, chañg.
Other, ake ; pl alak.
Red, pirir ; pl. pirirech.
Sick, mioni ; pl. miondos.
Unripe, tuon ; pl. tuonech.
White, lêl ; pl. lêlach.

[1] The pl. suffixes -u, -uk are shortened forms of -ung, -ungik.
[2] The Nandi plural is konyen (konyeh).
[3] For tokoch-ta, since both in Nandi and Dorobo, ch- before certain consonants becomes i- with great regularity.

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Pronouns.—(i.) Personal:—

Used absolutely.		Object: verbal suffix.	
Ano, *I*	Acheek, *we*	-an, *me*	-ech, *us*
Inye, *thou*	Akwek, *you*	-in, *thee*	-ak, *you*
Inendet, *he, she*	Icheket, *they*		

(ii.) Possessive, suffixed as in Nandi:—The same rules for the changing of letters apply:—

With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.	With the Singular.	With the Plural.	English.
-aŷûn	-chûk	*my*	nenyûn	chechûk	*mine*
-ûguûg	-kuk	*thy*	nedguûg	chekuk	*thine*
-ayin	-chik	*his*	nenyin	chechik	*his*
-ayon	-chok	*our*	nenyon	chechok	*ours*
-ûgwûg	-kwok	*your*	nedgwûg	chekwok	*yours*
-ayuun	-chouk	*their*	nenyuun	chechouk	*theirs*

(iii.) Demonstrative, suffixed:—The same rules apply as in Nandi for the changing of letters with the use of these:—

Singular.	Plural.	English.
(1) ni, i	chu	*this, these*
(2) nin, in	chun	*that, those*
(3) no, o	cho	*this, these*
(4) non, on	chon	*that, those*

Nos. (3) and (4) are demonstratives of relative nearness.

(iv.) Demonstratives of place:—

Singular.	Plural.	English.
yu.	uli	*here*
yun	ulin	*there*

All demonstrative pronouns may be intensified by means of the suffix -to or -tok *e.g.* ni-tok (this very (one)); uli-tok (at this very place).

(v.) Relative:—Sing., ne; pl., che.

(vi.) Interrogative:—

Ata? ..	*How many?*	Ano? ..	*Where?*
Ne? ..	*What? What sort of?*	Ngô? ..	*Who?*
Auyon? ..	*When?*	Amu-ne? ..	*Why?*

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802 *Numerals.*—These are the same as in Nandi:—

Akenge or akange ..	1	Taman	10
Oieñg	2	Taman ak akenge ..	11
Somok	3	Tiptem	20
Añgwan	4	Sosom	30
Mût	5	Artam	40
Lo	6	Konom	50
Tisap	7	Pokol	60
Sisiit	8	Pokol oieñg 100 (anything over 60)	
Sokol	9		

● 193 *Verbs.*—The conjugation of verbs is very similar to that in Nandi. The present has a suffix -e or -i; and a-stems change to o- in the present tense. The negative prefix is ma, me, mo. When the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. and pl. are used as the object, direct or indirect, they are suffixed to the verb:—

a-mach-in, *I want thee.*
i-mach-a, *thou wantest me.*
o-mach-ech, *you want us.*
a-mach-ak, *I want you.*

When the verb-stem begins with i, the i is omitted under the same conditions as in Nandi.

Conjugation.

Active Voice.

(*a*) I-stems.—Isup, (*to*) *follow.*

Present.

	Affirmative.	Negative.		Affirmative.	Negative.
S.	1. a-'sup-i	ma-a-'sup-i	*P.*	1. ki-isup-i	ma-ki-isup-i
	2. i-isup-i	me-i-isup-i		2. o-'sup-i	mo-o-'sup-i
	3. isup-i	me-'sup-i		3. i-isup-i	me-'sup-i

Past.

S.	1. ka-a-'sup	ma-a-'sup	*P.*	1. ka-ki-isup	ma-ki-isup
	2. ka-i-isup	ma-i-isup		ka-ko-'sup	ma-ko-'sup
	3. ka-ko-'sup	ma-ko-'sup		2. ko-o-'sup	mo-o-'sup
				3. ka-ko-'sup	ma-ko-'sup

Subjunctive.

Affirmative.		
S.	1. a-'sup	*P.* 1. ki-isup
	2. isup	2. o-'sup
	3. ko'sup	3. ko-'sup

Imperative.

Affirmative.	Negative.
isup, *follow*	me-'sup, *follow not*
o-'sup, *follow ye*	mo-o-'sup, *follow ye not*

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(b) Other stems.—Sagas, (to) *hunt.*

Present.

	Affirmative.	Negative.		Affirmative.	Negative.
S. 1.	a-sogos-i	ma-a-sogos-i	*P.* 1.	ki-sogos-i	ma-ki-sogos-i
2.	i-sogos-i	me-i-sogos-i	2.	o-sogos-i	mo-o-sogos-i
3.	sogos-i	ma-sogos-i	3.	sogos-i	ma-sogos-i

Past.

S. 1.	ka-a-sagas	ma-a-sagas	*P.* 1.	ka-ki-sagas	ma-ki-sagas
2.	ka-i-sagas	ma-i-sagas	2.	ko-o-sagas	mo-o-sagas
3.	ka-ko-sagas	ma-ko-sagas	3.	ka-ko-sagas	ma-ko-sagas

Subjunctive.

Affirmative.

S. 1.	a-sagas	*P.* 1.	ki-sagas
2.	sagas	2.	o-sagas
3.	ko-sagas	3.	ko-sagas

Imperative.

Affirmative.	Negative.
sagas, *hunt*	me-sagas, *hunt not*
o-sagas, *hunt ye*	mo-o-sagas, *hunt ye not*

Examples of other verbs.

Present.	Past.	Subjunctive.	English.
a-cham-e	ka-a-cham	a-cham	*I love*
a-paal-e	ka-a-paal	a-paal	*I dig*
a-kuut-i	ka-a-kuut	a-kuut	*I blow*
a-uwech-e	ka-a-uwech	a-uwech	*I overturn*
a-wer-e	ka-a-wer	a-wer	*I throw*
a-sue	ka-a-sue	a-sue	*I know*
a-suwen-i	ka-a-suwen	a-suwen	*I see*
a-mwoi-i-	ka-a-mwai	a-mwai	*I say*

PASSIVE VOICE.

(a) I-stems.—Isup, *follow.*

Present.

S.	Affirmative.	Negative.	*P.*	Affirmative.	Negative.
1.	ki-isup-an, *I am followed*	ma-ki-isup-an	1.	ki-isup-ech, *we are followed*	ma-ki-isup-ech
2.	ki-isup-in, *thou art followed*		2.	ki-isup-ak, *you are followed*	
3.	ki-isup-i, *he is followed*		3.	ki-isup, *they are followed*	

Past.

1.	ka-ki-isup-an, *I was fol-*	ko-ma-ki-isup-an	1. ka-ki-isup-ech	ko-ma-ki-isup-ech
2.	ka-ki-isup-in [*lowed*		2. ka-ki-isup-ak	
3.	ka-ki-isup		3. ka-ki-isup	

Subjunctive.

S. 1. ki-isup-an *P.* 1. ki-isup-ech

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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(b) Other stems.—Sagas, *hunt.*

Present.

S.	Affirmative.	Negative.	P.	Affirmative.	Negative.
1.	ki-sagas-an, *I am hunted*	ma-ki-sagas-an	1.	ki-sagas-ech	ma-ki-sagas-ech.

Past.

1.	ka-ki-sagas-an, *I was hunted*	ko-ma-ki-sagas-an	1.	ka-ki-sagas-ech	ko-ma-ki-sagas-ech.

Subjunctive.

S. 1. ki-sagas-an | P. ki-sagas-ech.

Derived verb-stems.

(a) Motion hither (Prokinesis).—Suffix, un, -u; stem, ichom-, *go.*

Present.

S.		P.	
1.	a-'chōm-un, *I come*	1.	ki-ichōm-un
2.	i-chōm-un	2.	o-'chōm-un
3.	ichōm-un	3.	ichōm-un

Past.

S.		P.	
1.	ka-'chōm-un, *I came*	1.	ka-ki-ichōm-un
2.	ka-i-ichōm-un	2.	ko-o-'chōm-un
3.	ka-ko-'chōm-un	3.	ka-ko-'chōm-un

Imperative.

S. ichōm-un, *come* | P. o-'chōm-un, *come ye*

(b) Motion thither (Apokinesis).—Suffix -ten (-den).

Present.

S.		P.	
1.	a-'chōm-doi-i, *I go*	1.	ki-ichōm-doi-i
2.	i-ichōm-doi-i	2.	o-'chōm-doi-i
3.	ichōm-doi	3.	ichōm-doi

Past.

S.		P.	
1.	ka-a-'chōm-de, *I went*	1.	ka-ki-'chōm-de
2.	ka-i-ichōm-de	2.	ko-o-'chōm-de
3.	ka-ko-'chōm-da	3.	ka-ko-'chōm-da

Imperative.

S. ichōm-den, *go* | P. o-'chōm-den, *go ye.*

(c) Dative.—Suffix, -chin (-jin).

Present.

S.		P.	
1.	a-roñg-jin-in, *I pour to*	1.	ki-roñg-jin-in
2.	i-roñg-jin-in	2.	o-roñg-jin-in
3.	roñg-jin	3.	roñg-jin

Past.

S.		P.	
1.	ka-a-roñg-jin, *I poured to*	1.	ka-ki-roñg-jin
2.	ka-i-roñg-jin	2.	ko-o-roñg-jin
3.	ka-ko-roñg-jin	3.	ka-ko-roñg-jin

This form is used when the indirect object is in the 3rd pers.; when it is in the 1st or 2nd pers., the form denoting "motion hither" is used, *e.g.* :—

roñg-jin engaret, *pour some water for (him).*
roñg-u-an engaret, *pour some water for me.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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(b) Other stems.—Sagaa, (*to*) *hunt.*

Present.

	Affirmative.	Negative.		Affirmative.	Negative.
S.	1. a-sogos-i	ma-a-sogos-i	*P.*	1. ki-sogos-i	ma-ki-sogos-i
	2. i-sogos-i	ma-i-sogos-i		2. o-sogos-i	mo-o-sogos-i
	3. sogos-i	ma-sogos-i		3. sogos-i	ma-sogos-i

Past.

S.	1. ka-a-sagas	ma-a-sagas	*P.*	1. ka-ki-sagas	ma-ki-sagas
	2. ka-i-sagas	ma-i-sagas		2. ko-o-sagas	mo-o-sagas
	3. ka-ko-sagas	ma-ko-sagas		3. ka-ko-sagas	ma-ko-sagas

Subjunctive.

Affirmative.			
S.	1. a-sagas	*P.*	1. ki-sagas
	2. sagas		2. o-sagas
	3. ko-sagas		3. ko-sagas

Imperative.

Affirmative.	Negative.
sagas, *hunt*	me-sagas, *hunt not*
o-sagas, *hunt ye*	mo-o-sagas, *hunt ye not*

Examples of other verbs.

Present.	Past.	Subjunctive.	English.
a-cham-e	ka-a-cham	a-cham	*I love*
a-paal-e	ka-a-paal	a-paal	*I dig*
a-kuut-i	ka-a-kuut	a-kuut	*I blow*
a-uwech-e	ka-a-uwech	a-uwech	*I overturn*
a-wer-e	ka-a-wer	a-wer	*I throw*
a-aue	ka-a-aue	a-aue	*I know*
a-auwen-i	ka-a-auwen	a-auwen	*I see*
a-mwoi-i-	ka-a-mwai	a-mwai	*I say*

PASSIVE VOICE.

(a) I-stems.—Isup, *follow.*

Present.

	Affirmative.	Negative.		Affirmative.	Negative.
S.	1. ki-isup-an, *I am followed*	ma-ki-isup-an	*P.*	1. ki-isup-ech, *we are followed*	ma-ki-isup-ech
	2. ki-isup-in, *thou art followed*			2. ki-isup-ak, *you are followed*	
	3. ki-isup-i, *he is followed*			3. ki-isup, *they are followed*	

Past.

1. ka-ki-isup-an, *I was fol-*	ko-ma-ki-isup-an	1. ka-ki-isup-ech	ko-ma-ki-isup-ech
2. ka-ki-isup-in (*lowed*		2. ka-ki-isup-ak	
3. ka-ki-isup		3. ka-ki-isup	

Subjunctive.

S. 1. ki-isup-an *P.* 1. ki-isup-ech

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(*b*) Verbs.

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Verbs are given in their stem (*i.e.* the imperative sing.) only. The following, after a verb, denote that it is a derived stem, and conjugated as described in the Grammar under the heading which is affixed to it:—Pros. = motion hither. Apo. = motion thither. Dat. = dative. Rf. = reflexive. Ca. = causal. Rp. = reciprocal.

Able (be)	imũch (N.).	Copulate	kum (N.).
Abuse	chup (N.).	Cough	lal (N.).
Angry (be)	nereket (N.).	Count	iit (N.).
Answer	iyan (N.).	Cry	rer (N.).
Arise	ñget (N.).	Cut	til (N.).
Arrive	it-un (N.) (Pros.).	Delay	ikaa-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ascend	lany (N.).	Die	*S.* 1. a-me (N.).
Ask	tepen (N.).		*P.* 1. ki-pek-un (N.).
Assist	toret (N.).	Dig	paal (N.).
Be	mi (N.).	Do	yai (N.).
Bear (fruit)	ii (N.).	Drink	iye (N.).
Beat	pir (N.).	Drunk (be)	pôkit (N.).
Beckon	ñgwech (N.).	Dwell	meny (N.).
Beg	som (N.).	Eat	am (N.).
Blink	mismis (N.).	Enlarge, increase.	tes (N.).
Blow	kuut (N.).		
Bore	parpar (N.).	Enough (be)	yam (N.).
Box ears	rapach (N.).	Extinguish fire	mis (N.).
Break	iri (N.).	Fall	iput (N.).
Break wind	kwot (N.).	Fatigued (be)	ñget (N.).
Breathe	ipus (N.).	Fear	iyuei (N.).
			muen (D.).
Brew	riech (N.).	Fight	pir-kei (N.) (Rf.).
Bring	ip-un (N.) (Pros.).	Fill	inyêt (N.).
Build	tech (N.).	Fill with food.	ipiiy-en[2] (N.) (Rp.).
Burn (act)	pel (N.).	Filled with food (be)	piiy-en.[2]
Buy	al (N.).	Finish (act)	tar (N.).
Call	kur (N.).	Finished (it is)	ka-ko-pek (N.).
Carry	ip (N.).	Fold	aruny (N.).
Chop	yep (N.).	Follow	isup (N.).
Circumcise	muratan (N.).	Forget	yutie (N.).
Close	ker (N.).	Get	sich (N.).
Come	ichôm-un (M.) (Pros.).		
Cook	kwany (N.).		

[1] *Present*, a-'kooikei.

[2] These two verbs are irregular: *Present*, a-piiy-onyi; *Past*, ka-a-piiy-e. The first is the Ca. of the simple form.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Give	kôn; ikôchi (irreg. as in Nandi).
Go	ichôm-den (M.) (Apo.).
Grind	ñga (N.).
Growl	moror (N.).
Have	tinye (N.).
Hear	kas (N.).
Hunt	sagas
Hurt	am (*e.g.* am-a esikoyoit, *my head hurts me*).
Ill (be)	mian (N.).
Kill	par (N.).
Kindle	inam; ilal (N.).
Know	sue (D.).
Laugh	rori (N.).
Leap	toromben (N.).
Let alone	met-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Love	cham (N.).
Marry	itun (N.).
Meet	nyor-un (N.) (Pros.).
Open	yat (N.).
Overturn	uwech (N.).
Pour	roñg (N.); roñg-un (N.) (Pros.); roñg-jin (Dat.).
Prepare	yai-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Put	in-de(n) (N.) (Apo.). konor (N.).
Quiet (be)	sis (N.).
Rain	robon (N.).
Refuse	yesien (N.).
Remain	tepi (N.).
Remember	ipwat (N.).
Remove	nem-un (N.) (Pros.).
Return (act)	iwech (N.) (Ca.).
Return (intrans.)	we-i-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ripen	rur-ien (N.) (Rp.).
Run	lapat (N.).
Say	mwai (N.); ile (N.).
Say to	mwa-un (Pros.). mwa-chin (Dat.).
Scowl	injurur (N.).
Search	cheñg (N.).
See	suwen[2] (D.).
Sell	al-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Sew	nap (N.).
Shoot	mwog (N.).
Shut	ker; rat (N.).
Sleep	ru (N.). ru-ien (Rp.).
Smell (act)	iñgu (N.).
Smell (intrans.)	ñgu-ten (Apo.).
Spit	ñgutut (N.).
Spoil	ñgem (N.).
Stand	tonon (N.).
Steal	chor (N.).
Sweep	ipûch (N.).
Take, hold	nam (N.).
Throw	wer (N.).
Tie	rat (N.).
Travel	ru-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Understand	kas (N.).
Unfasten	yat (N.).
Untie	itiach (N.).
Upset	turur-ten (N.) (Apo.). tum-den (N.) (Apo.).
Wait	kany (N.).
Walk	wend-ote[3] (N.).
Want	mach (N.).
Wash	iuun (N.).
Wash oneself	iuun-gei (Rf.).
Well (be)	sap (N.).
Yawn	ime (N.).
Yell (shout)	wach (N.).

[1] *Present*, a-we-chi-kei.

[2] *Cf.* Sk. sow-, *see.*

[3] *Present, S.* 1. a-wend-oti; *P.* 1. ki-pend-oti.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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* *Kuko* (*Akui*) = mother's father:	*Akui* = daughter's child (w. s.).
* *Koko* = mother's mother;	*Apaa* = daughter's child (w. s.).
Manonotiot = husband:	*Mureriat* = wife.
Pamono = wife's father (m. s.):	*Konyit* = daughter's husband (m. s.).
Pôker = wife's mother:	*Pôker* = daughter's hus. (w. s.).
Pakuo = hus. father (w. s.):	*Pakuo* = son's wife (m. s.).
Pôker = hus. mother (w. s.):	*Sandet* = son's wife (w. s.).
Konyit = wife's brother (m. s.):	*Konyit* = sis. hus. (m. s.).
Pukot = wife's sis. (m. s.):	*Konyit* = sis. hus. (w. s.).
Konyit = hus. brother (w. s.):	*Pukot* = brother's wife (m. s.).
Kamati = hus. sis. (w. s.):	*Pukot* = brother's wife (w. s.).
Pôker = wife's br. wife (m. s.):	*Pôker* = hus. sis. hus. (w. s.).
Sindet = hus. br. wife (w. s.):	*Sindet* = hus. br. wife (w. s.).
Kipukotiet = wife's sis. hus:	*Kipukotiet* = wife's sis. hus.

Terms of Address

The forms given in the foregoing lists are those of reference, used when speaking of a person. In some cases the form used when speaking to a person is the same as the form of reference; but in others there is a difference:

Reference: *imamet*	or mama Address: *mama* (m. s.)
	apulaiyo. (w. s.)
inguket	*akui*
macokor(et)	*macokoronni*
senget or *senge*	*senge*
mureriat	*mureriandanni*
manonotiot	*manonotiondonni*
sindet	*sindanni*
lakuet	*lakuanni* or *lakuennyon*

Other terms have the same form for both reference and address. In this list it will be noted that *mama* and *senge*, though strictly forms of address, are used by the Dorobo for forms of reference as well. The forms ending in *-ni* are vocative (i. e. the demonstrative pronoun *ni*, 'this', used as vocative). *Lakuennyon* means 'my child'.

[193]

Grouping of terms

In the following classification of terms, an asterisk * means terms used by both sexes, and (w) means terms used by women.

Macokor

Third ascending generation; father's father's father*, father's father's mother*, mother's father's father*, mother's mother's father*. Own generation: father's brother's son*, father's brother's daughter*, father's sister's son*, father's sister's daughter*. First descending generation: father's brother's children's children*, father's sister's children's children*.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. 163 165 [132] [133]

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood. 728 [291]

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game. 224 [262] [411] [231]

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. [515] [825]

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau. 372 [824]

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals. 197 199

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. [93] [82]

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is 197 making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* 101 of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

226 The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not [262] eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, 224 both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable 282 from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] 181 They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of 123 establishing contact with them.

● 194 The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would 192 seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro* [177]

[161]

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigit*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósirŏ*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunŏno*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunŏno* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitokorda ; Il-Kisangara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Massai*, p. 237. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Massai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyŏni* family of the *Il-Mŏlelyan* clan (Hollis).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ñg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*[2]) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahai*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilˈl*, the *l* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

. beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *p*, *b*, *v* and *w* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeŭge* or *epei*. 802 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajil*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 198

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

Note.—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faa* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ngamîgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

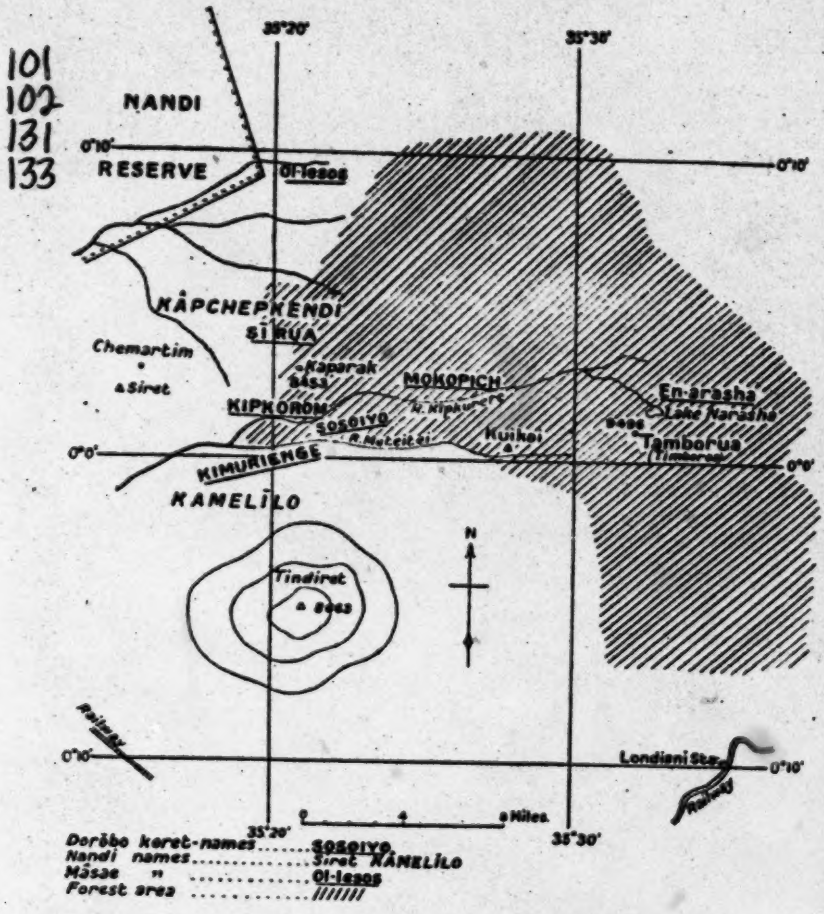

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DOROBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

VI.—LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Dorōbo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorōbo language. Māsae (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Sir A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often inclined to a *g*-sound: in such cases it is written *k*; *b* sometimes inclines to a *w*-sound. There is in some words a broad *u*-sound, here written *uu*, for which Nandi has *u*; the broad *au*-sound which Hollis heard in Tanganyika appears here as *d*[1]; I could hear no trace of the replacement of *p* by *v* which he also heard. (N.H., p. xxviii.)

[194] *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) sing., -t, -ta, -to, -da, -do; (ii) pl., -ek, -eik, -ik, -uek.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i.)

When the sing. endings are -et, -(i)at, the pl. ends in -es-iek:—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
kochong-o	kochong-et	kochong-s	kochong-es-iek	*hut*
toror	toror-et	toror-es	toror-es-iek	*road*
murer	murer-iat	murer-es	murer-es-iek	*sweetheart*

(ii.)

When the sing. endings are -it, -ot, -ut, -chot, the pl. ends in -is-iek:—

keb	keb-it	keb-is	keb-is-iek	*bullock*
oldau	oldau-it	oldau-is	oldau-is-iek	*heart*
olmorondoi	olmorondoi-t	olmorondoi-is	olmorondoi-is-iek	*spear*
asingai	asingai-t	asingai-ts	asingai-ts-iek	*necklace*
konokcho	konokcho-t	konokcho-ts	konokcho-ts-iek	*baboon*
kumuri-o	kumuri-ot	kumur-is	kumur-is-iek	*biceps*
samba	samba-t	samba-is	samba-is-iek	*fur cap*

[1] Though occasionally *au* is heard.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaágo* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaágo*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaágo* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kiyaláqat

The *Kiyaláqat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaágo* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kiyaláqat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kiyaláqat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kiyaláqat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kiyaláqat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kiyaláqat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kiyaláqat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *I-Okop.* The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle. [2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

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FL6 Dorobo FL6

of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balafigai	Il-Balafiga
2. Ol-Kinyalafigati	Il-Kinyalafigat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro[3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. One [illegible] to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo[4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve. [4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. Hence the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

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Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kilosa area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balañga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balañga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balañga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

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[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Méliak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Abous*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I must confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen[1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balaŋga* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mósiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 229 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mósiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 257.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 132 in *Journal* for January 1928.

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or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

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Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balañga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balañga* and *Kinyalañgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porōwee'* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilè*, the *è* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

. beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *ɸ*, *ɬ*, *ɣ* and *ɰ* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeŭge* or *epei*. 802 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajil*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 198

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want " and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
1	Kan	Ōbo; *m.* Nabo; *f.*	Abodi	Ahenge	Epei	Oboñgô	Ahañge	Kindéi
2	Laba	Aaro; *m.* Áre; *f.*	Arrega	Aeñg or Oieñg	Ñgaro	Ogheñg	Aam[1]	Laam
3	Sadeh	Okuni; *m.* Uni; *f.*	Guniggo	Somok	Ñgauai	Somok	Sōmok	Samak
4	Afar	Oañgwan; *m.* Oñgwan; *f.*	Angon	Añgwan	Nōmwon	Añgwan	Añgwan	Ongwan
5	Shan	Imyet	Niyet	Mut	Ekan	Mūt	Moōt	Imyet
6	Leh	Ille	Elle	Ille *or* Kulle	Ekani kapei	Mut ngô[2] Oboñgô	Ela	Ilō
7	Tadobā	Ooñshana; *m.* Naañshana; *f.*	Attarit	Tisap	Ekani gare	Mut ngô Oghieñg	Saal[3]	Naañshana
8	Sided	Isyet	Ottégoni	Siñit	Egañgaun	Mut ngô Somok	Isyet	Isyet
9	Sagal	Ōudo; *m.* Naudo; *f.*	Ottongon	Sohoi	Ekan kumwon	Mut ngô Añgwan	Endorol[4]	Endorol
10	Toban	Tomon	Tomon	Taman	Tommon	Mut ngô Taman	Taman	Tomon

The Somali, Latuka and Turkana counts given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to *The Masai ; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk counts have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* spelling is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *g* is so faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] *Six*, *seven*, *eight* and *nine* in Suk are often represented by the Turkana word (Beech).
[3] *Saal* is also used by the Masai for *nine* (p. xv, introduction to Merker's *Die Masai*).
[4] The Masai also use *Endorol* for *nine*.

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	Masai.[a]	*Nandi.*[a]	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Goat	En-gíno	Ngororiet	Ñgarárie	Oferit
Sheep	Ol-keri	Kechiriet	Kejirie	Haau
Ox	Ol-kitoñg	Teta	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aina	Eut	Eeiu	Moõgo
Foot	En-geju	Keido	Kelda	Yeõh
Nose	En-gume	Serut	Serut	Etinga
Head	El-lughunya	Metit	Metit	Sogo[b]
Man	Ol-tuñgani	Chilto	Chilch	Kinde
Woman	E-ñgoróyõni	Korket	Karaka	Maito
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Uo
Knife	Eng-alem	Chepkeswai	Silélé	Pandeu
Bow	Eng-úo	Kwanget	Kueanda	Matu
Arrow	Em-bae	Kôtet	Kãte	Gare
Sword	Ol-alem	Rotuet	Rótue	Joo
Sun	Eng-oloñg	Asista	Asíta	Ajit
Moon	Ol-apa	Aruwet	Araãue	Leheuk
Day	En-dãma	Êkonet	Fetinda	Ajóta
Night	En-gewárie	Kembaut	Lañgat	Eramesa
God	Eng-ai	Asis	Tororéta	Oyet

[a] The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Zebra	Ol-oitigõ; *s.* Il-oitigõshi; *p.*	Sigiriet-ap-tim; *s.* Sigiriõk-ap-tim; *p.*	Sikirie; *s.*[1] Sirkon; *p.*	Shijio
Elephant	Ol-tõme; *s.* Il-tõmia; *p.*	Pëliot; *s.* Pëlek; *p.*	Pëliandee; *s.* Pëlek; *p.*	Fánaku
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; *s.* Il-kondin; *p.*		Orobout; *s.* Iroboutisie; *p.*	Naboru
Giraffe	Ol-mëut; *s.* Il-mëuti; *p.*	Ingotiot; *s.* Ingotinik; *p.*	Tianginyiet; *s.* Taanganyo; *p.*	Giãiesuk
Rhinoceros	E-muny; *s.* I-muny; *p.*	Kipsirichet; *s.* Kipsirichaiik; *p.*	Nyiee; *s.* Nyioosie; *p.*	Ndovuk[2]
Hippopotamus	Ol-makau; *s.* Il-makain; *p.*	Makasta; *s.* Makasuek; *p.*	Makaita; *s.* Makai; *p.*	Dalo[b]
Lion	Ol-ñgatuny; *s.* Il-ñgatunyo; *p.*	Ñgetundo; *s.* Ñgetunyik; *p.*	Ñgetunda; *s.* Ñgetuinyik; *p.*	Merok *or* Majok
Buffalo	Ol-osõ[b]wani; *s.* Il-osõ[b]wani; *p.*	Soet; *s.* Soen; *p.*	Saiet[3]; *s.* Saieeni; *p.*	Shõdahat
Wildebeest	O-engat; *s.* I-engatin; *p.*		Engaita; *s.* Engatin; *p.*	Engat[3]

[1] Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-sibiria, I-sirkon.*
[2] Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.
[3] Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi, and *Mósiro* there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The *Aramanik* words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and *Mósiro*. [193]

In the *Mósiro* tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

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192 the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise
• 197 and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The *Mósiro*, despite their laxity in the use of their own
[193] article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p. xxii of the introduction to *The Suk; their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 52 of the text of that work.)

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A Comparison between some of the Simpler Verbal Forms in Masai, Nandi and *Mósiro*

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*
I follow	A-suj nanu	A-'sup-i ane	A-matešn (ane') [1]
Thou followest	I-suj iye	I-isup-i inye	A-mateš inyet
He follows	E-suj ninye	I-'sup-i inendet	A-matešn anet
We follow	Ki-súj iyook	Ki-isup-i achek	Ki-matešn eechek
You follow	I-suj-usuju 'ndae	O-'sup-i okwek	O-matešn aakwek
They follow	E-suj ninje	Isup-i ichek	'mataien eechek
I do not follow	M-a-suj	M-á-'sup-i	M-amatešn
Thou followest not	M-i-suj	Me-i-'sup-i	M-amateš
He does not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	M-amateš
We do not follow	Mi-ki-suj	Ma-ki-isup-i	Mi-mateiya
Ye do not follow	M-i-sój-usuju	Mo-o-'sup-i	Amo-mateš
They do not follow	M-e-suj	Me-'sup-i	Mai-mateš
I do not know	M-a-iyólô-u	Maonget	Mangun (ane')
Thou knowest not	M-i-'yólô-u	Minget	Mingun inyet
He does not know	M-e-iyólô-u	Minget inne	Mangun anet
We do not know	Mi-ki-'yólô-u	Mokinget	Makingun eechek
Ye do not know	M-i-'yólô-lo'	Nenyu mwonget	Moongun aakwek
They do not know	M-e-iyólô-u	Menget icek	Maingun eechek
I followed	A-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-a-'sup	Ara-matešn
Thou followest	I-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-i-'sup	Ara-matešn
He followed	E-tu-suj-u-a	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Ará-ko-matešn
We followed	Ki-tu-sój-u-tuá	Ki-ki-isup	Ará-ke-matešn
You followed	I-tu-suj-usuju-tuá [2]	Ki-o-'sup	Ar'-oo-matešn
They followed	E-tu-suj-u-tuá	Ki-'sup *or* Ki-ko-'sup	Ara-ke-matešn

[1] May be, and often is, omitted.

The negative present of the Nandi verb "to know" as conjugated above is taken from Sir Charles Eliot's introduction to Sir Claud Hollis's *Masai Language and Folklore*. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi tenses is derived from
[197] Hollis's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mósiro* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are submitted with diffidence. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mósiroi* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the conjoint pronoun. Very few *Mósiro* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effort to reduce the *Mósiro* tenses to some form of lucidity entailed more work than I should
[128] have believed possible. The results are submitted for what they may be worth—I cannot vouch for their accuracy.

[2] Or I-tu-suj-u-tuá?

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laŋgat who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and 'l-Oikop, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and 'l-Oikop respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Moipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-sụbuko L'oltatwa [1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Moipo and Lo-'sokonoi. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Balaŋga*.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mósiro* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mósiro* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mósiro* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mósiro*, who are lazy but far from uncivilisable.

I believe the *Mósiro* to have been very closely allied to the Nandi at one time, if they were not pure Nandi.[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

[1] Ngorongoro localities. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Kangeju*, written about by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe (see note 1, p. 249).
[2] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 2.

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Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsae words are marked thus: † (*engerait*†). 193

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Tindiret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmelilo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsae they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. *En-Dorôbôni*, pl. *In-Dorôbo*). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsae name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper. 101 [131]

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mogogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ñgiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Mâsae, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguturk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandurôbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the [197] [175] 105

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

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105 Wakuafi [Mâsai] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of
114 African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the southern Mâsai. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. 2/A

101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-'l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkurevek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mâsai.
6. Nalêta.	
7. Kidong.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Siwiwek and Lelaviek, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ngiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Aramanik.[2]

● 197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mâsai and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 189; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 120.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Torôbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 240.

2/A [See source number 2, this file--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

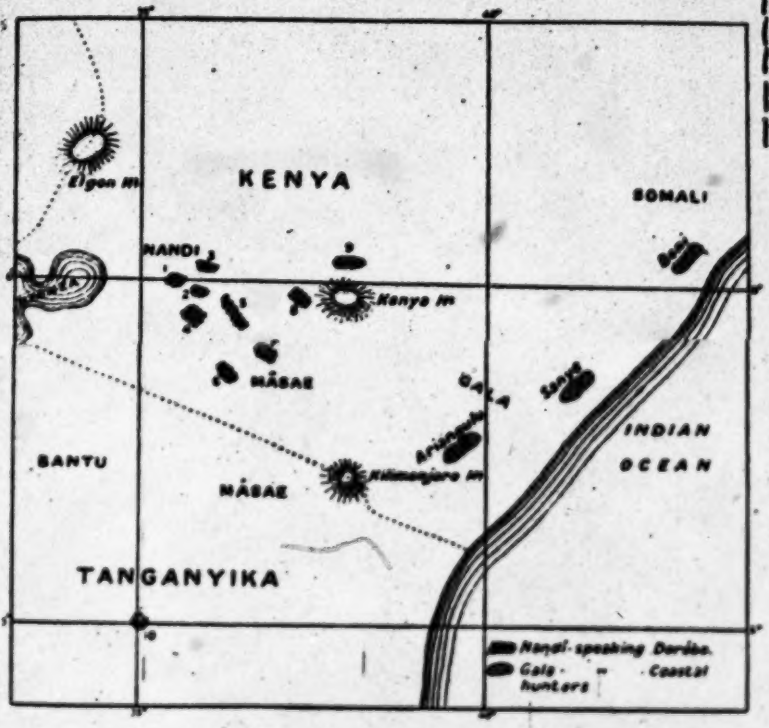

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kámelílo-Kápchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Kolgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F1.6 Dorobo F1.6

174 set forth certain theories as to their origin, which are offered as a starting-point from which to work. The theories are:—

[177] (1) That the Dorôbo are an autochthonous people who were found in East Africa by the Nandi and Masai, and who have assimilated not only the Nandi language, but also some of their customs and religious ideas.

(2) That the Dorôbo are part of the parent-stock of the Masai-Nandi group.

(3) That the Dorôbo are part of the Nandi sub-group, who broke off from the main body very much earlier than the other tribes, and had been separated so long from them that their original relationship had been forgotten by the time they came in contact again.

174 199 To all of these theories there are objections, not the least of which are linguistic. The conclusions arrived at with regard to the origin of a language do not necessarily hold good for the origin of the people who speak it; but in this case the language is almost the only distinguishable feature, and must therefore be taken into consideration. The true Dorôbo language, as now spoken, is closer to Nandi than Suk, and much closer than Masai. It appears that Suk broke off from the main group before the formation of the secondary suffix or "definite article"; Dorôbo and the rest of the Nandi sub-group possess this suffix, which I believe is peculiar to this sub-group. Assuming, then, that the Nandi language passed through a stage with no secondary suffix, of which Suk[4] is the only remaining example—and it must have done so, nouns with primary and secondary suffixes being used side by side, and the secondary suffix being obviously a later development of the primary form—how can we account for either (i) the presence of the secondary suffix in Dorôbo if it was one of the parents of Nandi, since it could hardly be expected that the parent language would be as fully developed as its daughter; or (ii) the absence from Suk of the secondary suffix, and its presence in Dorôbo, if both Dorôbo and Suk were early offshoots from the Nandi Sub-group? Consideration of the facts suggests that the secondary suffix was first used in the Elgon languages (Kony, Sapei, etc.). Language and tradition seem to indicate that perhaps the first theory is the most tenable; yet against it may be urged, why should the Dorôbo have assimilated the language and customs of the Nandi rather than those of the Masai? Should the first theory prove to be correct, we may suppose that the non-Nandi element in the Dorôbo vocabulary represents the language spoken before they came into contact with the Nandi.

000 In the coastal area of Kenya Colony there live other hunting tribes, known as Sanye,[2] Boni,[3] and Aringudu.[4] These tribes are of a very primitive description.

[4] *i.e.* The Suk subdivision of the Nandi group, comprising the dialects of Suk, Endo, and Marakwet.

[2] A. Werner in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1913, p. 36, n.; *Man*, 1913, 107.

[3] R. E. Hollis in *Man*, 1905, 94.

[4] C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1912, 9; A. H. Champion in *Journ. E. Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1922, p. 21.

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VI.—Language.

● 197 The language of the Dorobo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorobo language. Masai (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Sir A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often inclined to a *g*-sound; in such cases it is written *k*; *k* sometimes inclines to a *w*-sound. There is in some words a broad *o*-sound, here written *oa*, for which Nandi has *o*; the broad *ae*-sound which Hollis heard in Tenguryiku appears here as *d*[1]; I could hear no trace of the reinforcement of *a* by *e* which he also heard (X.II., p. xxviii.)

[194] *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) sing., *-t*, *-ta*, *-to*, *-da*, *-do*; (ii) pl., *-ak*, *-ok*, *-ik*, *-uk*.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i.)

When the sing. endings are *-et*, *-ijet*, the pl. ends in *-ech*:—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(ii.)

When the sing. endings are *-it*, *-et*, *-ot*, *-ichot*, the pl. ends in *-ech*:—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

* Though occasionally *oa* is heard.

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(d) Reflexive—*Ndiku, kui.*

Present.		*Past.*	
S.	*P.*	*S.*	*P.*
1. *n'kwaa'i kui, I wash myself*	1. *tit'waa'i kui*	1. *kaa'a kwa'gui*	1. *kaa'tit'waa'gui.*

(e) Causal—*Ptuku, i-.*

Tweta, stand; i-tweta, make to stand.

This form is conjugated like ordinary i-stem verbs. (See above.)

(f) Reciprocal—*Ndiku, ewa, gwa.*

Present.			*Past.*		
S. 1. *n-ndi-kwa'a, I am silent with*	*P.* 1. *ki-ndi-kwa'a*		*S.* 1. *kaa-n-ndi-kwa'a*	*P.* 1. *kaa-ki-ndi-kwa'a*	
2. *i-ndi-kwa'a*	2. *m-ndi-kwa'a*		2. *kaa-i-ndi-kwa'a*	2. *kaa-m-ndi-kwa'a*	
3. *ndi-kwa'a*	3. *wa-ndi-kwa'a*		3. *kaa-ndi-kwa'a*	3. *kaa-wa-ndi-kwa'a*	

Imperative.

S. ndi-kwa', be silent with (someone else). *P. n-ndi-kwa', be ye silent together.*

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

Tweet, above.
Kee-kwey, again.
Ah, until.
Bilig, at, in, to, from.
Amee-ee, however.
Tee, before (place).
Lit, behind.
Ngwey-ya-yuk } *before.*
Of'-kwik-ee }
Kwee, between.
Lit, for.
Ondi, inside.
Kee-ke } *like.*
Kwe }
Ankinka, on.
Tweee, not yet.

Ngaka, now.
Aji, yes, of.
Mandai, not.
Kee-ekie (see ee), quickly.
Mwiin, slowly.
Ke, to-day.
Tweegweeta, day after to-morrow.
Tee, to-morrow.
Mbaliq, very.
Pwik, to-morn.
Ee, ele, ekee, ekee.
O, yes.
Amwi, yesterday.
Ekie, day before yesterday.
Kwey, ele-kwye, of old.

Vocabulary

(a) Nouns.

In this vocabulary, nouns are given in full; the secondary forms are in brackets. Comparisons are given with Kwey (Kw.), Segei (Seg.), and Suk (Sk.); words of these

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192 dialects are given in the secondary singular? Minor words (M.) are given in the
197 singular. Where a word is the same as in Masai, the letter (M.) is affixed. Where a word is apparently original Dorobo, the letter (D.) is affixed.

Afternoon	.. ..	lelgut (M.).
Animal	.. ..	tiony (tiondo) ; pl., tiongin (tiongik) (M.).
Ankle	.. ..	kwoore (kwoond) ; pl., kwoore (kwoonondo) (D.).
Ant—		
Black	.. ..	emegik (emegikiat) ; pl., emegik (emegikik) (M.).
White	.. ..	keiye (keiyat) ; pl., kei (keiik) (M.).
Ant-bear	.. ..	kitoo (kitoot) ; pl., kitog (kitoondo) (M.).
Antelope—		
Beak-back	..	kwoosi (kwoosuk) ; pl., kwoosin (kwoosukiak) (D.).
Duiker	.. ..	ilgoswoyo (ilgoswoyat) ; pl., ilgoswoin (ilgoswoiak), Kw., ilgoswoiyoo-dat.
Duiker, blue	..	kigoako (kigoakiat) ; pl., kigoakoo (kigoakiak).
Duiker, red	..	ealeale (ealealat) ; pl., ealealoo (ealealoiak) (M.).
Hand-back	..	irukoot (irukoiat) ; pl., irukoiso (irukoisiak) (M.).
Water-back	..	kigoosero (kigoosuat) ; pl., kigooseroo (kigoosuaiak) (M.).
Arm ..	.. ..	kiko (kikiat) ; pl., kikoso (kikoak). M., kiako — fore-leg ; Kw., kwiako.
Arm, fore	.. ..	enkoo (enkoonat) ; pl., enkooni (enkooniik) (M).
Armpit	.. ..	kuthiol (kuthiolio) ; pl., kuthiolioo (kuthiolioiak) (M.).
Arrow	.. ..	ndoonat (ndoonatik) ; pl., ndoonatin (ndoonatiik) (D.).
		kiloo (kiloot) ; pl. kiloi (kiloiak) (M.).
		kiperkiyoo (kiperkiyoot) ; pl., kiperkiyoon (kiperkiyoniik) (M.).
		kigoolo (kigoolat) ; pl., kigoono (kigoolaiik) (M.).
Arrow-head	..	kiperkiyoo.
Arrow-binding	..	ainoi (ainoiko) ; pl., ainoiko (ainoikoiik) (M.).
Ashes	.. ..	mibuyanget (mibuyangetik) (D.).
Axe	.. ..	mikoko (mikokoi) ; pl., mikokoo (mikokoiik). M., ee-koko.
Back	.. ..	mooro (moroot) ; pl., mirooroot (mooroosiik) (M.).
Bag	.. ..	mentuk (mentukoot) ; pl., mentukoo (mentukoiik) (D.).
Bark—		
of tree	.. ..	ingokoot (ingokooiak) (M.).
opposite	.. ..	gikoo-ko ; pik (pikik).
Bark	.. ..	gooto (gootot) ; pl., goo (gooik) (M.).
Barrel (honey)	..	gooso (goosoot) ; pl., gooso (goosoik) (D.).
Basket	.. ..	kwog (kwogot) ; pl., kwogoo (kwogoiik) (M.).

Bak, having no secondary forms, is given in the singular.

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Bat	... ...	mwa (mwaki) ; pl., mwaai (mwaaiki) (N.).
Beard	... ...	mwaiya (mwaiyai) ; pl., mwai (mwaiki) (N.).
Bed	... ...	kiti (kitiru) ; pl., kitiru (kitiruki) (N.).
Bee	... ...	ngaiya (ngaiyai) ; pl., ngai (ngaiki) (N.).
Beetle	... ...	kamag (kamagai) ; pl., kamagai (kamagaiki).
Bell	... ...	ithangai (ithangaiki) ; pl., ithangaria (ithangariaki) (N.).
Bell (leg)	... ...	kigitana (kigitanaki) ; pl., kigitanaki (kigitanakiaki) (D.).
		ngitiiko (ngitiikoki) ; pl., ngitiikoki (ngitiikokiaki) (D.).
Belly	... ...	ngaiyini (ngaiyinaki) ; pl., ngaiyinaria (ngaiyinariaki) (N.).
Belt	... ...	ontoroi (ontoroki) ; pl., ontoroki (ontoroikiaki) (N.).
Bicycle	... ...	kamoreto (kamoretoki) ; pl., kamoreto (kamoretoiki). Rep. kar ararimo-ini = kam-ararimo.
Bird	... ...	ruoti (ruotiyai) ; pl., ruoti (ruotiki) (N.).
Blood	... ...	ekabai (ekabaiki) (N.).
Bone	... ...	kiiwa (kiiwai) ; pl., kii (kiiiki) (N.).
Bowstring	... ...	gunga (gungai) ; pl., gungai (gungaiki) (D.).
Bow	... ...	kiyuduj (kiyudujiki) ; pl., kiyudujwa (kiyudujwaiki). Ka. kar. kiyuduj-ini ; Rag., kiuduj-ini ; Ki., kwiuduj ; N., kwaugwi
Boy	... ...	mwiti (mwitiki) ; pl., mwiiti (mwiitiki) (N.).
Breast—		
Man	... ...	ngiri (ngiriki) ; pl., ngiriki (ngiriikiaki) (N.).
Woman	... ...	mihiriwai (mihiriwaiki) ; pl., mihiriwaiki (mihiriwaiikiaki) (D.).
Bridge	... ...	kiaaro (kiaaraai) ; pl., kiaararo (kiaaraaiki) (D.).
Broom	... ...	mihiati (mihiatiaki) ; pl., mihiatai (mihiataiki).
Brother	... ...	kwaru (kwarumiki) ; pl., kwaraaro (kwaraaroki). (Cf. Ka., kwaruka (kwarukiai) = cousin.)
Buffalo	... ...	nkiyaruai (nkiyaruaiki) ; pl., nkiyaruaiki (nkiyaruaiikiaki) (D.).
Bull	... ...	mwaiikiirk (mwaiikiirkiaki) ; pl., mwaiikiirkiaki (mwaiikiirkiaaki). (D.).
Bullock	... ...	ni (nini) ; pl., nini (niiki) (N.).
Buttock	... ...	kiti (kitiai) ; pl., kitiai (kitiaiaki).
Calabash	... ...	ani (anini) ; pl., anini (aniiki) (N.).
Calf	... ...	mwi (mwiiki) ; pl., mwiki (mwiiki) (N.).
Cap	... ...	ngwani (ngwaniki) ; pl., ngwaniki (ngwaniiaki) (N.).
Cap (old man's hat)		mwiiru (mwiiruai) ; pl., mwiiruai (mwiiruaiki) (N.).
Cat	... ...	mbiriigiri (mbiriigiri) ; pl., mbiriigiriki (mbiriigiriiaki) (N.).
Cat (wood)	... ...	kwagaara (kwagaarani) ; pl., kwagaararwa (kwagaararaaiki) (N.).
Cheek	... ...	mwiriiki (mwiriigiki) ; pl., mwiriigiwa (mwiriigwaiki) (N.).
Chief	... ...	kiiraigwa (kiiraigwaiki) ; pl., kiiraig (kiiraigiki) (N.).
Child	... ...	kiiwa (kiiwai) ; pl., kiiwai (kiiwaiki) (N.).

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Chin .. .. tuwon (tuwonet) ; pl., tuwonsi (tuwonik) (K.).
Chimpanzee .. tuwo (tuwoki) (K.).
Chisel .. .. tuwor (tuworet) ; pl., tuwosa (tuwosiek). (From tuwo — above ; *cf.* K., tuwor — above.)
Child .. .. kwon (kwoiton) (K.).
Collar-bone .. .. mulingot (mulingotiet) ; pl., mulingotsi (mulingotsik) (K.).
Constellation .. kiruny (kirungot) (K.).
Cool .. .. pusiwa (pusiwet) ; pl., pusiwa (pusiwik) (K.).
Cough .. .. kol (kolok).
Country .. .. ne (nenet) ; pl., nenetiwa (nenetiwok) (K.).
Cousin—
Maternal .. .. ayokiya ; mkwa.
Paternal .. .. kilka.
Cow .. .. tuny (tiny) ; pl., tiok (tuka).
Coward .. .. chemkwenyiya (chemkwenyiyat) ; pl., chemkwenyik (chemkwenyiik) (K.).
sekwin (sekwinet) ; pl., sekwi (sekwinik) (K.).
Crab .. .. kipkenyin (kipkenyinet) ; pl., kipkenyinik (kipkenyinikik) (D.).
Crocodile .. .. mukwa (mukwata) ; pl., mukwa (mukwak). (Mukwa in Nandi dialects means a hippopotamus.)
Dance .. .. tiny (tinok) ; pl., tinyang (tinyangik) (K.).
Darkness .. .. sawandet (sawandetin) (K.).
Dawn .. .. kwelta. (Kwya, kwelta ; Sup., kwelta.)
Day .. .. .. chilet (chilwet) ; pl., chilwa (chilwanik) (K.).
ptit (ptitet) ; pl., ptitwa (ptitwanik) (K.).
Daylight .. .. ptit.
Deformed person .. sekwaswa (sekwaswet) ; pl., sekwasis (sekwasisik). K., sekwa.
Die, curse .. .. ngogomsi (ngogomsik) ; pl., ngogomsis (ngogomsisik). K., ang'ogom.
Disease .. .. kiwo (kiwon) ; pl., kiwoin (kiwoinik) (K.).
Devil .. .. chemwa (chemwanik) ; pl., chemwanis (chemwanisik) (K.).
Dew .. .. .. chwo (chwon) (K.).
Dirt .. .. sim (simik) ; pl., simwa (simwak) (K.).
Dog .. .. .. kyilik (kyilikin) ; pl., kyilik (kyilikik) (Ke.). Sup., kyigit. Kipsikis, kyilikin. Perhaps the same with Bk., kidi.
Dress .. .. kwokut (kwokutet) ; pl., kwokut (kwokutik) (K.).
Drink .. .. ruokwin (ruokwinet) (K.).
Ear .. .. .. ik (ikik) ; pl., ikin (ikik) (K.).
Eat (hole in top of) .. ongolwo (ongolwotik) ; pl., ongolwis (ongolwisik). Ke., ingolwet. Sup., ingolwetinwet.

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Earth (soil) .. ŋgunyonyo (ŋgunyonyot); pl., ŋgunyony (ŋgunyonyok). N., ŋgulgunyat. Ko., nyalgwonisk.

Elbow .. .. tégni (tegnito); pl., tegnina (tegnisk) (D.).

Elephant .. .. pílio (pílitet); pl., pil (pílisk) (N.).

Emi .. .. tapan (tapanda); pl., tapanna (tapanesk) (N.).

Enemy .. .. punyo (punyot); pl., pun (punik) (N.).

Entrail .. .. akutan (akutaniet); pl., akutan (akutanik) (N.).

Evening .. .. kanap; kaimen (N.).

Evil eye .. .. mkut (N.).

Excrement .. .. sike (sikut); pl., sik (sikek). Ko., sigek = ox-dung.

Eye .. .. kolg (kolgola); pl., kolgin (kolgik) (N.).

Face .. .. tokweh (tokwita); pl., tokiéch (tokiéchik). Ko., tokwek, tokwita.

Falsehood .. .. kákwina (kákwinek) (N.).

Fat .. .. .. mwai (mwaita); pl., mwan (mwanik) (N.).

Father .. .. kálu.

Father, my (man speaking) .. pamokgo (N.).

Father, my (woman speaking) .. pakwo (N.).

Fearful person .. swolgin (swolgiuet); pl., swolgin (swolginik) (D.).

Feast-day .. .. kambak (kambakita); pl., kambakwa (kambakwak) (N.).

Feather .. .. kowwin (kowwiet); pl., kowe (kowwik) (N.).

Finger .. .. mwrwa (mwrwet); pl., mwrin (mwrik) (N.).

Fire .. .. mi (mik); pl., mwetinga (mwetimwak) (N.).

Firestick .. .. pin (pinet); pl., pinwa (pinwanik). N., pitwet.

Firestick (soft stick) .. tawam (tawamet); pl., tawamwa (tawamwanik).

Firewood .. .. kwenda (kwendet); pl., kwen (kwenik) (N.).

Fist .. .. kotukkwat (kotukkwatiet); pl., kotukkwat (kotukkwatik). N., kakwatiet. Ko., kotukget. Sup., tolokkwtyet.

Flea .. .. .. orkwita (orkwitet); pl., orkwit (orkwitik) (D.).

Flower .. .. tapita (tapitet); pl., tapitai (tapitik).

Fog .. .. .. kiptongo (kiptongot); pl., kiptongwa (kiptongwanik) (D.).

Food .. .. emit (emitik); pl., emitwag (emitwagik) (N.).

Foot .. .. .. ogwaan (ogwaanet) (N.).

Foot .. .. kol (kolóla); pl., kolíen (kolíek) (N.).

Foot (sole) .. .. kolíegwan (kolíegwanet) (N.).

Ford .. .. tapar (taparita); pl., taparwa (taparwak) (N.).

Foreigner .. .. tun (tunet); pl., tui (tuinik) (N.).

Forest .. .. emtuk (emtukta)*; pl., emtukwa (emtukwak) (Ko.). Sup., emwito; pl., emwitwak.

* For emtuk to; the Sup. primary form is emwi.

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Friend	.. ..	chorus (chorust); pl., choronoi (choronõk) (N.).
Frog	.. ..	kimasyari (kimasyarit); pl., kimasyaris (kimasyariõik) (D.).
Garment	.. ..	akur (akuriet); pl., akures (akuresiõk). (*Cf.* N., inguriet.)
Generation	..	ipin (ipinda); pl., ipinua (ipinuek) (N.).
Geographical division		kor (koret); pl., koroeua (koroeuek) (N.) (for the pl., *cf.* Sap., korõeiõk).
Gift	.. ..	melek (melekto); pl., melekua (melekuek) (N.).
Girl	.. .. ..	simborokwo (simborokwet); pl., simborokou (simborokõõik) (D.).
		tie (tiepto); pl., tipin (tipik) (N.) (for the secondary sing., *cf.* Ko., kiepto).
Goat	.. ..	chepkwoch (chepkwochet); pl., chepkwochois (chepkwochoiõik) (D.).
God	.. ..	asis (asista); pl., asisua (asisuek) (N.).
Good-bye	.. ..	asiwo (N.).
Grain	.. ..	olbai (olbaiõk). (Sap., paek. N., pãk. M., olpaeki.)
Grass	.. ..	samsam (samsamiet); pl., samsam (samsamik) (D.).
		kesuket (kesuketiet); pl., kesuket (kesuketik) (D.).
Grasshopper	..	chemonjorua (chemonjoruet); pl., chemonjoroi (chemonjoroõk) (N.).
Gratis	.. ..	puch.
Grey hair	.. ..	kalual (kalualet); pl., kalualeo (kalualeoiõk). (N., kalualiet.)
Grindstone	..	lisõ (lisõta); pl., lisõua (lisõuek) (N.).
Groin	.. ..	paliu (paliet); pl., paliui (paliõik) (N.).
Haft	.. ..	kunyuk (kunyukto); pl., kunyuk (kunyukik). (As N., except the secondary sing., where N. has kungit.)
Hail	.. ..	kuiya (kuiyat). N., kuiyat. Sap., koiyat.
Hand	.. ..	ruboi (ruboino); pl., ruboeua (ruboeuek) (N.).
Head	.. ..	ruikuyui (ruikuyuit); pl., ruikuyuio (ruikuyuõiõk) (D.).
Health	.. ..	aspo (aspot) (N.).
Heart	.. ..	ololua (ololuait); pl., ololuaio (ololuaiõik). M., ol-tau.
Heaven	.. ..	tomo (tomoet).
Heel	.. ..	tutuilgulo (tutuilgulo); pl., tutuilgua (tutuilguek). Ko., chichilgulo. Sap., tikilgulo.
Here	.. ..	ingok (ingokiet); pl., ingokoi (ingokõiõk) (N.).
Hide, ox	.. ..	muik (muikto); pl., muuo (muõuik). N., muito; pl., muiuek. Ko., muito; pl., muõuik.
Hill	.. ..	tulwo (tulwet); pl., tulwoloi (tulwoliõk) (N.).
Hip	.. ..	lip (lipit); pl., lipin (lipiõik) (Ko., lab-it; pl., labiuei. Sk., lep; pl., lepiuei); kûwet-ap-lip.
Hippopotamus	..	ruokuo (ruokuota); pl., ruokuoua (ruokuouek) (N.).

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Holé .. .. kering (keringet); pl., keringon (keringônik) (N.).
Hollow .. .. keruo (keruet); pl., keruoi (keruôk) (D.).
Honey .. .. kumia (kumiat) (N.).
Honey and water .. logome (logomek) (D.).
Honeycomb .. kipiririt (kipiririryet); pl., kipiririres (kipiriritesiek) (D.).
Honey-wine .. kipketin (kipketînik) (N.).
Hoof .. .. siiya (siiyet); pl., sioi (siôk) (N.).
Horn .. .. lâno (lânet); pl., lânoi (lânok) (D.).
House .. .. kochonge (kochonget); pl., kochonges (kochongesiek) (D.).
Hunger .. .. ilcho (ilchet) (D.).
Hunt .. .. sagas (sagasta); pl., sagasua (sagasuek). Ko. kip-sagas-ian, hunter.
Hunter .. .. kiplokotio (kiplokotiot); pl., kiplokot (kiplokotik) (N.).
Husband .. .. manoñgotio (manoñgotiot); pl., manoñgot (manoñgotik) (N.).
Hyæna .. .. kimarok (kimaroket); pl., kimarokes (kimarokesiek) (D.).
Idle person .. chiito ne nyara.
Illness .. .. korot (koroito); pl., koroiua (koroiuek) (N.).
Abscess .. .. mô (môet); pl., môoi (môôk) (N.).
Boil .. .. undir (undiriet); pl., undir (undirik) (N.).
Cold .. ... lolio (loliot).
Dropsy .. .. mpuras (mpurasta) (N.).
Rheumatism .. olbai (olbait) (M.).
Sore throat .. kipkawamook (kipkawamookit).
Insect .. .. kuut (kuutiet); pl., kuut (kuutik) (N.).
Iron .. .. karna (karnet); pl., karin (karik) (N.).
Jackal .. .. leluo (leluot); pl., lelue (leluek) (N.).
Jar .. .. .. soiyo (soiyet); pl., soiyes (soiyesiek) (N.).
Jaw .. .. nasiringoiya (nasiringoiyat); pl., nasiringois (nasiringoisiek) (D.).
Kidney .. .. soromya (soromyet); pl., soromoi (soromôk) (N.).
Knee .. .. kutuñg (kutuñglo); pl., kutuñgwa (kutuñgwek) (N.).
Knife .. .. chambolua (chamboluet); pl., chambolôs (chambolôsiek) (N.).
Language .. .. lokoiyo (lokoiyot); pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Leaf .. .. .. sogo (sogot); pl., sog (sogek) (N.).
Left .. .. katam (N.).
Leg .. .. .. kel (keldo); pl., kelien (keliek) (N.).
Calf of .. .. ai (aita); pl., oiua (oiuek) (N.).
Fore .. .. narobroba (narobrobait); pl., narobrobais (narobrobaisiek)
Hind .. .. chât (châtit); pl., châtin (châtik) (N.).
Shin .. .. korok (korokta); pl., korokwa (korokwek) (N.).
(D.).

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Leglet (girl's)	ndapakwa (ndapakwet); pl., ndapakon (ndapakönik) (N.).
Leopard	melil (melilto); pl., melilua (meliluek). (Nandi dialects mostly have melildo. Sk., meril.)
Lightning	koliel (kolielet); pl., kolieloi (kolielök) (N.).
Lion	sombi (sombit); pl., sombis (sombisiek) (D.).
Liver	emunywai (emunywait); pl., emunywaiis (emunywaiisiek) (M.).
Lizard	cheringis (cheringisiet); pl., cheringisai (cheringisaiik) (N.).
Log	suben (subenet); pl., subenai (subenaiik) (N.).
Lover	sanya (sandet); pl., san (sanik) (N.). ochôpen (ochôpenit); pl., ochôpenis (ochôpenisiek) (D.).
Lover (girl)	murer (murériat); pl., mureres (mureresiek) (N.).
Lung	puonyo (puonyot); pl., puon (puonik) (N.).
Magic	chepkericho (chepkerichot) (N.).
Man	chii (chiito); pl., piich (piik) (N.).
Man (old)	olmoruokcho (olmoruokchot); pl., olmoruokis (olmoruokisiek). M., ol-moruo; pl., il-moruak. apaiye (apaiyet); pl., apaiis (apaiisiek).
Marrow	kutot (kutotet); pl., kutotis (kutotisiek) (D.).
Matter (pus)	pururut (pururutik) (N., purutek).
Meat	nyanya (nyanyait); pl., nyanyais (nyanyaisiek).
Medicine	kericho (kerichot); pl., kerich (kerichek) (N.).
Middle	kwen (kwenet); pl., kwenus (kwenusiek) (N.).
Milk	chê (chêko) (N.).
Monkey—	
Baboon	konokcho (konokchot); pl., konokchois (konokchoisiek) (D.).
Cercopithecus albigularis	tisia (tisiet); pl., tisoi (tisök) (N.).
Cercopithecus griseo-viridis	chepkiroinyo (chepkiroinyet); pl., chepkiroinyes (chepkiroinyesiek) (D.).
Colobus	saire (sairet); pl., saires (sairesiek) (D.).
Moon	arawa (arawet); pl., arà (arawek) (N.).
Morning	korun.
Mosquito	tingwich (tingwichet); pl., tingwich (tingwichik) (N.).
Moss	kechinchir (kechinchiriet); pl., kechinchir (kechinchirik) (D.).
Moth	tapurpur (tapurpuriet); pl., tapurpur (tapurpurik) (N.).
Mother	kôko; eiyo (N.).
My mother (man speaking)	pôkine.
My mother (woman speaking)	eiyo.

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Mouth	kut (kutit); pl., kutua (kutuek) (N.).
Nail (finger) ..	siiya (siiyet); pl., sioi (siŏk) (N.).
Name	kaina (kainet); pl., kainoi (kainŏk) (N.).
Nape of neck ..	keringich (keringichet); pl., keringichets (keringichetsiek) (D.).
Navel	kâpwal (kâpwalda); pl., kâpwalua (kâpwaluek) (N.).
Neck	kât (katit); pl., kotua (kotuek) (N.).
Necklace	asingai (asingait); pl., asingais (asingaisiek) (N.).
Neighbour	takowos (takowosit); pl., takowosis (takowosiek) (D.).
Net (trap)	porôwo (porôwet); pl., porôon (porôônik) (N.).
Neutral land ..	melel (melelet); pl., meleles (melelesiek) (D.).
Night	mesundei (mesundeito); pl., mesundeiua (mesundeiuek) (N.).
Nose	ser (serût); pl., serûn (serûnek) (N.).
Ostrich	tiond'-ap-songol (N.).[1]
Ox	tany (têta); pl., tich (tuka).
Paint (clay)—	
Brown, red ..	erokoi (erokoit); pl., erokoiis (erokoiisiek) (D.).
White	eworio (eworiot); pl., ewor (eworik) (N.).
Partridge	changweret (changweretiet); pl., changweretes (changweretesiek) (D.).
Penis	kiruk (kirkit); pl., kiruk (kirukik). N. = bull.
Penis (uncircumcised)	monyis (monyiset); pl., monyis (monyisik) (N.).
Perspiration ..	kaot (kaotik) (N.).
Phlegm	seper (seperik) (N.).
Pig	tora (toraet); pl., toroi (torŏk) (N.).
Pig (giant)	tum (tumda); pl., tumua (tumuek) (N.).
Pipe, tobacco ..	teret-ap-tumatet; pl., terênik-ap-tumatet (N.).
Pit (trap)	ngure (nguret); pl., ngures (nguresiek) (D.).
Plain	oñgata (oñgatet) (N.).
Poison	ûgwon (ûgwonit) (N.).
Porcupine	sabit (sabitet); pl., sobit (sobitik) Ko. Sap., sabetet; pl., sabitik. N., sabitiat = quill.
Porridge	kimio (kimiet); pl., kimoi (kimoiik) (N.).
Powerful person ..	kauwel (kauwelet); pl., kauweles (kauwelesiek) (D.).
Prostitute	kiplelkoñg (kiplelkoñgyat); pl., kiplelkoñgis (kiplelkoñgisiek).
Purgative	seketet (seketetik) (N.).
Quiver	mboñg (mboñgit); pl., mboñgis (mboñgisiek) (D.).
	moot (mootiet); pl., mootoi (mootŏk) (N.).
Rabbit	nakutil (nakutilit); pl., nakutilis (nakutilisiek) (D.).

[1] = "The-animal-of-the-(ostrich)-feather."

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Rain	rob (robta); pl., robua (robuek) (N.).
Rat	muria (muriat); pl., mur (murek) (N.).
Rat (mole)	nturumetyo (nturumetyot); pl., nturumetis (nturumetisiek) (D.).
Razor	kipchâpet-am-metit.
Rhinoceros ..	kipkam (kipkamit); pl., kipkamis (kipkamisiek) (D.).
Rib	karas (karasta); pl., korosua (korosuek) (N.).
Right (side) ..	tae (N.).
Ring (ear)	olaimer (olaimeriat); pl., olaimeres (olaimeresiek) (M.). kimeitai (kimeitaiit); pl., kimeitaiis (kimeitaiisiek) (N.).
River	ilos (ilosto); pl., ilosua (ilosuek) (D.).
Road	or (oret); pl., ortinua (ortinuek) (N.).
Root	tlkltio (tlkltiot); pl., tlklt (tlkltik) (N.).
Saliva	ñgul (ñgulek) (N.).
Scar	soremyo (soremyet); pl., sorem (soremik) (D.).
Seed	kesua (kesuot); pl., kesui (kesuek) (N.).
Shade, shadow ..	tomirimir (tomirimiriet); pl., tomirimirai (tomirimiraiik) (N.).
Sheep	olgine (olgineit); pl., olgineiis (olgineiisiek) (M.).
Sheep (ram) ..	enturume (enturumeĕt); pl., enturumeĕs (enturumeĕsiek) (Kikuyu ndurume).
Shield	loñg (loñget); pl., loñgotinua (loñgotinuek) (N.).
Shoulder	rukumbo (rukumbet); pl., rukumbon (rukumbŏnik) (D.).
Side	komas (komasta); pl., komosua (komosuek) (N.).
Sister	*See* "Girl."
Skin (human) ..	iririo (iririot); pl., iriren (irirĕnik) (N.).
Skirt	chepkaiyu (chepkaiyuit); pl., chepkaiyuis (chepkaiyuisiek) (N.).
Skull	takungu (takungut); pl., takungus (takungusiek) (N.).
Smoke	iye (iyet); pl., iyes (iyesiek) (N., iyet*).
Snake	kipsekor (kipsekoriet); pl., kipsekores (kipsekoresiek) (D.).
Python	indara (indaret); pl., indoroi (indorŏk) (N.).
Puff adder ..	kipinchuse (kipinchuset); pl., kipinchuses (kipinchusesiek) (N.).
Snuff	olaisuk (olaisukit) (M.). Ko. has "oloisiogit."
Son	*See* "Child."
Son of	arap (N.).
Song	esingolyo (esingolyoit); pl., esingolyois (esingolyoisiek). M., e-singŏlio.
Spear	olmorondoi (olmorondoit); pl., olmorondoiis (olmorondoiisiek) (M.).

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Star .. .. tapoiya (tapoiyat); pl., tapoi (tapoiik) (N.).
Stick .. .. kiruk (kirukto); pl., kirukua (kirukuek) (N.).
Stone .. .. koii (koiita); pl., koii (koiek) (N.).
Sun .. .. .. cheptalil (cheptalilit); pl., cheptalilis (cheptalilisiek) (N.).
Sword .. .. wesek (wesekto); pl., wesekua (wesekuek) (D.).
Tail .. .. wâtut (wâtutiet); pl., wâtutai (wâtutaiik).
Testicle .. .. tolkêlyo (tolkêlyot); pl., toikêl (tolkêlik) (D.).
Thief .. .. chorin (chorindet); pl., chor (chorik) (N.).
Thigh .. .. kupes (kupesto); pl., kupesua (kupesuek) (N.).
Thing .. .. kii (kiito); pl., tukun (tukuk) (N.).
Thirst .. .. melel (melelda) (N.).
Throat .. .. mook (mookto); pl., mookwa (mookwek) (N.).
Thunder .. .. ilat (ilet); pl., ilot (ilotik) (N.).
Tinder .. .. sasya (sasyat) (D.).
Tobacco .. .. tumato (tumatet); chepkochût (chepkochûtit) (N.).
Tobacco-box .. kiprauwi (kiprauwit); pl., kiprauwis (kiprauwisiek) (N.). Ko. chep-kiraut. Sap., in-giraut = snuff box.
Tongue .. .. olgeche (olgecheit); pl., olgecheiis (olgecheiisiek) (M.).
Tooth .. .. kelda (keldet); pl., kelat (kelek) (N.).
Tree .. .. .. ket (ketit); pl., ket (ketik) (N.).
Udder .. .. sorio (soriet); pl., soroi (soroiik) (D.).
Vagina .. .. kâpin (kâpiniet); pl., kâpin (kâpinik) (N.).
War (raid) .. .. lug (luget); pl., luges (lugesiek) (N.).
Warrior .. .. muren (murenet); pl., muren (murenik) (N.).
Water .. .. engare (engaret); pl., engares (engaresiek). M., engare.
Wife .. .. *See* "Woman."
Wind .. .. usoon (usoonet); pl., usoonai (usoonaiik) (N.).
Witch-doctor .. ponin (ponindet); pl., pon (ponik) (N.).
Witch-doctor (diviner) orkoiyo (orkoiyot); pl., orkoi (orkoiik) (N.).
Woman .. .. korko (korkot); pl., korus (korusiek) (N.).
Barren .. .. soon (soonet); pl., soonotinua (soonotinuek) (N.).
Married .. .. yôsôtio (yôsôtiot); pl., yôsôt (yôsôtik) (N.).
Old .. .. engitog (engitogit); pl., engitogis (engitogisiek). M., engitok = the wife.
Word .. .. lokoiyo (lokoiyot); pl., lokoiyua (lokoiyuek) (N.).
Wrist .. .. walel (waleldo); pl., walelua (waleluek) (N.).
Year .. .. keny (kenyit); pl., kenyis (kenyisiek) (N.).
Zebra .. .. oloitigo (oloitigoit); pl., oloitigois (oloitigoisiek) (M.).

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(*b*) Verbs.

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Verbs are given in their stem (*i.e.* the imperative sing.) only. The following, after a verb, denote that it is a derived stem, and conjugated as described in the Grammar under the heading which is affixed to it:—Pros. = motion hither. Apo. = motion thither. Dat. = dative. Rf. = reflexive. Ca. = causal. Rp. = reciprocal.

Able (be)	imũch (N.).	Copulate	kum (N.).
Abuse	chup (N.).	Cough	lal (N.).
Angry (be)	nereket (N.).	Count	iit (N.).
Answer	iyan (N.).	Cry	rer (N.).
Arise	ũget (N.).	Cut	til (N.).
Arrive	it-un (N.) (Pros.).	Delay	ikaa-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).
Ascend	lany (N.).	Die	*S.* 1. a-me (N.).
Ask	tepen (N.).		*P.* 1. ki-pek-un (N.).
Assist	toret (N.).	Dig	paal (N.).
Be	mi (N.).	Do	yai (N.).
Bear (fruit)	ii (N.).	Drink	iye (N.).
Beat	pir (N.).	Drunk (be)	pôkit (N.).
Beckon	ũgweeh (N.).	Dwell	meny (N.).
Beg	som (N.).	Eat	am (N.).
Blink	mismis (N.).	Enlarge, increase.	tes (N.).
Blow	kuut (N.).	Enough (be)	yam (N.).
Bore	parpar (N.).	Extinguish fire	mis (N.).
Box ears	rapach (N.).	Fall	iput (N.).
Break	iri (N.).	Fatigued (be)	ũget (N.).
Break wind	kwot (N.).	Fear	iyuei (N.).
Breathe	ipus (N.).		muen (D.).
Brew	riech (N.).	Fight	pir-kei (N.) (Rf.).
Bring	ip-un (N.) (Pros.).	Fill	inyêt (N.).
Build	tech (N.).	Fill with food.	ipiiy-en[2] (N.) (Rp.).
Burn (act	pel (N.).	Filled with food (be)	piiy-en.[2]
Buy	al (N.).	Finish (act)	tar (N.).
Call	kur (N.).	Finished (it is)	ka-ko-pek (N.).
Carry	ip (N.).	Fold	aruny (N.).
Chop	yep (N.).	Follow	isup (N.).
Circumcise	muratan (N.).	Forget	yutie (N.).
Close	ker (N.).	Get	aich (N.).
Come	ichôm-un (M.) (Pros.).		
Cook	kwany (N.).		

[1] *Present*, a-'kooikei.

[2] These two verbs are irregular: *Present*, a-piiy-onyi; *Past*, ka-a-piiy-e. The first is the Ca. of the simple form.

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Give	.. ..	kôn; ikôchi (irreg. as in Nandi).	Run	.. ..	lapat (N.).
Go	.. ..	ichôm-den (M.) (Apo.).	Say	.. ..	mwai (N.); ile (N.).
Grind	.. ..	ñga (N.).	Say to	.. ..	mwa-un (Pros.). mwa-chin (Dat.).
Growl	..	moror (N.).	Scowl	.. ..	injurur (N.).
Have	.. ..	tinye (N.).	Search	..	cheñg (N.).
Hear	.. ..	kas (N.).	See	.. ..	suwen[2] (D.).
Hunt	.. ..	sagas	Sell	.. ..	al-ten (N.) (Apo.).
Hurt	.. ..	am (*e.g.* am-a esikoyoit, *my head hurts me*).	Sew	.. ..	nap (N.).
			Shoot	.. ..	mwog (N.).
Ill (be)	..	mian (N.).	Shut	.. ..	ker; rat (N.).
Kill	.. ..	par (N.).	Sleep	.. ..	ru (N.). ru-ien (Rp.).
Kindle	..	inam; ilal (N.).	Smell (act)	..	iñgu (N.).
Know	..	sue (D.).	Smell (intrans.)		ñgu-ten (Apo.).
Laugh	..	rori (N.).	Spit	.. ..	ñgutut (N.).
Leap	.. ..	toromben (N.).	Spoil	.. ..	ñgem (N.).
Let alone	..	met-ten (N.) (Apo.).	Stand	.. ..	tonon (N.).
Love	.. ..	cham (N.).	Steal	.. ..	chor (N.).
Marry	..	itun (N.).	Sweep	..	ipûch (N.).
Meet	.. ..	nyor-un (N.) (Pros.).	Take, hold	..	nam (N.).
Open	.. ..	yat (N.).	Throw	.. ..	wer (N.).
Overturn	..	uwech (N.).	Tie	.. ..	rat (N.).
Pour	.. ..	roñg (N.); roñg-un (N.) (Pros.); roñg-jin (Dat.).	Travel	.. ..	ru-ten (N.) (Apo.).
			Understand	..	kas (N.).
Prepare	..	yai-ten (N.) (Apo.).	Unfasten	..	yat (N.).
Put	.. ..	in-de(n) (N.) (Apo.). konor (N.).	Untie	.. ..	itiach (N.).
			Upset	.. ..	turur-ten (N.) (Apo.). tum-den (N.) (Apo.).
Quiet (be)	..	sis (N.).	Wait	.. ..	kany (N.).
Rain	.. ..	robon (N.).	Walk	.. ..	wend-ote[3] (N.).
Refuse	..	yesien (N.).	Want	.. ..	mach (N.).
Remain	..	tepi (N.).	Wash	.. ..	iuun (N.).
Remember	..	ipwat (N.).	Wash oneself	..	iuun-gei (Rf.).
Remove	..	nem-un (N.) (Pros.).	Well (be)	..	sap (N.).
Return (act)	..	iwech (N.) (Ca.).	Yawn	.. ..	ime (N.).
Return (intrans.)		we-i-kei[1] (N.) (Rf.).	Yell (shout)	..	wach (N.).
Ripen	..	rur-ien (N.) (Rp.).			

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[1] *Present*, a-we-chi-kei.
[2] *Cf.* Sk. sow-, *see*.
[3] *Present*, *S.* 1. a-wend-oti; *P.* 1. ki-pend-oti.

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Note.—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (N.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Nandi word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorōbo word. In several cases the Nandi words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorōbo word, *e.g.* "mesundeito," the Dorōbo for "night," means in Nandi, "darkness when there is no moon." And when, *e.g.*, "paal" is marked (N.) it does not necessarily follow that the Nandi is "paal" (in this case the Nandi is "pal"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Nandi, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Māsae.

Examples of Dorōbo. (True Dorōbo in italics.)

Ker-oti *Okick* si ko-*sue* *kochongesiek*
They-are-walking-about-looking-at the-Dorōbo that they-may-know the-huts
chepo piik ap *sameita*.
which-are-of the-people of the-forest.

Ma-ngo-mi *sombisiek* *samakuek* korosue-chu.
Not-and-there-are the-lions (in) the-forests (in) countries-these.

Mi-i *kisamet* ne lony-e *ilosta*.
There-is the-bridge which it-crosses the-river.

Ki-ichōm-doi-i *ki-sagus* āñg *ñgōkik*.
We-go that-we-may-hunt with the-dogs.

Ko'len *olmoruokchot* A-mach-e *simborokuet* *ko-chōm-us* si ko-ram
And-he-says the-old-man I-want the-girl that-she-comes that she-may-draw
engare.
the-water.

Ki-pendi *samuk*[1] ki-*sagus* torset ne mony-e ye mi-i
We-go forest we-hunt the-bush-pig which it-dwells where there-is
oldamiyoit.
the-olive-tree.

VII.—LIST OF TREES AND PLANTS.

Dorōbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
chelumbut	ĕwât	
chepkeipet		
chesicheiyot	chesicheiyet	
choruet	choruet	*ficus* sp.
ketit-ap-lnaiik		
kāposwet	serengwet	
kāput-kalial	kāpkiloluet	

[1] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Ravine Dorōbo (*Man*, 1906, 21), the phrase "kibe samak," lit. "we go to forest," is given for "hunt."

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
keliot	keliot	*acocanthera Schimperi.*
kesainet	serkutiet	
ketuyuwet	martit	
kipeichekwet	siriat	
kipkomotet	kipkoskosit	
kipsepuet	kipsepuet	*tilia* sp.
kiptililiet	kipuimetyet	
kiseruet	kuseruet	*sedum* sp.
koropanyat	kormanyat	
kuriot	kuriot	
kwâmereryet	chepsañgainet	
laropat	ket-ō-ka	
lemeiyuet	lamaiyuet	*ximenia americana.*
mâchet	soiyet	
marorto	sakomwet	
masaita		
mindeyuet	masiririet	*polygonum senegalense.*
moiyuet	cheptangolik	parasite, tree-rope.
momonyat	momonyot	*rubus rigidus.*
mukupchot	lepekwet	*dracæna* sp.
ndorokyat		
ñganasyat	chepkeleliet	
nyaklet	kipsutiet	parasite, tree-rope.
olchapalait	chepitet	
oldamiyoit	emdit	*olea chrysophylla.*
ororuet	teldet	*ficus* sp.
pōpōnet	siksiket	
porôwet	silipchet	*dombeya* sp.
rōremlet	kuresiet	*euphorbia candelabrum.*
rosopelyet	leltonget	*abutilon indicum.*
saptet	tarakwet	*podocarpus* sp.
sisuriet	susuriet	*musa cucie.*
seet	seet	
senetwet	senetwet	*cassia didymobotrya.*
señgeñgwet	seseiyat	
sestuet	katet; sertuet	*acacia robusta.*
sitotwet	sitotyot	
soboitit	simotuet	*ficus* sp.
sosoiyat	tekat	*arundinaria alpina.*
sumbeiyuet	sumboiyuet	

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Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenetwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*anilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorôbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsiktsin (Kipsiktsindet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsiktsiek). il-Kakesant.
Masae, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Mee (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorôbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorôbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorôbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Masae to the Bantu " savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = " the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning " bay."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

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In conclusion, I do not consider that the physical characteristics of the Dorôbo throw much light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Nilo-Hamitic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment.[1]

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[1] In the foregoing paper no remark has been made as to the "false" Dorôbo. There are a large number of people of all sorts of tribes, whatever taken to the woods, and live as outlaws, mostly on account of some misdemeanour. The numbers of true Dorôbo have probably been swelled also by people from the tribes next to whom they dwell, e.g., Maasai, Nandi, etc. But these additions to the numerical strength of a certain are by no means Dorôbo, though they may be so in name. And I cannot accept Merker's view of the origin of the Dorôbo. (*Die Masai*, pp. 6-9, 271, etc.; *Man* Werner's review of Hollis, *Nandi*, in *Man*, 1910, 92, p. 166.) Merker's work is not, I believe, very reliable, and he seems to be a rather prejudiced observer. The physical characteristics which we have noted may perhaps, be taken as one indication among others that the Dorôbo we met were true Dorôbo, and not outlaws of other tribes. The effects of environment are not likely to make themselves visible in a few years only. The fact that these Dorôbo vocabularies (luckily recorded by Mr. Hobley, *loc. cit.*) show that the true Dorôbo language is similar to Nandi in structure, may, I think, be take accurate evidence against those who maintain that the Dorôbo of Mau, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Kenya, Baringo, etc., are formed mostly of outlaws from neighbouring tribes.—(G. W. B. H.)

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
1. The Third Ascending Generation
2. The Second Ascending Generation
3. The First Ascending Generation
4. Own Generation
5. The First Descending Generation
6. The Second Descending Generation
III. The Family and Behaviour
1. Family life
2. The Age-Set system
3. Behaviour
IV. The Clan
V. Marriage.
1. Circumcision
2. Pre-marital sex-life
3. Marriage
4. Birth
5. Adultery and divorce
6. Polygyny
7. Names
8. Marriage with Nandi

I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tinderet Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Corrance and E. G. Whitfield for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

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435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kwelut*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[204] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kwelut*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
436 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their waterbuck to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his kinds. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people
[197] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unco-operative shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

7: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1934) 1935 FLS Diaries FL6
J. ye FL8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Tuhanki*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Other as he is, he can on occasion
[782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Kenenjeni*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajaks* of Labuan, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longaloi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dadathe, the *Ilo*, the *Kenenjeng* and the Turkana people, but not, however, by the Dorlogo of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longaloi, who would sit quietly smoking, as it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would locate himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalagoria, in a ravine that runs down into the Elit valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be dashed in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach would be extracted without damaging the viscera, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat in the top of the fig-tree, while Longaloi called upon Tuhanki to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's incantations, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longaloi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a long among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longaloi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[821] I recently contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

1897 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. There seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Kenenjeng," the tongue which,

[illegible] with dialectical variations, in common to the rest of Sovereign [illegible] the full value of Sheet Orthodox (Kashubian) and Modern Slovenian, they form a language of their own.

Westminster Shorthand, Junior and Elementary.

Name.	Examination Year.	Mark.				Result.	Remarks.
		A.	B.	C.D.	Average P.C.		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The word commonly taken as the accent.

Result Considering

Regular.	Possible.	Outstanding.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Kenyenjin Terminology—(contd.).

English.	Dinkidin.	Kenyenjin.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Tree Diseases.

The Dinkidin resemble the Lubwa and the Wandendin in appearance and dress. Their country, like that of the Zo, is that of the plains; and, like the Zo and the Kenyenjing, they are "cattle people" and possess numerous herds.

The Village.—The Dinkidin village (see p. XXIV, Fig. 1—somewhat like that of the Wandendin, except that there is but one outer enclosure (a very strong one), and the interior enclosures round the kraal groups are to a greater or lesser extent omitted. There is also a special compound for cattle. The huts, too, are purpel and well made, and the entrances are larger than those of the Wandendin.

The *purpel* of the hut walls is done with clay and is rendered with cow-dung. A well-built hut has a little portico to the door and two upright supports, also purpel and rendered, are placed in front of this (Text-figs. 21, 21a and 21b).

Each village is the home of a patrilineal, his wives, sons and grandsons, and their wives and children. The villages occur in widely separated groups, each group being occupied by a section of the tribe. The sections are exogamous and non-totemic.

Clothing and Adornment.—Little need be said under this head, for what is true of the Lubwa is also true of the Dinkidin in this respect. It may be mentioned, however, that the people are very fond of ornaments of all sorts, and one infrequently sees one old man whose heads are surrounded by a circlet of sheep's teeth (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1).

Food.—The essential food of the Dinkidin is blood, milk and meat. The first two they swallow raw. Now that they are growing grain this is some use. They frequently tie a calved with fresh blood taken from live cattle tied at intervals for this purpose, or from a sheep or a goat, the body cavity of which is used when the animal is killed as a receptacle into which the warm blood is allowed to flow. Several kinds of grain have been introduced, but millet is by far the commonest grown. An attempt on the part of the Native Commissioner in 1929 to introduce bananas proved a failure, owing to the long droughts from which the country suffers.

[1] "Purpel" is an old-fashioned technical term for a process of smearing the walls of dwellings with cow-dung. The modern equivalent is "wattle-dagb".

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilelisaragwani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders: usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ari and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

/30 cont'd/

unceremoniously by wholesale rape rather than swallowed by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humanoid (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality to both.

34. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in the country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribe and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

35. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Ilkumone of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kenya repudiate this and point out that there were no stalls among them and that they might have eaten and run implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... even after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of human beings as Dorobo or Athi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

Bibliography C-S (ca. 1930-1949) 1956 FLA Dembo FLA
Kenji Fuji

/16 cont'd/

Unlike their predecessors, they were not short in stature, but something between the Gumbe and the Kikuyu. Also they did not live underground, but built their homes on the surface, almost as circular huts as those of the Gikuyu homesteads. Their language, too, was similar to the Gikuyu. To a certain extent the two tribes could understand one another with little difficulty.

With these evidences it would not be assuming too much to say that the interbreeding between the Gumbe and the Gikuyu was responsible for the disappearance of the Gumbe as a distinct race, and the producing of the Ndorobo or Aathi, who became the new owners and the hunters of the forests ..."

/20/ 22. With regard to language I have satisfied myself that the Dorobo now living at Kericho, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, spoke a language of the Nandi type. Old men still speak it, though they also speak Kikuyu. The younger men use Kikuyu almost exclusively. In the Dorobo language, as still spoken by the older men, there has been considerable borrowing from Masai, though the bulk of the vocabulary is Nandi-like. But when both Masai and Nandi are excluded there remains perhaps an element which may be a residuum of pure original Dorobo, or may merely represent the degree of variation one would expect in any dialect severed from the other dialects of its group for a lengthy period, as one must suppose the particular dialect of Nandi or pre-Nandi to have been. The old men say that the language they speak today is the only language spoken by Dorobo tribes in former times, so far as they know. They can manage to understand a Nandi or a Kipsigis, but do not find it easy. So far as I could make out in the time at my disposal the grammar of the language, like its vocabulary, is of a Nandi type. A few comparisons are given here to illustrate the vocabulary. Infinitives are given in the form with the prefix and verbs are given as stems only.

/10 cont'd/

	Dumbo	Nandi	Masai
one	agenge	aienge	
two	eli	eieng'	
three	tlumuk	emuk	
four	ong'wan	ang'wan	ong'wan
five	mut	emut	(ienyet)
six	lot	olle	(olle)
seven	sabuluan		saapiluan
eight	lelit	eldil	iipet
nine	saruk		saruk
ten	tamun	tamun	tomon
twelve	tamun ag eli	tamun ak eieng'	
hundred	ib		ip
man	chiren, or ag'wan	chiren	
woman	chilagot		
women	emuhit	kemuiet	
warrior	muenit	muenit	il-muran
girls	nihit	ejoit	
elder, old man	betyondet	peiyon	
leopard	meliit	meliit (kiyeigie)	
lion	ngorondo	ng'rondo	
elephant	kerueti		
forest pig	ruondo	ruondo	
goat	ariet	ariet	
rain	enogit	enogit	
lightning	iyeugot		
cow	ndimodi	iyeugon	
believe	kua	eiie	
rain	kwogon		
ear	ebiro	eiiro	
food	rondo	enodo	
hot	kot	kwie, kot	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
cry	kugit	kakuo	

/32 cont'd/

	Dorobo	Nandi	Masai
witchdoctor	bororodet	pororindet	(ol-oiboni)
Masai	iguchokonditi	iguapelun	
Kamba	ikeng'o		'i-no-ng'o (the whiskers)
Kikuyu	ngun, kugwii		ii-kokuyo
Dorobo	ogiek (pl.)	okiek (pl.)	
Swahili	Kong'aiek (pl.)		
European	ojojo (pl. ijojo)		'i-ojojo (the hairy ones)/32/
nose	opua	oyo	
go	ot	ot	
follow	opur		
boy	ot	ol (-il)	
ear	aath		
mouth	moob	mach	
no	ooi	ooi	

Complete accuracy is not claimed for this list of Dorobo words; accuracy is not easy when one is dealing with aged men with unreliable memories; they are so apt to answer in long sentences which doubtless contain the words one wants but smothered under a mass of verbiage entirely unintelligible to one not previously acquainted with their language. But the list is sufficiently accurate to fulfil its purpose, which is to relate the speech of these Dorobo to some other dialect of such a relationship exists in fact.

ET. And then, I think, is just about as far as we can go towards an ethnological synopsis of the Dorobo people in the present state of knowledge. It seems, then, likely that there was some section of a people who retained their hunting culture when the rest of them assumed a settled pastorality or agriculture. Just when these people were on record yet say. The scanty evidence we have points to their being connecting link with a cattle-grazing race, and their retention of a Bantu type would seem to fit the facts as well as any. It would be unsafe to base our findings on their language, but if we permit ourselves to talk of these immigrations from the east and mid-Nilotic

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then sprinkle one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ewaso Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for this purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal would then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and hunted and searched themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare foot of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the favourite of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Kwafi numerals.

The prefix "ki-" and the suffixes "-ai," "-ki," and "-ik," are, I think, brought in from the Kwafi language, but most of the words will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Kwafi, and when collecting this vocabulary in some cases they appeared to have forgotten the Dgglish or Gwafi word but gave the Kwafi word, and had to search among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into weak disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[24]

depths of the forests on that mountain. The latter was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1903 and August 1904. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Fle swamp, and it was then elucidated that the hunted people are the Digirl clan of the Ogglek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongitore who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sikirai, who is also said to be one of the hunted people. Needless to remark, the possession of hoards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hope that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Ogglek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Ogglek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Ogglek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digirl clan of Ogglek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Elkoya.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of pure Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digirl people may be true Ogglek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Ogglek words may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Ogglek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Ogglek of Kamilio or Timboit	Kipsongiun.	Ogglek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkorouk.
Ogglek, east of Lumbwa country	Pilolum.	Do. do.	Kamish.
Ogglek in Elgeyo Escarpment	Kokimonglok.	Ogglek, south-west Kamis and also Fle swamp	Digirl.
Ogglek, north of Kamis	Sisirok.	Ogglek of Kisiam, north of Kamasyiro	Lelorish.
Ogglek of Lelithoi	Kaiwam.	Ogglek, south of Kabolil plain, south-west of Nakuru	Sainte.
Ogglek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chebiskwonsh.		

The head Laibon of the Ogglek is said to be one Lemenkis, who lives with the Masai at Ngong hill Station, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digirl have a chieftainess named Ongitore who is said to live near Nyeri, or Kabogye in North Elkoya. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905

FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

DMN 192 197

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10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905

FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13.

No. 31.] MAN. [1905.

DMN
192
197

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Masai FL12

Nandi FL13

D
MN
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197

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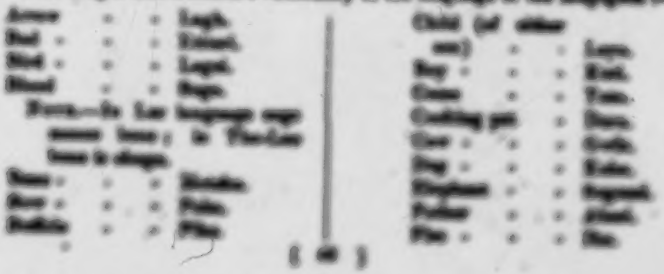
114
101
644

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neumann (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Kenia Fyke, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mugogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Mau.

D
192

Mr. Neumann collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but more studies than my to save this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neumann's vocabulary of the language of the Mugogodo :—



12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL17

Sopi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was purewhite, and the Kikuyu an animal called Hako (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Sopi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Hako.

Sopi then sid each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and : different points.

The Masai marching into Kikuyu from Kaiyaku, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all the stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Sonai or Gallas were thus disposed of, and only by the name Irogi, which was give to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of teir tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Ukuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Kerobio, who is still alive and resides in one of Bungu's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuf's slave.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on em. After a time had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depends on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which forced of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of its means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Sengo, Kaiyaku, Kaviau, Kijabe, on Lolldipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kisumayu—(the chief that went to th last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiarity that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language! ?t Sengo, Kaiyaku, Kijabe, and Kaviau Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kaveirondo and Kavirondi, tribe birthplace of their fathers.

As regardsthe origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to be three two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on t plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and roofed over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhe in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*: but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Eudigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical: that, for instance, the Aimakaboro clan in the Mokoren of the Masai: the Asijire, the Taruaro: the Ambui, the Maiejan: the Akharibibo, the Aisir: and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobot might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs: but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Mois‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Mois Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence: in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

E. S. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Masai. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa originated from the north end Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and also many have been the case with the Masai, Lumbwa, and Suk, may have settled down in those fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been subjected during, and abandoned after such occupations.

† Torog, pl. dorogo, means short in Masai.

‡ Sandgrol and Mois are different names for the same people: they are also known to the Kikuyu as Aramanikoma. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo in Kikuyu. The name Ark Ayak might possibly mean this tribe, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word ayak, one of their father's principal wives, is possibly the same as Ark, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to the Worshippers of the Church Missionary Society, the same classification seems according to the Worshippers of the Church Missionary Society, the same classification seems applicable to the Dorobo of the Guas Ngishu Plateau. I think myself, however, that the name means this dense little people, and is derived from a similar to the name given by the Kikuyu to a dense people in the Kikuyu country. Their name for the Masai—the word Ghoma means stubborn or, by a considerable stretch, little people.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

126 **Some Dorobo Customs.** *By A. C. Hollis.* 101

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and looks on unmoved as the celestial water-cap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain ceased threatening we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East Africans alike—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

● 197 It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Masai like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P.177]

14:Huntingford E-S (1929-1939)1962
FL8 Dorobo FL8

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tinderet forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpai, Kipkoreon, Sowiyo, Chepureur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tinderet hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepureur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tinderet form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1929 and November 1930 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to the organization for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See [illegible] Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX, 230 and fig. 2.

[P.187, A]

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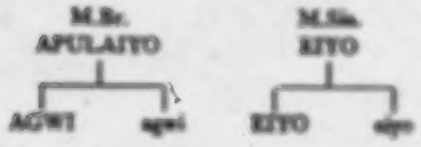


W.S.

(1) Br., Sis.—KESSENDA, kwendo.

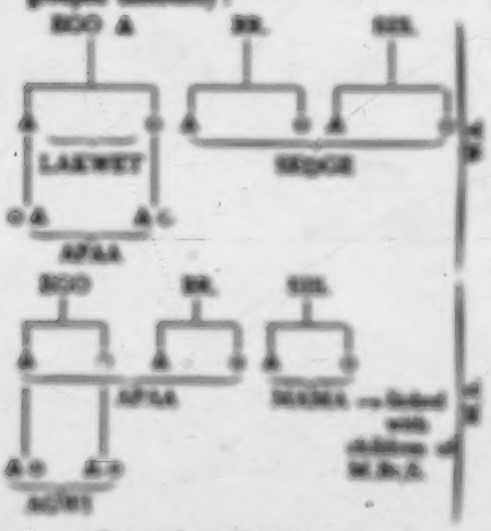
First Descending Generation.

(1) Children of MACHOEOR are also MACHOEOR.

(2) Bgr's children ♂ and ♀—LAEWET, Lahuri.

(3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.—SEDGE, wngr.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently:



Second Descending Generation

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D.—AFAA, ngwa, transferred from first descending generation W.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

E.E.E.E—O., F.Br., W.Sis.H. linked to Mother, Sister, Sister-in-law, and probably to Aunt, ngwa (Uncle also), all meaning "father."

[41]

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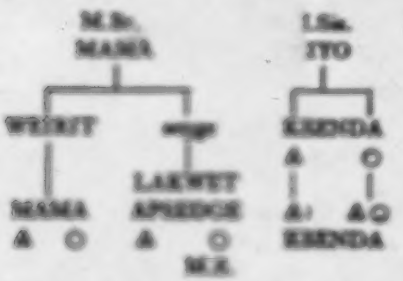

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MAWA—M.Br., M.Br.W. My mama, and possibly also to Boni *mama-ye*.

ITTO—M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *ajo*, Masai *paipa*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An irrational abbreviation for *ajo* in Dorobo *POEINE*, which in Nandi means Bro.SW.

AGWI—F.Br., his children and male children, Nandi *agui*, Masai *al-ahui-gwandikeben*. Cf. Boni *ahwe* < *hwe*, "boni."

EOEEO—F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masai *koko*, "old woman," i.e. grandmother. And cf. Masai *ang-kyko*, old woman.

POEEIT—F.Sis. This might be from a stem connecting to Boni *pak*, "grandson," but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

EOOYEE—F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi-Masai *mama* "woman," and cf. the Masai *ma a-kokoni a-ngaji*, "respected elders in law—Br.W. and W.Br.

EEEEO—F.S., M.F. Nandi *kei* is the same, form of *koko*, and *kwaye*="I mean," i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *ngoge kegogei*, the reference forms for *koko*, *koko*.

MAEOOEEO—F.S.S. etc. Still unchecked—S.S. and S.S. The etymology may be Low children, "widow," hence it could signify "a collection of relatives."

MAEOE EE—F.S.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-chet*, "They are not granted," because though their relatives are known, none can ever allow in one's life-time.

EOOOYO—Br. Sis. M.Sis.S and S. Nandi *chakwa* for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *ngoket*. Possibly < Nandi *kwa*, "carry a

child,' a being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister.

AFAA—children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nzadi *apa* —M.Sin.H., F.Br.S. (*an'-i-apa,*) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dendo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULATTO—M.Br. < Mbuun *apala* < *apa.*

SUNDET—F.Sis., F.Br.W. < *sona* found in Mbuun *o-sudan,* 'sister to love.' *Sudet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pulat* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dendo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families* forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.:

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	S.F.	S.F.
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)	(Bur 3)
S. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.

* F. or M.

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

S.F.	S.F.
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)
F. and M.	S. sw, wife, and children

2. *Clan group*

S.F.	S.F.	
(Bur 1)	(Bur 2)	(Bur 3)
Man and wife	Man and wife	? Member of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are these: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up

*Definitions of 'family':
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (S.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or enclosure, F. being on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (S.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by generation or collateral living together as a definable unit, e.g. Father, and one and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Bur. S.)

Ex. 5. Young Ideal. 5 and 4 para-Ideals, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Ideals's protected

who consisted of their inventors by giving up their roving life, whereas the Woodsmen, by sacrificing their lands, were able to continue their familial nomadic life as hunters and soldiers of fleas combat to forge the great dam.

[illegible] Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic facts, I cannot passionately here, on behalf of the three branches belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Ideal and Tribual, with the insignificant for the latter, with the great number of Ideal dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Ideal patently understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Tribual, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Woodsmen, the 8 generals speak only the language of the Ideal, whereas the 3rd and

/10 cont./

the Ik will also have their own views, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the native words on the move among the Ideri and Wekuri, whereas the Kuk and Ik will have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious rites, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tororo, closely related to the Ideri people. In birth and death, too, all these have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The sure existing proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people of a whole are divided into three large tribes, the [illegible] stem, the Ik mukiiyan, and the Ik sedigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Kuk, as well as every Ik kuuk and Ik ssamani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Ideri in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wekuri, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people for the meeting of individual differences that have developed among the Wandaribe in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be observed in the third part.

/11/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. — The Ik gimit lineage. — The chief, his rule and policy, magic medicines, government men, village, ceremonies, feasts. — The ssaaman. — The Ik ikkuuke lineage. — The ssimiiyam.

Every tribe (ni gimiiyan) is divided, or has already been separated, into a number of lineages (ni gimiya, ni gimit). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ni gimiya kuuk)

/Ibi nuki/

[illegible] The fact that in many things the Ani served as a model for the latter two and that the Ki still also often designate themselves as Ani follows from the circumstances. They are both mainly /Ibi/ humans, whereas among the Ki generally the tendency toward animal humanity has still been preserved here and there.

[illegible] In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Ani will be discussed. Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Ani idiom.

The fact that the Ani are divided into the same tribes and languages as the Ikani and Wakuafi and that they also regard the [illegible] as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

Fig. 61. Wuatchi men.

1. [illegible] the chief of the Ikani people--Ankiyeh]

[illegible] FLII Masai

Derube FLII
Asa

[illegible]

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

• 197 The Aså speak two different idioms, namely, firs, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Taveta language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semitic people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

1274 1277 1278 When the Aså migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Taveta as livestock nomads and the Sawka as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Taveta people. The intercourse that arose between all these may have brought about the adoption of Taveta words into the Aså language and the transformation of Aså words into a form resembling Taveta. This process advanced further when the Aså were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Taveta and Sawka, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tavetaization of the Aså words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Taveta language.

1279 1280 1282 Now, since the Aså to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Wamasai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH KINDIGA CLANS

[illegible] high straight and bushy, cropped on the temple. Bodies are also hair on the [illegible] Ilchoni, though it there is a long lock, they are tucked back.

Witchcraft

Witches, greatly dreaded as among the South, [illegible] are of either sex. Sometimes one path is the more common, though in 1938 the Dorobo said there were as witches as all in the three districts of Kapsir, Kapsowar, and Tambach, and probably as many of witchcraft was accompanied. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft, where the [illegible] child's disability was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, whereupon each [illegible] on the disability knowledge (name) the witch was supposed to be the victim of the [illegible] curse, and fully with the list of a dis-grace. If the accused, who was told to a [illegible] by a Kalenjin diviner rightly named the confession and flogged the diviner.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Presenting a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is [illegible] quite that of the African to whom hunting is a mere of providing [illegible] They seem to be closer to the wild life around them, perhaps because they are [illegible] and dependence. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest name [illegible] to the wild life there, for they have other story and the Nandi and [illegible] with the Dorobo of the forest. This was described to a man, to which a Dorobo [illegible] "The Dorobo know the names of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not hurt, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The [illegible] game of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, the animals [illegible] are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we are many and are [illegible] animals, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they either sing or dance. They [illegible] used to have metal-back bells which were blown to call people together or to [illegible] forest.

[illegible]

Names

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which is similar throughout the [illegible] tribes, a man becomes [illegible] name, [illegible] [illegible] a boy named [illegible] whose father's name is [illegible], becomes [illegible] [illegible], and a [illegible] [illegible]. Both the ancestral and family names are usually [illegible].

Circumcision. (Plate [illegible])

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the [illegible]. There are ceremonies at intervals of about two years. The ceremony takes place after harvest, about [illegible], when every [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. An animal sacrifice is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls to a [illegible] of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, or wearing the [illegible], and is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to marriage.

Marriage

It is usual for Dambo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in [illegible]. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father an [illegible] [illegible] as [illegible] are very scarce.[1] He also gives the parents [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and he must give his father-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

6.

[illegible] Pregnancy. — Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. — Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. — Killing newborn children. — Fertility. — Child mortality.

[illegible] The opinion that the coitus heard expressed a number of times by the Yurok[illegible], that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, in the main, is such a way that coitus resumption takes place at intervals from a birth takes place at the time of the birthage of the possessor can [illegible] appears surprising.

[illegible] During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not [illegible] a great interest deal of is burning, because it is believed that the father, or his approach, will make the [illegible] and weight. Therefore, after he has died an animal, he moves to the camp and from there each another man are to look for the animal. The pregnant woman may not be beaten. Neither is [illegible] the pregnant wife may step over a [illegible] of [illegible]. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, the [illegible] eggs, and [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] has [illegible] on [illegible]. She must avoid [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] or a [illegible], or [illegible] toward [illegible] the sun for any length of time. [illegible] this, in the opinion of the [illegible], would [illegible] the [illegible].

If the woman [illegible] another [illegible], she [illegible] her husband with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Dorobi from it; and if a Dorobi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Kenyi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Kenyi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acephalous horizon like the Dorobo can fall into chaos, and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1937 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the local council could lapse, and with it the office of Kiruaktuk (though the term names remained), so they lost become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the local council is clearly associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work to this end.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Kenyi they had no special trees which mark the demand. The functions of the local council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: Kimos sabik ai ilosi ne ninyae ak ai yae, ai ilalae ghi nabat. Ingoroi ak ake nabat, ilosi ai ilae ewai ake. "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council. It established what steps to take when land was sworn, and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the Kiruaktuk, who after hearing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for each it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The belonging of Dorobo political organization in public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing. They know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really more important of all, they know that sickness connotes, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these notions are double Dutch, but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold the area and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Dorobi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, but in fact almost none is to the equivalent of a club, though without the accessibility of a club, but this is not possible for people who

Tanganyika G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Some African Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epiko kimoko kitii*" [1]

Time surveyed a Wakiwi Dorobo whom I called on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Olmukutan* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the Wiwiro themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Child and the Elephant.—The Child, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "How am I recommended by the dung of the elephant? I am so small that I cannot hope to accommodate him in the morning, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one piece, and then in time the long may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of child-dung, showing that many of them animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Central tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyaena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." [2] *Ha Masai Ex-ole, bulb.*
* Persons underlined according to the authority quoted in Italic. † A word or a remark, for money and to produce a large appetite. ‡ A night given by the Masai and a name in the Dorobo vocabulary.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SHORTHORN

Introduction

The Shorthorn breed is unknown to a small area about 30 years ago but today is widely spread and at that has grown very popular. Though other individuals have a Shorthorn with economic usefulness and unknowable to the development of cattle breeding as a primary activity and they have been formed in cattle agriculture a primary function for the carrying, transportation, and even the meat used to this, they have been rendered to the breed.

Breed

There who live in 2 and 3 Rhodesia categories (with whom there are not considerable) have cultivated small plots to the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure except the temporary ones granted, according to Europe law. If they live there in accordance under the Rhodesia Native Locations Ordinance. Their plots, consisting of approximately, range in size from one acre divided into four cultivation holdings. A half an acre divided into four holdings. In other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and establishes a living that is left inside the fenced area, economically it was found that allowing Rhodesia crops offered by Rhodesia agriculture to have a little piece of their agricultural land to work.

Europeans farmers in the district, with whom the Rhodesia land practices near the reserve, showed not unwilling to let the Rhodesia live considered on their land give other than piece on rentals, but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the practice of a Rhodesia who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus prevented.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, viz maize, groundnuts and native vegetables. Other food are being grown by white though they brought it from the Rhodesia. Owing problems, especially the cultivation grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, digging fork and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Rhodesia. They have also small axes, which are known, known as pangolabas.

The planting of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, experiments from October to March, and hoed from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Rhodesia method, with planting and hoeing of one hoed. The seed of maize and beans is brought from the Rhodesia, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and beans are planted together in the same plot, though groundnuts are generally grown separately. Manuring is unknown to the Rhodesia cultivator but certain of the native seeds is grown by hand. Cultivation of Rhodesia crops are considered small, but are certain crops in the plots are so small that the bulk of a few such generally both of this is on sandy on the field are to allow the rain with weeds. Cereals are roughly grown on plots of ground in the Rhodesia cultivation.

Stock

Stock is the only form investment worthy of more consideration by Rhodesia, and vegetables, and goats bought by exchange from the Rhodesia. The food supply is still based on their own agricultural practices, supplemented by work grown from their own, and by goods from South Africa they can be got. Meat is still consumed by trapping, though cattle by hunting, it constitutes the diets of privileged members only, and is limited. Stock is got by bringing down from heavy forests. Milk from cattle and is the most valuable food of the Rhodesia native children, sometimes obtaining pasturage, and cannot obtain cattle with tuberculosis, the egg of the dairy and the cow is rarely kept.

Approximately 50% of the Rhodesia Native area, distributed in families of 5 each, have their money, and investment with the long established of the [illegible]

The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, Kiwiswosh, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and Iwet, the wet season, when they set traps. Both seasons covers roughly half the year, the rains beginning to set off in September and getting fast and fast in January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that Kiwiswosh comprises our months of October to March, and Iwet, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize.*

Dorobo names	Nandi names	
Kipsiroo	Kipsamoi	October
Kipsamoi	Kipsamoi arap	November
Kipsamoi ale	Kiptaloi	December
Kiptaloi	Kipsiroo *	January
Kipsiroo *	Kipkoros	February
Kipkoros	Arap Sot	March
Arap Sot	Ptalos	April
Ptalos	Ngai *	May
Kiwosi	Kogi ap	June
Kogi ap	Purat	July
Purat	Cpeso	August
Tcheet	Kiptaloi arap	September

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1931 to 1937 was 61.71 inches, the maximum being 80.17, the minimum 36.10. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is considerably a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 5-6 ins. to the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better reputation even than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to forecast the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers. For these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, and any man that they ever had any. Obtaining weather-lore are such, however, that to a farming economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, drink, meat, and other vegetable materials. Also they had salt, and they still have an knowledge of manufacturing, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, grass shields, honey-boxes, clothing, rugs, baskets, and bundles for both. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi, by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

* Throughout this paper I have written the vote used by the age a represents the 'long vowel of', for which another * the first occurrence in the vote used.

The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelope and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and the uitdil. Thus, Kxoe Bloke told of how once after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Kwalk, as far as the hills Kaptoye and Tgwaatse[1] near the modern Tsoha, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there, and another Dombe spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kaptoye in North Kwalk. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist in the east, in the direction of Tsabbesa and Lambian, but they have now been hunted by the Dombe to recent years to fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaptoye age were members. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Kxoe and Kaptoyen were warriors about 40 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dombe occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organised parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1935, when Kxoe Diagna got his leg torn in a leopard trap at Nxabiya. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is pinned up on the fence. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Kxoe Bloke which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not observed for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunter themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery. Though some have become to hate pig there is no taboo.

Hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kxbunkwe, and the spear may imported as he found among some Dombe does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping a man would only something to set the mechanism with, and, of course, his skill. A dog is to make a girl-trap to work something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the Dombe tree (Dombe sp.) and are about 4 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, too, is made of gut from the giant pig, [illegible]. The gut is scraped, greased and rubbed till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow so as not to or so from each end: an notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the [illegible] and reeds-trees, as well as from [illegible]. They are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[1] Kxoe names, as Europeans or Kbalkwa and Kxoegan.

Fig. 5. A Simple Kind of Spring. This trap has an "elegant grip". The animal knocks on the platform and by so doing presses it against the weight A, to which base B is attached, thus releasing the bow and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the wires round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal knocks on it, allowing the bow to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Snaring parties might be made up for as many as eight days, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, there on the other side might be more success[ful], or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was dressed, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the bad days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either on a reserve on the exchanged with the Kwadi for skins and millet. A stock of dried meat [illegible] about 3 lb. square, was sold for about 30 lbs. of grain. Meat is not [illegible] etc., whereas carbonated which are held over on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoke-cured when being dried on the roof of a hut or in the bark of a tree.

2. Agriculture

Since they are no longer hunt, and present conditions are[1] not favourable for the exploitation of cattle on a large scale (even if the Swede had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Kwadi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1931 and 1948. In the first of these years the only cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible, but by the latter year their fields were, as we have seen, in a great deal cultivated as agriculture. Just as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the planting of crops is carefully regulated by the sun and the moon, [illegible] The principal crops are:

[illegible] to April:	groundnuts of the bush
April–May:	planting
September:	reaping

[1] See notes to the years 1931–48.

S. Migeiro G-4 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

function of which is to borrow cattle to its multitudinous and the scarcity of the cattle's keeper.

The Masai are good to the Wakwafi and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The Wakwafi expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on the natives from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the Wakwafi helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to natives. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the Wakwafi at the request of the Masai. Lekiro told me of one drive in which he and about thirty Wakwafi were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a Wakwafi obtained cattle he sent, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the Wakwafi only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling or sleeping places.

A few Wakwafi till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A Wakwafi will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a sensible patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the Wakwafi. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is reported as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the Wakwafi has at his command an extensive

2:Migotos G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endoisi* [2] which every *Mósiro* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *sarutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the th- h. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped -tage. Its distinctive twittering often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush-pools and other places it favours are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sapi*; the Masai call it *Ee-pidoto*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chelemdet*; the Nandi, *Chepkondo*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Olokeenik* (Masai).

2: Maguire G-S (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

The *Médivo* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Médivoi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Médivoi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Médivo* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kilaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Médivo*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Médivo* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kichevenduwa*, is also known to the Kitito Masai and is called by them *Ol-kisordowa*. This is a corruption of the *Médivo* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

Ambulatore G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Gwynne FLA

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mbiru* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mbiru* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Moani Reserve. There are a few living in Shankoni, but close to the southern Moani border and within a day's march of Talumni. North of L'ul-Kimbi I have not met with *Mbiru*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mbiru* in the vicinity of Lo-'ndumni. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Moani west of the Rift Wall, in the Kutu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mbiru*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mbiru* are members by adoption of the *Il-Aiso* and *Il-Mildyan* clans of the Moani, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumma* family of the *Il-Matkyan* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mbiru* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scraped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mbiru* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. Maconie.

(To be continued)

[illegible] (1) [illegible] (1952) 1927-28
[illegible]

[illegible] women and they were. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Gerhola states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Meiye live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Mandated, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro basaltine), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Dalekye* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

[illegible] The *Aramanik* at Meiye are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjan, Salei and Poltyet) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mbiire*

[1] See p. [illegible] *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 500 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

[illegible] or whether they are in closely connected as the Wakwe, Wakkul and Kisankasa, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

[illegible] The Kitobondo and Kisongore live in the country of the Wongoo and Wanjasa,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Mount Kenya to carry the Wongoo and Wanjasa inhabiting the Tabaout-Uru Mountains were moved eastwards. With them went the Kitobondo and Kisongore. Ramogi says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Mumbuni where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The Kitobondo and Kisongore, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wongoo and Wanjasa (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) were perforce.

[illegible] The Kitobondo and Kisongore spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kisongo and Kisiqua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the Wakwe language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few Wakwe, who live in scattered settlements just on the Elgeyo-Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

[illegible] The Kitobondo and Kisongore Dorobo may be impoverished Wongoo and Wanjasa, but I think it more likely that they are Wakwe [2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a hunter.[3] The few Kitobondo and Kisongore I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kisongo or

[illegible] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Mumbuni, but it may be that different names are used in the Elgeyo country.

[1] To the west of Mumbuni Station in the Pangani District.

[2] Perhaps it would be better to say Elgeyo.

[3] (But is not this the case with the Bakwikhani in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana ?—A. W.)

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of antelope or [illegible]—studded in a state of plumpity resembling that of [illegible]. The back is never coated with gutta-percha or [illegible].

A small supply of bark poison (ipanema?) is sometimes carried in the bed of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakondo. The Dondo have nothing [illegible] about it, but it is considerable use, and have some stratagem to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a five-stick (di-kondgwe) and a five-hook (ensenda). The Dondo are experts at making fire and score in one minute. A small flat spoon (kandikwata) for measuring poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called ensele ekiti.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a pandeandan, will always be found in a Dondo quiver. This tube, called mabaka, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, swampy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dondo and an unwritten law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The mabaka is also used to inflate, by blowing through it, a blow or shield of skins from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dondo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dondo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dondo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five cows. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken to marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dondo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dondo are reputed to have a powerful poison they use with skill. When hunted, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "dwarf-sugar."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

getting his position through the luck recognition of the people. The Iwata therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of farmers that together quickly because they "are all friendly", but might seem by the non-existently which connects across the diverse boundaries. The men in this is the more important institution than it is among the Iwata.

The Iwata are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of rice trade. A great deal of their culture and some of their language have been borrowed from the Iwata, but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralists, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among other pastoralists or agriculturalists. Trust in happiness by hunting more here, and history in ingenious means as pastoral people regard cattle.

Although the Iwata are commonly thought of as a people who practice or still observe them is gone, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Fishing used to go for which is the all have nothing game outside their own territory to the upwards inhabited areas of the highlands, but that was never true and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where an family holdings to which people have, on trips, long their lives, and other vegetable food. There were may both small on the map, but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map representing perhaps one mile on the ground) across a very short distance, and that when he gets to the Iwata that one mile on the ground is a very considerable hour offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite dreams for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

Census	[illegible]	[illegible]	Males	[illegible]	[illegible]	Total
Fishermen	0	0	12	10	11	23
Hunters	40	41	40	41	0	81
Judges	40	40	41	0	0	81
	80	81	93	82	11	385

Analysis of Domestic Livingstone

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0 0 0 0 Fishermen	0 40 40 0 0	12 40 41 0 0	0 40 41 0 0	0 40 40 1 0	12 80 81 0 0
	80	162	81	161	323

[illegible] who stands to the relation of father's brother to the youngest members of the group, as in the diagram of Fiji's family above, by which term any of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a step group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in brother groups and not isolated in the same manner as among the Fijians, where a family may live alone without having part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part to a [illegible] as that the mother's brother does among the Fijians.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I have known as many others both alive together). Three families give the Dravida child his first experience of human beings. Kinship ranges are determined to a certain extent by environment and one of this, for under these conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society such as the Fijian, for instance, the father is not, under conditions of ordinary life and his food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he has [illegible], and there is no doubt that a Dravida child of twelve years has much less of his father than a Fijian child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to win, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose crops are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which is not given.

[illegible] Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dravida mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit prevents trouble, and even when a woman goes to work in her shamba* the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the shamba, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when wives are becoming the exclusive of [illegible]

* The Swahili word shamba = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Africa. Here it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

[illegible] extract part of the core and remove [illegible]. Moisten and pulp the [illegible] bark in cold water. Separate [illegible] as the [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] and split to the open country was the forest. Investigate [illegible] travel, for they are not as plentiful as they used to be.

[illegible] is produced in heavy harvests. This experiment [illegible] used at [illegible] 6th, and will be described in [illegible] below.

With vegetable [illegible] which grow in and invade the forest are those [illegible] and are as edibles or additions to the staple diet of [illegible] people. The [illegible] of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Provided with [illegible] knife an

[illegible] of the plants which are [illegible] the edible [illegible], dried in the sun and eaten raw.

[illegible] of the plant [illegible], when [illegible].

[illegible] of the [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], the wild [illegible].

[illegible] of the most plentiful [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] of the wild [illegible], eaten in place of [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] or [illegible].

[illegible] may be collected by [illegible] a flat piece of wood [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] of the tree – a [illegible] is [illegible] at the end of the wood and [illegible] for the sap to drip into it. The [illegible] of the wild [illegible] is very [illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible] is placed on the drying tray [illegible] over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with the [illegible] and [illegible]. It is very [illegible]. Potassium is brought from the [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] through the [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] a substitute [illegible] the leaves of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], or of the [illegible] tree. Leaves were [illegible], and the ashes collected in a [illegible] receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting [illegible] was added to food as needed. Some of the [illegible] [illegible] used to make a similar substitute for salt.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is chiefly made of honey. Enough [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] is made in the [illegible] manner. The [illegible] method of making [illegible] or [illegible] salt is, "honey-wine", as as follows. As a [illegible] against the [illegible] of the natives [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] or the [illegible] tree, which [illegible] for an [illegible] as a [illegible] [illegible], are [illegible] [illegible] quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the [illegible] to make it [illegible]. A [illegible] description of the process of making the [illegible] is the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Fig. 1
[illegible]

[illegible] of termites, which are often found in their eggs. These birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees; a small brown bird called [illegible], a small green bird called [illegible], and a small black-and-grey bird called [illegible]. The honey bird, [illegible] when harassed, and when it says that like a bee people have that here are there. This is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Kamba regard it as an enemy of the bee because it gives away their secret hiding-places; bullet ants generally eat the eggs and grubs [illegible] to the hornets, they as enjoy other grubbing or [illegible] down to it, [illegible] to protect the bee beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Kamba say that bees have their enemy by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are wrong that birds when they take honey from their nest honestly. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not [illegible] and gets stung badly. People state also to be able to recognize their own bees, for it, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the hives along with the original swarm. They can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the hornet they enter. Whether or not this is true, bees and hornets very much. And there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees leave their enemy, for I have seen Kamba who have enticed the grasshopper pot on by a Europeon for the purpose, and proving fair trick and with an ill effects from the live stings they did receive.

When a hornet is put to a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, when many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the person climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles bound together to lend beauty to the tree trunk with bark (Fig. 2). To get the hornet to the tree, and to take honey from it, the Kamba has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Kamba makes fire to a near bundle of [illegible]. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (preferably of [illegible]), fills up [illegible] and putting them and the [illegible] inside his garment, he climbs up to the hornet. He blows the [illegible] till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

Fig. 2.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder up a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] they participate in the [illegible] but also to eat meat the meat of [illegible] animals killed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is never rejected. As forbidden, i.e., taboo animals, the Wandorobbo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, rabbits, all clever-headed animals like the giraffe or the tiny dwarf antelope, baboons, wart-nibbles, and, of the birds, the ostrich, eagle, buzzards. Only these only an occasion of no business, which the Masai like to beg for the preparations of the ear beat ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not attack their meat.

On the day before the new moon, and on places also on the seventeenth day, the [illegible] no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would be hit anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the lion would touch. The cut-headed [illegible] antelope is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

Like the warriors of the Masai, the [illegible] of the Wandorobbo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, there are a result of the last rites, according to which the warrior only eat meat in the forest, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the connected now usually eat to meat feast in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater restriction in relation to the [illegible] whom they recognize themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a longer hunting expedition for more flavour and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [illegible] arrows and stimulants that on because accustomed with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobbo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the hut, but only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called a [illegible], to which one recognizes the possession [illegible]. The booty is divided among the participants in [illegible] parts. If an individual hunter or as a circle spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a [illegible] and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(8)

Kraal	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	6	6	15	10	10	48
Sumiyo	22	10	20	16	13	101
Kolpai	26	19	17	9	9	76
	54	44	52	35	32	225

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurere Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kiking (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.00 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *maaiowak*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *sweiet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--analyst]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *ferwet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *kwost*, pl. *kwosuak*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognised by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognise four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imuik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *koromuk*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptaloswik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kowet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapsweik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pesuset*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognise their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *koronet*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 C48 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 6	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Keyo women: 1	Dorobo and Keyo men: 1
Dorobo and Terik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognise the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [724] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a *midwife*, *ngaiteyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [796] [882] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*: pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chepkechs*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okessedi* (Masai).

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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

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mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwos*, is also known to the Kitšto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserímbwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balanga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro*

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

2: Maguire G5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitĕto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in his category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorōbo, is hunting (*sagas*: Kony. *kip-sagas-ian* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarorōt*; N. *soiet*), rhinoceros (*kip-komit*), leopard (*melilto*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ñgetuindo* N.,) giant pig (*tumda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (*See* "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorōbo.)

[411] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyañgda*, N.) and arrow (*kūtick*, N; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*†). Arrows and spears for hunting are
[278] poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorōbo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipcaiyeinat*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*porōset*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*ñgôkto*, pl. *ñgôkik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorōbo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

262 The staple foods of the Dorōbo are honey (*kumiat*, N.) and meat (*panyek*, N.).
136 For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimerenget*,).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus æquatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. igna-issaci*).

[1] *Acocanthera Schimperi.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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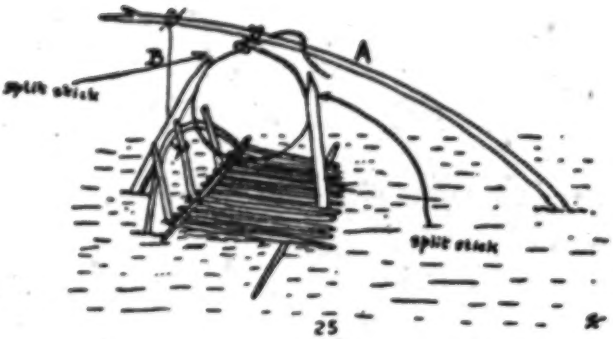

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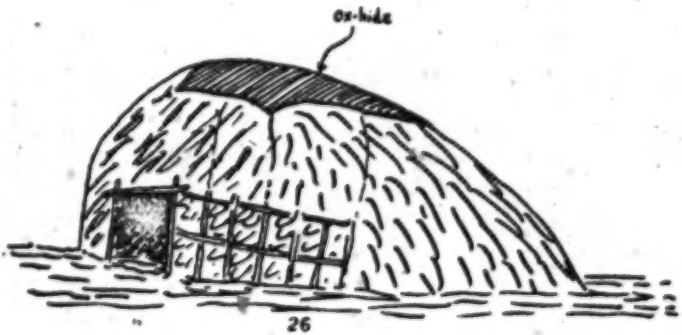

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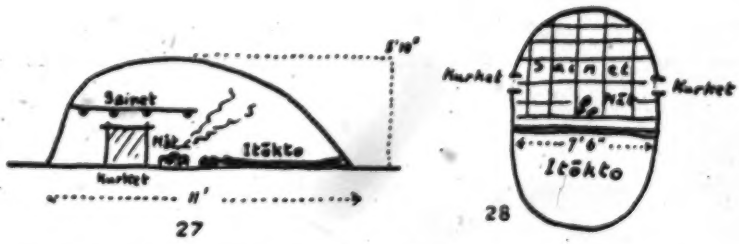


27 28

FIG. 25.—GAME SNARE (*porôuvi*). FIG. 26.—HUT (*kochongei*). FIG. 27.—SECTION OF HUT.
FIG. 28.—PLAN OF HUT.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

133 9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 137 361 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called [103] Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they [648] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

● 224 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

648 To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkurom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile category	Kipkurom	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii lakwet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*uruet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowiliik, ohõnec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
ohõnec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omõii,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korîpe, korn ne korue clio ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphuuhuu* or *kiphoukou* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of these beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1930 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *consist*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue kulok cepo tukul. Cemo Okiek ni koswen
They-know the-fact which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see
tiosik. Ma yaaren tiosik, emo kimenye tukul kuskenge samakin.
the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomost ap tiosik ma ne nepo pii, ako ma lot, emo nomon
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent
ok icek tiosik. Kuske tukul tiond ap samak. Kiomo alak, makiomo
also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not
alak; ako kiomo tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Musiowik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Musiowik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize*:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipsirmo	*Kipsondet*	October	
Kipsondet	*Kipsondet aiew*	November	
Kipsondet ake	*Mulkol*	December	Musiowik
Mulkol	*Ngetiatet* *	January	
Ngetiatet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwot kut*	March	
Iwot kut	*Wakut*	April	
Wakut	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iwot
Rop tui	*Purut*	July	
Puruto	*Kpese*	August	
Yeperut	*Mulkol aiew*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1920 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 69.17, the minimum 39.01. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 3-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, rope, baskets, and handles for tools. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

* Throughout this paper I have written the value usual by the sign a, representing the "long-tailed a". In words marked * the first consonant is the value usual.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the animal sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

*Ngumwayat**, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipurkwat, the blue duiker (*C. sequatorialis*).
Mwakat, the red duiker (*C. ignu-rauci*).
Kwomasit, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukwint, the reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kwepsit, the grisi (*Ourebia montana*).
Kipsumwet, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Saint, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tirsit, Sykes' monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Cwest, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwenkwat, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Twest, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumia, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Mdidis, the leopard.
Simbit, the lion.
Saint, the buffalo.
Pdiat, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

kupotok. Kiinde tajat kut kuruvio. Pani-e ebesiek ee cam ai kuruvio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kile.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *kokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the 272
Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation.

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without 262
food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a 224 ●
man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could 177
usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a 262
small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a [464]
family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily [466]
ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself [693]
but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my
acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Misin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far 476
as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution 224
was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and 476
sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what [888]
their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba[*].	Cultivation — all stages.

[257] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Misin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to do

[238]

[*] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not [562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation. [462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people [224] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. [317] (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own [241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. [276] We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Keliek ap tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinet, punu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniw, a ma miniw misiw, tinye lakuennyi kitekin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecoh cuto tiowik, mii samaklannyon; acome cepo samak.*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things) which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingesuwen ulinto timin, apere mii tiond ake. Ne ni ne kuikuioti orti?*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What (is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Apere tumia.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, aswweni metit. Inguatinye kuyanda apere no. A mamii kuyanda.*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingesuwen ole mwe.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minin told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [18] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumta;* the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[18] Better known to Europeans as Kiboloss and Kapsagoi.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipnaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224

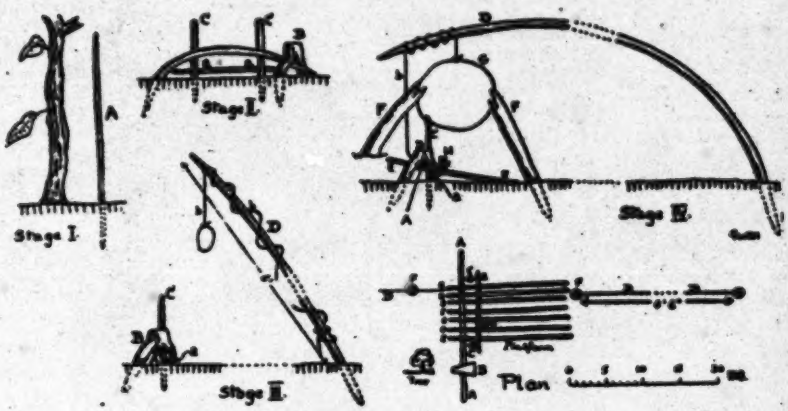


Fig. 4. Stages in the Making of a Springe.

The first step is to cut a stick, A in Fig. 4, about 21 ins. long, chop the thick end to a point, and plant it firmly in the ground in a suitable position where it is more or less concealed by bushes. The second stage is to cut a peg B, bend over the stick A and fasten it down with the peg. Two short sticks CC are then placed 8 inches apart up against A, and another stick *a* is laid on the ground beside them to form the base of the platform. A pliable stick D about 6 ft. long is then planted in the ground 5 ft. away from *a* and a piece of liana *bb* is tied to it. Next, a number of sticks, EE, about 12 ins. long, is laid at right angles to *a* resting on *a* and underneath A to form the platform. Two split sticks FF are fixed on each side of the platform to hold the noose. Stick D is bent over, the noose G is slipped into the cleft sticks, and a length of liana from the end of D is tied to peg H which is placed against A and *a*. Finally, *a* is raised off the ground, and the platform, now set for action, is covered lightly with grass and leaves to conceal it. When an animal treads on the platform, the pressure on it pushes *a* to the ground, and the lower end of peg H is thereby released, with the result that the bent end of stick D is allowed to spring up. The animal as it treads on the platform simultaneously puts its head within the noose which quickly tightens round its neck as D springs upright, and the animal is thus suspended and unable to escape. Frail as such a trap may seem, it is strong enough to catch animals and hold them till the trapper comes to see what has been caught.

The wood used for making such traps is cut from one or more of the following trees: *kimoluet* (vangueria edulis), *ceptuiyet*, *ketuyuwet* (Nandi, *martii*); the liana is taken from the *ndorokiat* tree when possible. A simpler form of the same trap is shown in Fig. 5, in which there is no "trigger-peg" like H in the preceding example, but instead a short upright stick to which is attached the end of the liana; the stick is pressed back by the platform

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

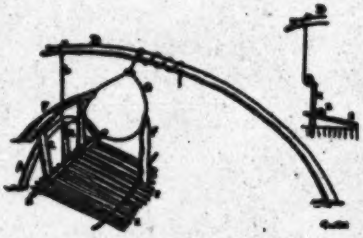


Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana b is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[886] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
● [224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [22].

114 [22] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Notes concerning the Elderobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
[224] a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
[233] by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
[241]

By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik.
648 They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
[191] language: in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
[563] a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
142 aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
583 the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkindu," or wild date palm, and a few monkey-skin cloaks, or "kaross," and takes away his bride.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *sumainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torot*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
[P.193, A]
FL6 Dorobo FL6

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoii-met ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saiwet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus grieo-viridis;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Konokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipseket, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-isaaci.)
Keremaïit, bush buck (tragelsphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and livestock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [402] [342] [241] [224] [224] [244] 592 421 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minin, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [178] [648]

14.Huntingford E-S (1930-1939)1943
[P.196, B] FLS Dorobo FLS

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I *could* see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesomiki* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiyech paiyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesomiik, okhuuch tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224

Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The eatabaga, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondoli, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mienzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [341] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105

The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 711

In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the runner of a canoe, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *mwiya*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 184

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njempe presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 142 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njempe of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njempe of Guaso na Nyuki.

M 342 351

The houses were of the beehive order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 184

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

18: Merker--10 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12
Ewafi
Dorobo PL8

/1/

M 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the
D 174 equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Aaá, more generally known under the name of Wandorobbo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Aaá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts
D [648] of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Taturga weakened the Aaá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El kuruboa, and the later ones the El mulli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones alto-
D [224] gether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agri-
[735] culturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe: the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 648 [731] The fate of the Aaá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Taturga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El mûsi (sing. ol mûsi), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Taturga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aalti also often designate themselves as Asá follows
• [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas
[233] among the El gamurak the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
219 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[A] as
291 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
171
000

142
291
411

Kurtz phot.

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

[A] 1. [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morõg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, schâruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribêt) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol geteñ l ol bɛ, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the [224] feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] [825] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/243 cont./

551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 171 561 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of 56 17 the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of [291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like [223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They [178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes [791] them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njīg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges [692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds [224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially [555] on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1, [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
171 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
• 224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition, -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijerá, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called muschúg. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

[439] →

Fig. 85. (1/10)

[224] 422 [411] [224]

Fig. 86. (1/10)

278 562 834 [888]

/247 cont./

arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [230] [281]

278 752

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/248 cont./

224 scarcely match himself with them. Frequently, not regularly, the
224 hunter uses a dog in stalking. Set on the trail, it leads its master
231 until the latter sees the game. Then the hunter takes off his leather apron and, while he now creeps up on the game, the dog remains lying beside the apron. As soon as the game has been hit by the poison arrow, the dog is again set on the trail and follows the wounded animal until it goes down. Then it returns and proves itself as death-warner. The hunter now leaves the dog as guard over the slain piece of game, and he himself goes to the camp in order to fetch people to carry home the meat. The Wandorobo either raise the dogs themselves or buy them. One finds two or three of them in every camp. They are regularly taken along on larger expeditions, in order, through their vigilance, to protect from predatory animals the ones camping in the wilderness. The dogs, still young, are led off to where one catches kids. The children then train themselves in shooting the bow
224 and the dogs on the blood trail. At his station near the watering place the hunter makes a small cover for himself out of two branches, which stand a meter apart and are connected with twigs and grass. Crouching behind this, he waits for the game coming to drink, which often approaches individually at very brief intervals, often also in whole herds. According to /249/ statements of the Wandorobo, black-heeled antelope, waterbuck, and wild pigs often come early in the morning; giraffes and elephants come at night. The latter, however, also during the day and, like the rest of the wild animals, toward evening. The antelopes below the size of a small roe supposedly almost never go to the watering places. The hunter first lets the game drink a few moments before he shoots. As soon as the animal has been hit with the arrow, it flees. The other animals, so the ol doroboni relates, think that the wounded one has been stung by an insect and remain quiet. The hunter shoots a second one and a third. Only then do the animals realize where the danger comes from, and all take flight, whereupon he shoots once or twice more. Then he returns to the camp and sends boys back after the wounded animals.

18: Merker--330 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/249 cont./

• 224

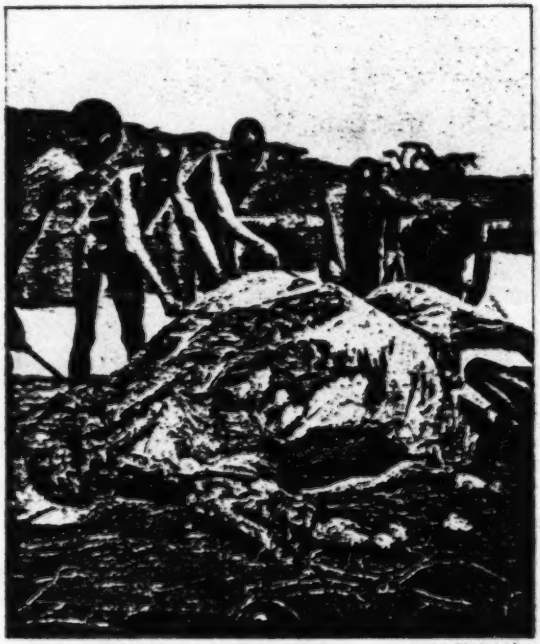
Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe its meat -- only the Wandorobo living on the Donjo Kissale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

[262]

/250 cont./
224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night,



Merker phot.

Ill. 62. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered 224 262 meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant carcass several days old, which even /251/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting, because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining [262] [224] the en dorós, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/257 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only seŋgetok for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sătĭsch or kărătĭsch. The first, kinde satisch; the second, ɁIam satisch; the /258/ third satisch sama'; the fourth, satisch hag; the fifth, satisch mut, or kinde karatisch, ɁIam a karatisch. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely, in their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga ɁIam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one • [224] of the month, leheg tagarawasch, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sauaschasch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirahōg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid saduisch.
Twilight: tara.
Night: e ramesá.

/259 cont./

782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for Uɛ̃d, which they call korodjeg or koroseg. For a koroseg a hawa, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Uɛ̃d nge hawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. [504] [273] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a koroseg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the 782 796 twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station themselves around the fire and sing: Uɛ̃d ngeri' magat (magat = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uɛ̃d urag haiug ara, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand [824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uɛ̃d ngeri' magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroseg e aga they always returned from hunting 789 with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to the ol ogor 1 ol geretti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut [796] a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along [782] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw only one, which they called tuturo and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1, [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [171] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

423 /260 cont./
The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
• 224 421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadong, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
426 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the hiss test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint: rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobbo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 252 253 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, steamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in the

/264 cont./

539 224 278 411 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol dorobosi shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol dorobosi found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again walked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch fire-wood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Ilaikipa* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjan, Sabi and Puldyn) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Maiso*

[1] See p. 231, Art. viii. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] Almost gone in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unconfirmed statements made by certain Masai.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Koret	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurerek	6	6	15	10	10	48
Sasniyo	22	10	26	16	10	102
Kelpai	25	19	17	9	5	75
	53	44	58	35	34	225

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *emaiswonik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *imotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngurot*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porousi*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamat ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinwet* (*bigelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *imbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balañga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balañga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balañga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalañgat

The *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balañga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalañgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalañgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalañgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalañgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalañgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

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cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-aimer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro; Il-Médiak; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Counsellor.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above:* in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorōbo, is hunting (*sagus*: Kony, *kip-sagus-iax* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarordt*; N. *soiet*), rhinoceros (*kip-kumit*), leopard (*melilto*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ãgetuindo* N.,) giant pig (*tumda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (*See* "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorōbo.)

[411] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyuãgda*, N.) and arrow (*kōtiek*, N; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*†). Arrows and spears for hunting are [208] poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorōbo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipwaiyeinat*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*porōnet*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*ãgōkto*, pl. *ãgōkik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorōbo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

862 The staple foods of the Dorōbo are honey (*kuniat*, N.) and meat (*punyek*, N.).
136 For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimerenget*,).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus aequatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. ignæ-issaci*).

[1] *Acocanthera Schimperi.*

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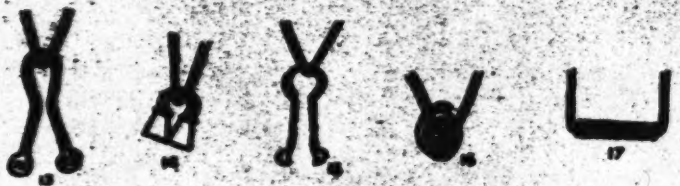

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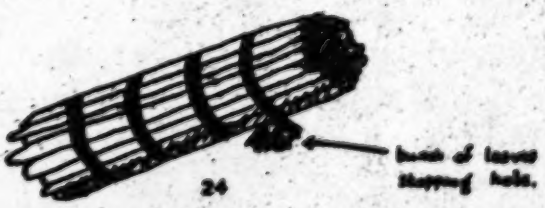


FIGS. 13-17.—MEN'S NOSE EAR-RINGS: (13-16, *chimwiriet*. 17, *kimoliwiit*). FIG. 18.—HAMMER WORN'S WOMEN EAR-RING (*koi*). FIG. 19.—CHARM OF *KUTHOGHELA* WOOD AGAINST HEADACHE. FIG. 20.—*Lepagumut* BOTTLACE, WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE. FIG. 21.—BASKET (*korogot*). FIG. 22.—BAMBOO TOBACCO-BOX WITH SKIN COVERINGS (*kipsonet*). FIG. 23.—CARRYING KIT (*kimoke*). FIG. 24.—HONEY-BARREL (*pumwa*).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*liêto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochêtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-aptumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kiprau*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngeswuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikochîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*enget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeruit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeitritiat*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkwit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirurênik* and *kurik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingutsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochêtit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kiplorum	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	36	14	19	109
Kelpul	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kiplorum	Sosoiyo	Kelpul	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	34	17	25	67
D	0	3	13	7	16
Unknown	0	2	0	1	2
	49	109	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

[342] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved [361] to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *N'yongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This [231] was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [241] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for eland with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipsiliti* and *kipkuekue* or *kipkuekue* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

Hollingsfield E-5 (1936-1939) 1994 FLA Dembo FLA

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike*; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dombo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dombo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves reared, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

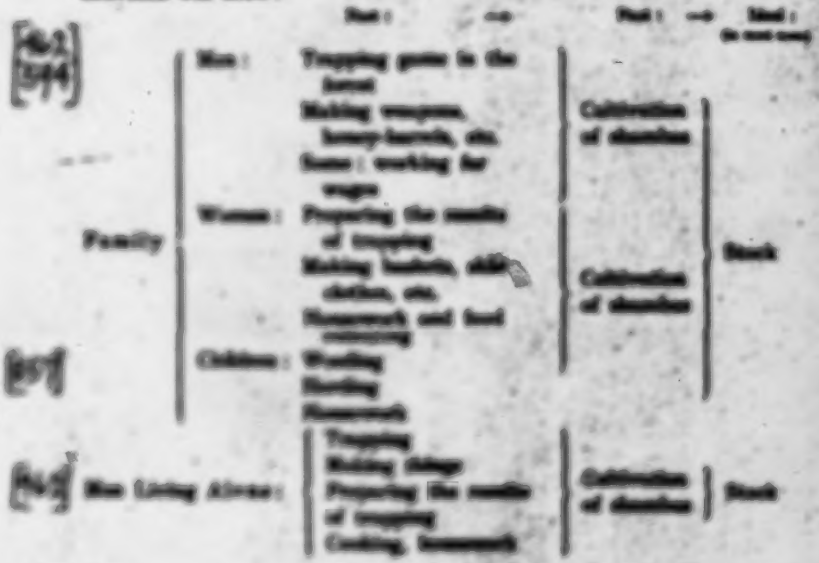
The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dombo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the significance that the similar expression *ke Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dombo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dombo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures inside solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking to a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilat* was a man". This is probably an original Dombo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilat* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dombo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dombo whom the Cleric Hezza saw defying the "rain-god" *. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilat* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the herds is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public debts is necessary to prevent disaster to the herds. Public debts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

* That is, although some animals (like human kind or Dombo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind are some of the others that are all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

* Hist. 1900, 100.

433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:



Dundee life therefore converges on subsistence, with a hunting background, and seems to view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dundee (in 1939 at least) had a Dreamtime economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

5. Economic Activities

a) Beekeeping

434 Honey is to the Dundee what milk is to the Hindu. It is much-sought food has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Amos Mbote said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

4:Huntingford E-1 (1938-/939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

[125] described as *ceremonomet*, i.e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekowik*, "bees", are considered to be males[*], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pak*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm[*]. A comb is made (*ar built, ne sepeiat* — build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*pomoriat*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close-up openings in the hive[*]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female wiggli does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and often a time the workers kill them, *kotil kibit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey[*]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamat — queen (lit. mother).
Sekowik — workers (sing. *sekweiat*).
Kajuruwik — drones (sing. *kajuriat*).
Uwek — young bees, grubs (sing. *uweuet*).
Gidoiyat — swarm.
Mpakiat
Wawuriat — Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiririat — comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born to the autumn.

●231 [422] [428] Honey-barrels or hives, *pimwet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the hive. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [323] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[*] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[*] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is superintend into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. Cunningham.)

[*] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bee.

[*] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

Schlesinghaus Bd. 5 (1936–1939) 1953 FLA Dvorako FLA

their needs of bulkiness and bags. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 2 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosot* and *nemaiki*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tmetmet*, *olignet*, *kipalmet*, *kiptenjwet*, and *nemarin*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is then split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, bone is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The *dist* barrel, not so common as the *dog-ost* because of the difficulty of making the exit-groove, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosot* and *nemaiki* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with bone, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A bone hole is made in the centre side, as in the *dog-ost* type (Fig. 1, 2).

(a) Handles, (b) bar-clamp, (c) bar-bound ends.

Fig. 1. *Dog-ost* (honey-barrel).

When a man gets up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it.[1] The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather exhilarated, high-pitched tone:

Ndisek, ndisek, ee ee! ee-ee-ee-eeeee, ndisek, ee ginet![2] anyone, *ndisekisek*, bees, bees, who are in *ceretisiet*-trees-of, come-bees ! ee-ee, ginet-in-honey, *ndisekisek*![3]
ginet-in-honey.

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain. If they are caught in a storm while getting honey, they have also a number

[1] One informant says of bees in a hot, stuffy place in *kimoiwon* vengeance, 'young bees are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[2] This shrill expression is said to be equivalent to *Kaiyos yo*, 'come here'.

[3] The Dorobo fully harnessed this honesty and shrewd it to their evil-to-evil-to-evil-to-

Gillmanlingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

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Fig. 1.
Wax Honey-Guide.

of enemies, which eat either them or their eggs. These birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees, a small brown bird called *sigbwandwa*, a small green bird called *kimet*, and a small black-and-grey bird called *mutebiet*. The *kimet* bird (*cuculus indicator*) cries 'kwe-kwe-kwe', and when it says that near a tree people know that bees are there; this is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Dorobo regard it as an enemy of the bees because it gives away their natural hiding-places. Soldier ants (*pirwit*) eat the eggs and grubs (*sarok*) in the hornets. But no steps, either practical or magical, seem to be taken to protect the bees beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Dorobo say that bees know their owners by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are stung but little when they take honey from their own hornets. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not recognized and gets stung badly. People claim also to be able to recognize their own bees; for if, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the hornet along with the original owners, they can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the hornet from which they come. Whether or not this is true, does not matter very much; but there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees know their owners, for I have seen Dorobo take honey without the paraphernalia put on by a European for the purpose, and get stung but little and with no ill effects from the few stings they did receive.

231
[illegible]

When a hornet is put in a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, since many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the owner climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles lashed together is tied loosely to the tree trunk with lianas (Fig. 2). To put the hornet in the tree, and to take honey from it, the Dorobo has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts, rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Dorobo makes fire in a large bundle of timber. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (probably of *kitwajiwet*, *Ficus sp.*) and putting them and the timber inside his garment, he climbs up to the hornet. He blows the timber till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

Fig. 2.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder on a Oil-A. Tree.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

(c) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *emiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it:

A. *Kelich ap tiondi.*
The dust of the animals.

B. *Ee, ai paiuet, pwee ye, wendi ye.*
Look, this one (is) the bushbuck, it comes from over there, it goes over there.
Mising, a ne misio misio, tinye kakwenyi kitokin.
Small, but not small very, it has the child small.

A. *Canik cuto tiondi, nii ameshiweyan; ameno*
(They are) more than animals, they are in our forest; I like (the things)
cuto ameni.
which are of forest.

B. *Ingwenwen alinio tiondin, ajobo nii tiond ako. Ne*
Let us look over there (at) that forest, perhaps there is the animal another. What
ai ne kakiniai ani?
(is) this that creeps about inside?

A. *Ajobo tomin.*
Perhaps the grass pig.

B. *Wain, ameneni nutii. Ingwatinye kenyando ajobo ne. A nyanii*
Yes, I see the hoof. It (i.e.hoof) the have I kill that one. But there is
kenyando.
not have the hoof.

A. *Ingwenwen ale nene.*
Let us see where it escapes (to).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 [846] [220] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minio told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [10] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kapiele age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Soméyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menuti which caught a leopard in July 1936 was said to be exceptional. [281] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkoreek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [289] Bows are made mainly from the *kwiot* tree (*Teclea* sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *kut*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tamia*; the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end; no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwomandet* and *mamata* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[10] Better known to Europeans as Kiboko and Kapsagat.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 2 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible [39]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*litrito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[39] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241
[361]

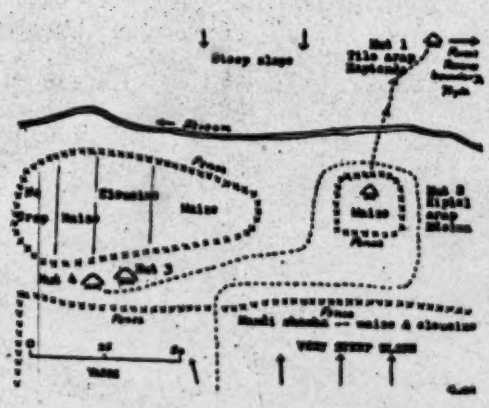

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kesemiat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kumet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 439 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *enoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *coruet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

missed in the count, but they are used even to-day so much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three *korosuek* of Kipkorom, Kelpui, and Sosoiyo were:

		Cattle:	Goats:	Dogs:
Kipkorom:	Arap Keter (Cesundil)	10	—	—
	Arap Menati	—	10	2
	Arap Korucu	5	—	—
	Arap Minin	—	5	2
	Arap Keter (Kipsan)	5	—	—
Sosoiyo:	Arap Silimbo	20	—	—
	Arap Euni	3	—	—
	Arap Singira	—	—	3
	Arap Ceruiyo	1	—	—
	Kiken arap Silena	15	—	—
	Korionoi arap Munyenua	15	—	—
	Kiptoo arap Ngamnam	—	5	—
	Kisorio arap Lengei	—	10	—
	Kaola arap Ngamnam	—	4	—
Kelpui:	Arap Mateko	5	—	—
	Samupai arap Yator	6	—	—
		90	34	7

3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the *korosuek*, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the trees come to an end forms a natural boundary and within that boundary was Dorobo ground where few strangers, except the occasional outlaw or fugitive, cared to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A section of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and ratified by a pronouncement of the *koret* council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation sanctioned by public opinion: a man's section was automatically taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

The forest appeals to the Dorobo in four ways: (1) In the trees they had their homes, and they knew no manner of living in which there were no trees; trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land, but as something which bears trees. The cutting down of one or two trees on a man's section is his own affair, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them: *ngul komac Ohiot si kotil kotil ca cau, mecome Ohiet alak*, "if a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sosoiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Meteitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tinet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkolelac (I), Kapsituni (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group N° I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipungei, and Kipsan, three brothers; N° II by Arap Minio; and N° III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sosoiyo. The Ain ap Tinet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Korucu who lives at Kpkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area N° V is held by the Kapcepouaita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepouaita who live at Ndoroton. Above this is area N° VI, held by the Kaptokoni, represented by Korionoi who lives at Upper Sooiyo in the forest. And finally N° VII is the easternmost area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkoo in the forest and Lower Ngatepkoo ouside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamnasutik, represented by Tatē; Kamereua, represented by Nekoi; Kapkorongos, represented by Kilanyi; Kapkimancari, represented by Arap Euni; Kapkipopo, represented by Kiprec; and Kapkuikoi, represented by Sulio[21]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of N° VII where four clans are represented, and the livision could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkolelac II. Family Kapsituni IV. Family Kamuru	Clan Moi.
III. Family Kapingira	Clan Kipieken.
V. Family Kapcepouaita	Clan Kipamui.
VI. Family Kaptokoni	Clan Kapsekoi.

[21] The prefix *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e. g. *Kapsituni* is named from *Situni* the wife of Arap Minio's father's father.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many,
[886] because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
[224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

114 [1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chewe*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, gubai*) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the villages the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 20), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; 361 342

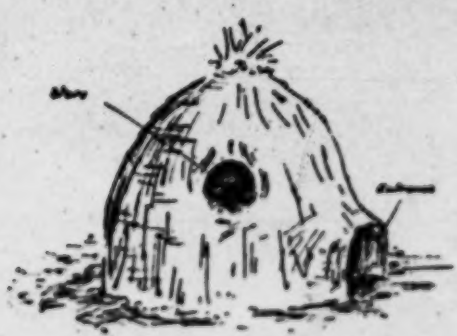

FIG. 20.—AN ANDOROBO HUT (*Tulai*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that circumcision, apart from the ceremonies, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 ●

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*lotuk*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*ecoton*), indian corn (*ngaburripi*), and millet (*ngyp*). A form of 241

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/56 cont'd/

Physically, the Dorobo vary greatly, presumably according to the amount of mixture of other races in their blood. Some are very like the Bushmen, and therefore retain their oldest characteristics, whilst others are now almost indistinguishable from the semi-Hamitic negroes, having lost their original characteristics and having adopted many of the Hamitic methods and customs. They, however, retain their primitive dwellings, and, except in Northern Karamoja, as far as I know, the Dorobo keep no domestic animals except the dog. Being by nature hunters, and semi-nomadic, it is not expected that their numbers will ever increase greatly, but they will in time become totally absorbed in surrounding tribes ... In the country now occupied by the Kikuyu there were once dwarf peoples akin to the Dorobo (or their predecessors) and the Agumba. The Kikuyu are a Bantu tribe ... They attribute their origin to the Kamba. They are invaders of the highlands, where they split up, exterminated or absorbed the original dwarf-like inhabitants, known as Agumba and Dorobo ... The present density of population of the /57/ Kikuyu is comparatively recent. They are comparatively recent migrants into the highlands. The less fertile plains previously occupied by them were not rich enough, and a growing need for land gradually forced them up to the forest belts of Mount Kenya, destroying or absorbing the aborigines as they advanced ... In the A-Chuka section, one may observe Kikuyu with Bushman-like features as a result of their absorption of the primitive Agumba and Dorobo, whilst in other sections, the Kikuyu show a more Hamitic type of countenance as a result of Masai domination ... the Dorobo have been here for many thousands of years, being probably the original or almost the original inhabitants..."

174 [144] [231]

61. But we should certainly not be justified, without further evidence, in assuming that all these hunting people were closely related or had a common aboriginal ancestor in Africa merely because they can be conveniently classed together as hunting tribes.

/64 cont'd/

"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Aboni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /85/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their gazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

648
101

Mr. John Boyes told the Commision of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum o the Commision, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being he common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Commitee" classified the Lodigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

101

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1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Moni. Aboni in Kikuyu means "the Moni people", and boni may be related to an original Nyika stem boni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by i, would give miboni in Ndia and boni in Kikuyu. Some relationshipbetween the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for th transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

[492
231]

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Kiru Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. (43) (45) (132) (133)

Their game ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contending parties then spatter one another with the blood. (125) (297)

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Enagata Kyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for this purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicines, and the animal would then track game. 234 (242) (411) (151)

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and hunted and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. (216) (126)

They are most expert in the use of a fleshish. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Kiru. 372 (124)

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Kisuli numerals. (187) (77)

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "-ai," "-i," and "-ik," are, I think, brought in from the Kisuli language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Kisuli, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Ogglish or Ossuth word but gave the Kisuli word, and had to search among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. (115) (112)

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[P.T.]

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[a]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for fees. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give meat to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fat cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mitoig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollessos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *amotionik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *ilmit*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[b] were

[a] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep and 9 ins. wide; a container about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*kerogut*) is about 9 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[b] Female, the warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and tusker, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*).

[P.193, A]

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a [illegible]
limited extent, by individuals, as well as several
species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been
no very strict close season, as pig were considered
by hunted in the wet season, though not often,
since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet.
There are now no lion or elephant, but they are [illegible]
said to have existed when the Tana and Ewaso
nyiri again were young men, i.e. about 1860. [illegible]
Leopards are still common, and are still shot if
one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. [illegible]
They are sometimes caught in traps made of wire,
which is not bought, but searched for or stolen
from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap
Mogoni which caught a leopard during one of my
visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no
longer exist in the western end of the forest where
the Kapchepkond live, but they occur near
Lowdiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men.
If, say, eight went out, half would go along one
bank of a stream, and half along the other bank,
so that one or other party would be sure to get
something. They met after the kill, and cooked [illegible]
the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The
rest was divided among the hunters and taken
home for their families, the unsuccessful members
of the hunt receiving a share from those who made
the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his
own (elementary) family, but also his father,
mother, and wife's father with meat, and the
distribution of meat is in order of priority, to:—

Hunter: What is

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (elementary).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the [illegible]
government) an hereditary right over a piece of [illegible]
forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee- [illegible]
keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who [illegible]
wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, [illegible]
but otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek.

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a Swedish officer a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the object, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Swedes had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, object, or butter, and even were many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith, as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, or that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business.

UK Archive—GB 0-5 (1900-ca.1949) 1910 PLIS Ahmi
Service PLS
Ahm

(100 cows.)

If one finds them cross, one tries, as well as one can, to appease the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw, usually boiled or roasted on the open fire. For storage it is cut into long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well dried, it is stored away in the aforementioned ox, close to the canoe-canoe and small livestock, which are bought from the Ahmi for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the Wandamba, in barter with missionary tribes, are able to come into the possession of vegetables, they also live on them, but actually only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them labour with and have this as the fact that their stomachs, accustomed only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some go so far as to throw away the skins of a slaughtered cow, although they eat that of a dead piece of game. There indeed seems to be no doubt but that the previously mentioned Ahmi belief, according to which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these customs. Besides meat, honey beer, which they make in the same way as the Ahmi, also serves them as a beverage. The latter price that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the fact that the Wandamba keep the good honey for themselves and sell only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together. Both the husband and the wife, his wives, and children and, on the other hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot. From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (Ahmi), of which each adult dancing in the ward has his own. From the food laws of the Ahmi, the custom that young unmarried men may not drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy ash and [illegible] fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing. Women also like to chew the stuff.

294 412 293 /233 cont./ As there is the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (manyanga) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (ang). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also maybe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the harvest vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Watatia and Wakambe, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, whose disdain is altogether, and therefore, in trading, they set such piece for small and cute.

231 [889] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 8b), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 8b appear less/ 40 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 20 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends. It is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyng). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

231 322 412

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Kamlpel]

Fig 41 (a)

(New work.)
the two counters of the ox blade
work into a wooden handle like
a knife and is held on a swing
rivet; the other is a bolster rivet
(qv) with which are assemble the
rules on the bolster. The two
openings are closed outside by
the wooden cover fitting into the
opening, two each of which two
holes permit entry for the wrist
bone. For hanging, one pair
around the middle pair two loops
twisted out of bronze, which are
connected, bradawise, by a
plaiting of bronze, like the straps
of a bridle). The bodkin is
picked up by the handle with a
beaded knurch, at the upper end
of which is talked a second one
with a bud-on top. With the
latter the whole thing is hung to the bracelet of safety cross. On the
side hanging downward the bodkin bears an oviendby mark. On a
rule it is the same as the one that is based on the long rang or on
the accessory rang of the prime point. On the bodkin are tools a
silken chain or only to bone part. Before the bakery is crossed
(qv) the bone are driven on by a very sharp fine bradawl under
the eye (b).

5. I never observed among the G Gentle a
supplying of the bone by means of ferrets
(Gymnodera), such as I am on Gillmanstown
among the Wallerlaggs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/307 cont./

/Sarcura 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky down of the hair of the capitulum each and calyces.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bun for healing. Furthermore, seven medicine of the of gravels.

94. of herbet (Kigelia africana Bk.). The pans obtained by heating our scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /308/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. of (Sesuvia spec.).

96. of (Acacia senegara Willd.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (does for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

97. of (Combretaceae hallcarathus L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. of (Sesuvia).

99. of (Sesuvia sepertifolium (Ehrh.) Engl.).

100. of (Solanum erlocroum Dunal., Solanum dichrocarpum Dunal.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with cows broth and drunk to cure the of herbet ; or two sickness.

101. of . Warriors like to drink a herb decoction to cause warp so as aid to digestion.

102. of . Cool-bodied grass.

103. of (Pennisetum spec.). Cool bodied grass.

104. of (Asystasia kotsoides Clig). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of vomiting and enteritis.

105. of (Senecio vernoniiformis O. H.). The bark are used by the El Kamba to make right headrings due have become body.

106. of of gravels. Cool bodied grass, especially for cattle.

107. of

1:Hustingsford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, agwet, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 8 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *furmwet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Close-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkaronds Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *kwet*, pl. *kwenwek*, and in the district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the presence of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi; it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be taken on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *arkomwit*, the honey-gathering kind; *emeik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kwenwek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *tigindiondi*, stones bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *arkomwit*, into three kinds: the queen, *kwenet ap arkomwit*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *arkomwit*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pich*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapsowwek*, considered to be the females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*kwenet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together with creeper wooden and grasses, or of the two halves of a piece of log split lengthwise and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come into mine, and grow to honey, grow to honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Frequently taking honey does not appear to be a guarded or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and is known as an article of commerce.

6:2Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 in. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosot* and *rewendet*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tenetuet*, *sikipuet*, *kipukuet*, *kitpuetpuet*, and *murwein*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, lianas is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosot* and *rewendet* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid slats of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with lianas, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A bark hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, *b*).

a, the two halves, separated; *b*, the two bark-slat ends together.

Fig. 1. Dug-out (honey-barrel).

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [illegible]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather sanctimonious, high-pitched tone:

[illegible]

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by honey-[illegible] if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

231
●232

[222]

Fig. 1.
Wax Honey-hoard.

of enemies, which eat either them or their eggs. Three birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees, a small brown bird called *sepkerankwe*, a small green bird called *kiatet*, and a small blackish-grey bird called *sentekiat*. The *kwoiat* bird (*cuculus indicator*) cries 'kw-kw-kw', and when it says that near a tree people know that bees are there; this is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Dorobo regard it as an enemy of the bees because it gives away their natural hiding-places. Soldier ants (*pirenik*) eat the eggs and grubs (*sarek*) in the hornets. But no steps, either practical or magical, seem to be taken to protect the bees beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Dorobo say that bees know their owners by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are stung but little when they take honey from their own hornets. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not recognized and gets stung badly. People claim also to be able to recognize their own bees; for if, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the hornet along with the original swarm, they can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the hornet from which they come. Whether or not this is true, does not matter very much; but there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees know their owners, for I have seen Dorobo take honey without the paraphernalia put on by a European for the purpose, and get stung but little and with no ill effects from the few stings they did receive.

231

[477]

When a hornet is put in a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, since many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the owner climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles lashed together is tied loosely to the tree trunk with lianas (Fig. 2). To put his hornet in the tree, and to take honey from it, the Dorobo has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts, rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Dorobo makes fire in a loose bundle of tinder. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (*preferably of Kigelia sp.*), rolls up and putting them and the tinder inside his garment, he climbs up to the hornet. He blows the tinder till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

Fig. 2.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder on a Bee Tree

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorob.

Il-Baiskye

The *Baiskye* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Baiskye* elder named Payiana, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] as one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Baiskye* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Baiskye* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by their Dorobo women. The *Baiskye* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye cannot often pick out the *Baiskye* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Baiskye* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *forworn* in the physiognomy of the *Baiskye*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hating and away from their fellow-men.

In this connexion it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Masai (*see* p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the tentative theory advanced by him that

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Wanampo, whose article in the Celtic connexion that of the Dorobo to the Masai, were all speak this, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the custom of the Dorobo [illegible]

[1] The area bordering the Pongani river, north-west of Kisumu.

[2] Mr. [illegible], Magistrate, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Baiskye*, whom he considers to be entirely unassimilated Masai.

[3] Except fragments of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kisumu area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

T: Wayland M-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL 6 ●
Jiye FK 8
Acholi FK 4

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103
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193
233 ●
619

[p 199]

000 Africa, East. Hobley.

Notes concerning the Kikuyuns of Mount Kenia, British East Africa. By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.Inst.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute. 17

To the west of Kenia country, in the Mau Forest north-west of Mount Trident, live a tribe of so-called Dorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.

By the Masai they are called the Ogiek, and they call themselves the Ondik. They have intimate relations with the Eastern Masai, and generally speak the Masai language; in fact, members of the young Masai men, for whom the law "spearing the lion" is absolute, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Ogiek women. It is their ambition to discover what is the true aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, rather complexions than the majority of the Masai, and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

513 Their dwellings resemble are very simple; the natives usually possess the labor of the girl with some few cattle from the veg of the "ndinda," or wild date palm, and a few sundry other chattels, as "kanzuri," and value among the Masai.

[10]

be found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bullen would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean action, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [434]

Monkeys and birds[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dundee are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the more economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Dandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Dandi and from Europeans. 778 [334] [241] [293] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (indawa), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown or grazed are sheatter (sheatter cassava, called amali in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Dandi, from whom the Dundee also get sheatter and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the force into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own houses, and a group 241 [660] [567] [838] 241 419 [842]

[1] The birds killed are:
[illegible] (Bateleur Eagle) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/7/

In three mighty surges that followed one another at long intervals, the Ideal people came from the north down toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Ideal people.

The remnants of the earliest immigrant host are the Ank, commonly known under the cover of Wandorobbo /Wandorobbo/ (= Swahi formation from the Ideal word El dandee ; the poor), of whom they form only a part.

Although the traditions of the Ank has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as cattle-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tonga weakened the Ank to such an extent that it was easy for the second host of Ideal, the El Kunh, the first sections of which were the El Lumbwa, and the last ones the El Ongili, where it came to, to drive out the ruined Ank altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they scrape a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Ank, however, was not to be spared the El Kunh either. After a rather long period during which they cooperated with the Tonga for dominion in the steppes, the Kinlenjok opponent again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the ear existences did not remain alone. The third host, the El Kalenjok (Eng. of Kalenjok's, immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tonga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, divested the belligerency of the Ideal. They joined the El Kunh for the common fight against the former.

/10 cont./
eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, [illegible] deep-set compared to the forehead. Its alae are narrow and very fine, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without showing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something more and striking that they can then cover the same labelish — lack lip (or actually: upper, less noted). The ears are small, except for the hypertrophic of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes owed by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly scattered over the scalp, which is more closely down on recent-shaved heads. The hair often appears "ruby," but this is artificially produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /11/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the ones thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often relatively long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly vaulted.

Even if the racial peculiarity of a three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can [illegible] an even closer connection ethnographically, which are lead to the conclusion that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seem at /11. I appear here/ [illegible] to indicate a deep division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can only explain these differences by the [illegible] behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under [illegible] circumstances. The [illegible] to each other, based on the supposition a great deal, and the economic life necessarily [illegible] are also common. While the Woodwards had to endure it when the [illegible] fell victim to epidemics and acts of the enemy tribes, the Lenni, under pressure from the still [illegible] Iroquois, had to flee from the open prairie to their residences in the mountains. The Mohawk persevered

Ill. 6. Young Ibibio. 9 and 4 pure-Ibibios, 9 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Ibibio's privileged

[illegible] Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, a certain permissible bow, on behalf of the three branches belonging to our people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Ibibio and Vrihoeli, with the insignificant [illegible] for the latter, with the great number of Ibibio dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area. Likewise the very widely ranging Ibibio probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Vrihoeli, in general, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wouberdike, the [illegible] generals speak only the language of the Ibibio, whereas the [illegible] and

...that was done by both the female and female, and if there are no wills in the bridegroom's settlement it must be governed from somewhere else. Marriage is gradual.

Marriage with Kwoli

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dundee and Kwoli or members of the Kwoli group:

Dundee and Kwoli women: 9	Dundee and Kwoli men: 9
Dundee and Kwoli women: 1	Dundee and Kwoli men: 1
Dundee and Kwoli women: 1	

Marriage of Dundee women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dundee, which in many cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried, such marriages also mean the accession of work to the Dundee.

Polygamy

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Dundee seldom have the means of supporting more than one wife at a time, though several men accounted of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, some of them her husband's brothers, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Kwoli, the Dundee recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives, i.e. levirate, sororate. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, sometimes, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, only the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be guarded by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass which comes from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual carelessness caused by their birth must be countered by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dundee say that if a man has set a trap in the bush where his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

Children receive their first names, the ninth name, soon after birth, as among the Kwoli, but name is not used, but links the child with a preceding spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name," in imitation of the Kwoli custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become men, and all others were taking their

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

411 through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies
[384] which are frequently anointed with *Ol-Adeia*.[1]

The bowstring (*ewet*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[337]

[415] The quiver (*mentiet*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. [illegible] of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hobley).

The arrows (*kiliik*; sing. *kiit*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*mediendet*). The arrow-head (*ntipiliit*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kwaiso*),[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Mandated, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguni, consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Mdeiet*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*iit*) obtained from the *Spirostachys*[4] tree. The arrow-feathers are those of the vulture (*Aretchet*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endorobi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*nikitiit*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with lumb poison)

[1] See note, p. 158 loc. cit.
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mekiaus*.
[3] See note 1, p. 250.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngosuro* (Fabaceae sp.; Hobley). The same tree.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Powers

[illegible] a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child carries the name of that ancestor, which is usually throughout his life.[1] [illegible] ability, a new feminine [illegible] power. "Son of [illegible]" [illegible] Ogre, whose father's name is Ghostlight, becomes Ogre-[illegible]Ghostlight, and is known as Ogre Ghostlight. Both his ancestors and friends [illegible] Death.

Characteristics (Roll 1d4)

The [illegible] associated with characteristics [illegible] is the very ability to [illegible] the Death. [illegible] are remembered as [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and ate crops to which [illegible] and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and the uplands. Then, long Rhino told of how once after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into Kwale Kwali, as far as the hills Kapenga and Tupeakwa,* were the southern Turks, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there, and another Dondo spoke of hunting monkeys on the trees below on Kapiyeri in Kwale Kwali. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist in the vast, in the direction of Tsetsemo and Lumbwa, but they have not been hunted by the Dondo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kapitale age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Turks and Kipkelonyi were warriors about 40 to 50 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dondo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organised parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1935, when long fingers got his leg torn by a leopard [illegible] at Kwanjiya. Sometimes traps are made for them, of one which is pictured up on the forest. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by long fingers which caught a leopard in July 1936 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when [illegible] it was very good sly for a dog and climbed a tree, the hunters came and shot it.

[illegible] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery. Though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

[illegible] Dondo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, spears, nets, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkelonyik, and the game may respond to the hunter among some Dondo have not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping a man sets only something to run the poisoned arrow, part, of course, the shaft. It is to a stake, a gin-trap, he sets something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the forest tree [illegible] and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, [illegible] is made of gut from the green sky snake. The gut is scraped, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow as both as in from each end. as which is cut to the exact is shown in [illegible]. Arrow-shafts are made from the [illegible] and reeds, as well as from [illegible] bamboo. They are smoothed with a knife-blade to the same way as

* Kenya Colony, A. Kongoleni, A. Kitabisa and Kapiyeri.

They are still in the very prolific laying Swallow of eight to ten children, but the labor necessity is so constantly heavy that their endless tension very shortly ; this necessity is probably due to the only three offspring of the Mini Friends, which are at only attitude weighing from 1,200 to 1,500 feet.

Their given consisting consists of setting off a high wire, and the commanding gentles they spoken are another with the World.

They live principally on Fishes and other seafoods, which they share to the Ocean for certain existing functions they go and have big gates on the global forms on the Seagate Guard ; they work till the grass is dry and they turn it to Southern Asia hunting. They are pleased across the big grass and experienced over the seafoods, they have huge to come to their hunting and are very keen to get young legs for their gestures. They will so that they give the big certain continuity with the utmost credit than most gates.

They are very more digitized humans, and informed we that when they consist across as elephant they were off and turned out another characters very certainly will appear all sizes of the human eyes, and that they were then able to appreciate a straight elephant and speak to with a grotesque form.

They are best expert to the sea of a Scandal. The fire is produced to the ordinary city by the Society of sea with open exact continuity to a dependent to another place of cruel, which is said they borrows the town law of the speech ; the town glass of exact opponent is to the position of fire.

A exact translation of their language is appended on the opposite page. They are the Exact community.

The gentle [illegible] and the uniform [illegible] and [illegible] are, I think, brought to from the Exact language, the many of the work will be found to be quite different. Many of the wife are also again. Exact can show obtaining this resolution to more exact they appeared to have forgotten the Egyptian a Vessel, and the gave the Exact work and left to search among characters who as to many from by the people many. The language is that a violently foraging has with these fish it will gradually formed gates ambient to the new forms.

[illegible]
ends for several rounds, it is best over the fire. The string is plaited together, waxing and twisting, one of each several lengths and is executed by fusion interweaving up to the required length. The remaining waxing ends of the individual plaits of needle are neatly cut off, otherwise one does ride the new finished hovering with some fat.

The [illegible] shaft (Fig. 10) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, [illegible] executed, also assembled by wrapping. The upper end is covered with needles but have been waxed with the resistible juice of a [illegible] species of plantation known as [illegible], otherwise, as say, was stick to the end. [illegible] (Figs. 10 and 11 appear here) [illegible] long holds for the ring of the cross by a knitting needle with a thin wooden sheet. On the lower end the three part feather-leg — one of the feathers of the various vultures [illegible] — a bit fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine hair thread and then glued fast with the glutinous juice per centrosem. Another wrapping of animal needles a braid between the feathering and the one point for the feathering, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

The people buy the two pieces only if a piece breaks off [illegible] so they at a lot forge a new one for themselves. Cloth are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Ibibio. They buy the pieces of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the [illegible] of the Ibibio. The pieces serve as weapons only in the camp, where fighting with swords is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned. The old by the men and by women hands and guard bottles from [illegible] tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait [illegible] baskets which they use for storing food.

The two [illegible] the Ibibio/Ibo do not play the board game of [illegible] among the Ibibio was explained to me by them with the words "Having the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our [illegible], could live to starve."

With the coming of darkness everybody [illegible] a [illegible] over the camps, while even during the day's the day's work is done and everyone gets to his hut. Only on especial evenings do the old people allow and on to the open for a few hours, talking, with a [illegible] [illegible] a lonely fowl, while the young men and girls [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

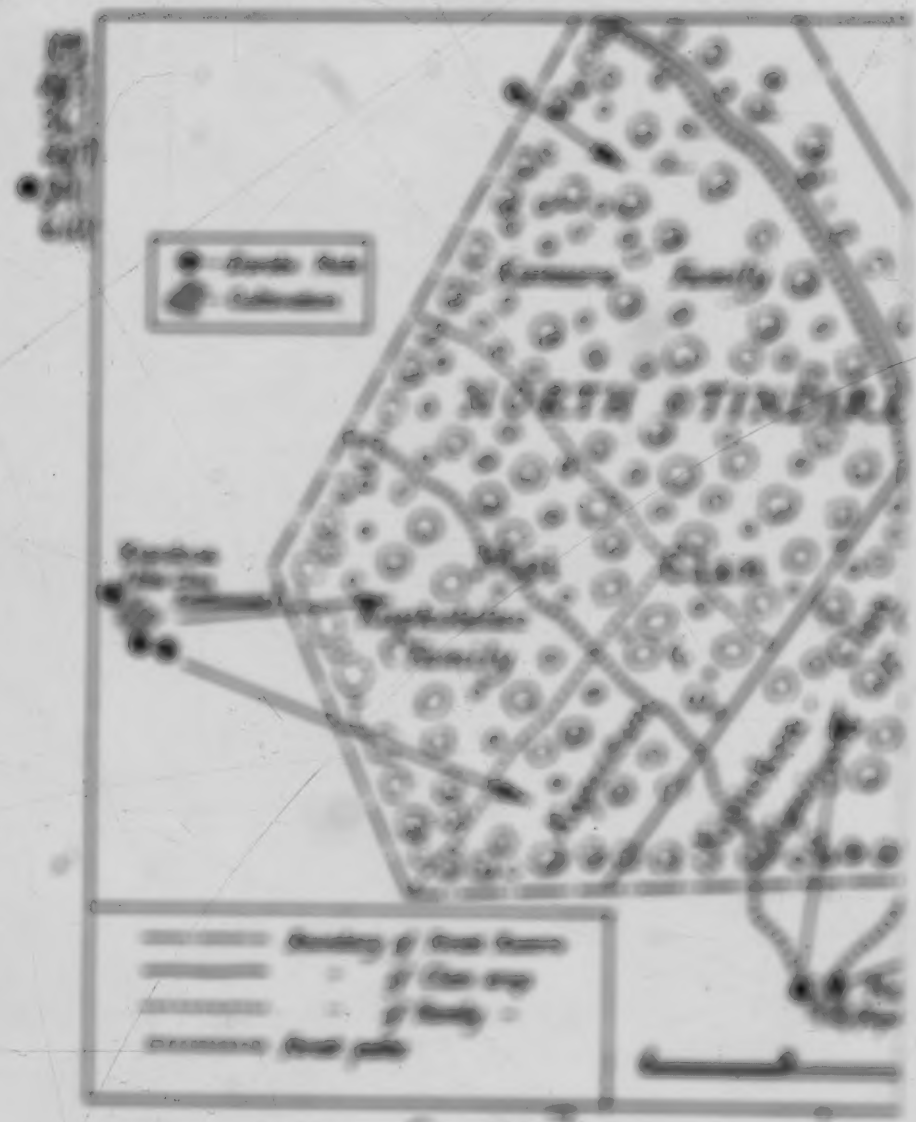
[illegible]

[illegible]

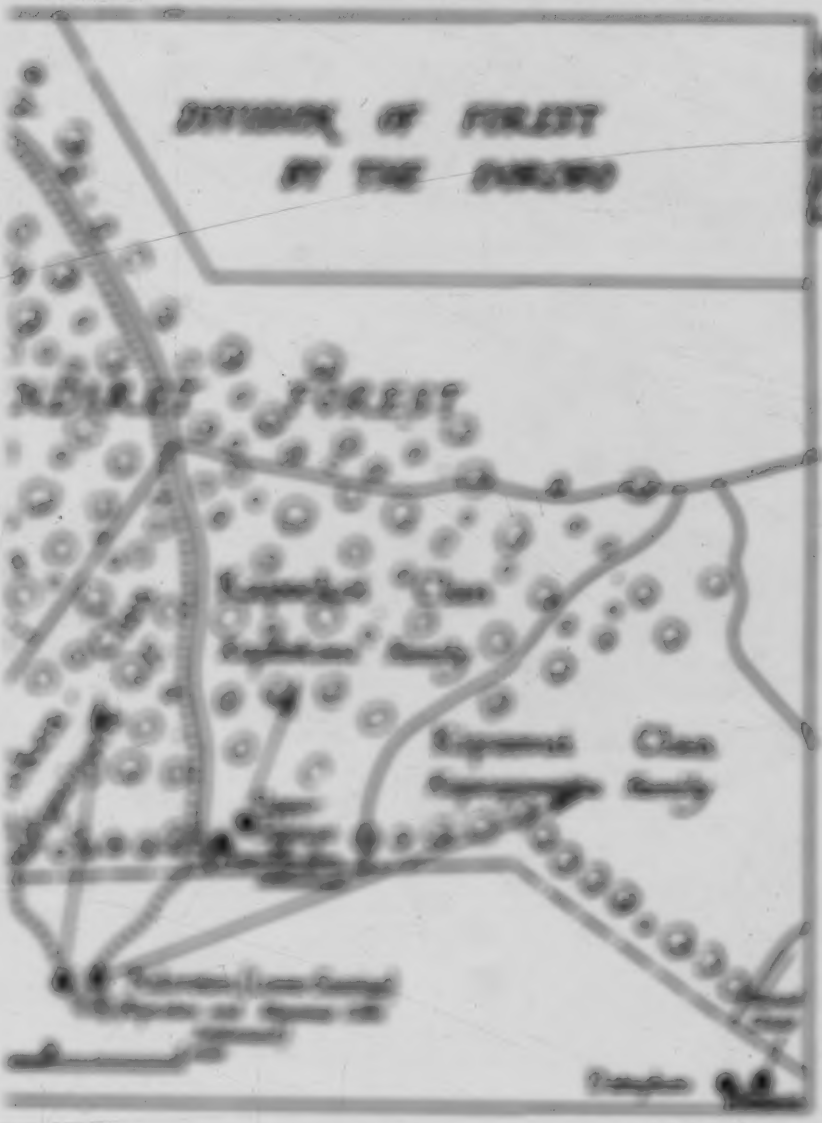
(950) Clothing and ornaments. — Cloth materials. — The individual articles of clothing and ornaments, compared with those of the Ainos. — Head and body hair. — Nails. — Painting. — Tattooing.

[illegible] Cloth materials, such as are the needs of the coarser people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Ainu. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the new-comers either, while presents from the Ainos, [illegible] they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant teeth, hippopotamus teeth, and bone of [illegible] do a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Ainos buy [illegible] with force, as the coastal people in split designate this type of trade.

[illegible] One therefore sees the Ainu drawn solely in their original native clothing. Male women are bodies, [illegible] which, in no sex manner of wear, is observed with that of the Ainos, but quite [illegible] often appear. This covers a pear-shaped [illegible] for the front and rear apron, called [illegible] and an [illegible] to the Ainos, which the Orochonkes name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in having the [illegible] is no inconvenience because of its length. The [illegible] otherwise to all generally wear the [illegible] called [illegible] also as an [illegible] made of red cloth, which they buy from the Ainos; older men often have it made out of the cloth of the Amoor black-tailed [illegible]. The [illegible] of the women is two-sided [illegible], as to the upper part of it [illegible] of the Ainos to wear, while the lower one is worn after the Ainos fashion of [illegible]. The [illegible] is narrow, is two-sided [illegible] and is considerably [illegible] than the former, only a little longer than the [illegible]. Instead [illegible] worn them of [illegible], which, however, is [illegible] not met with. To [illegible] the poverty of the Ainu it [illegible] among the [illegible], though one must also consider the fact there seem to have a [illegible] as to [illegible] of inconvenience, very considerably [illegible]



[p. 96]



[p.67]

[illegible] duration of which is in inverse ratio to its inaffectiveness and the severity of the cold's impact.

[illegible] The Maasi are good to the D'Aviro and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable. Be it milk, meat or grain. The D'Aviro expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on the visitors from the Maasi as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the D'Aviro helped the Maasi on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great widespread epidemic in the early 'nineties) by looking for them after starvation had overtaken the ingredient antipathy of the Maasi to visitors. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the D'Aviro at the request of the Maasi. Lobito told me of one drive in which he and about thirty D'Aviro were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

[illegible] When a D'Aviro's daughter wants to wed, unless restrained by the more prudent friends, he slaughters and eat them to the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently a bond was valued by the D'Aviro only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to look upon it in a small way and even over live as Maasi. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling or sleeping places.

[illegible] • [illegible] A few D'Aviro still do hunt, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable hunger rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plots. Areas as they may have. A D'Aviro will cheerfully marry his [illegible] food for a week or more, picking up a most precarious subsistence [illegible] on roots and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of getting to see boy's work each day on a specific patch for the same length of time.

[illegible] To the Dorobo, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the D'Aviro. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the D'Aviro has at his command an extensive

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

help his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimnyo arap Mining, or Ol[illegible], during the period of my field-work, at Kipsikon, with his mother Cheborbor, and his family consisted of the following:

Cheborbor ♀

♂ Arap Mining — Cepkemoren ♀

♂ Kipsiroi | ♂ Kipsikon | ♀ Chesigit | Chesir ♀ | girl, not yet named, born 2 Dec 1938.

In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *sheenka*. His mother's hut was about 100 yards away at the other end of the *sheenka*. His three boys all [illegible] ages, he himself being a *Tyongi* ranged from about four years old upwards, and Chesir, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he slept in the back part of the hut, the *ware*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *kwina*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *ware* from the *kwina* was allowed to make the new round as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkemoren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Mzee looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkemoren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the elder people sleep. On some days Cenkirikat comes to Arap Mining's *sheenka* to help with the cultivation: Cepkemoren normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Mzee. But the *sheenka* is not so far away that Cepkemoren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

436 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 kuglul of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (kuglul).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The kug used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of kuglul, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

487 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
437 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aroan in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away undetected to Aroan; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his fellows. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
● [241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

Fig. 6. A Simple Kind of Sponge
This trap has an "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright A to which bone B is pivoted, thus releasing the bone and allowing its free end, B to spring upright and tighten the sinew round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on A, allowing the bone to slip over the top and free either the bone ends B.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nunā for sinews and antler. A stack of dried meat (embracing about 2 ft. square, was said to obtain 20 lbs. of grass. Meat is cut into strips (or, whence evidenced) which are laid out on the drying rack or left over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the bark of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are * not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Eskimo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nunā. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1930. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April:	preparation of the land.
April-May:	planting.
September:	reaping.

* This refers to the years 1928-30.

Fig. 1. Plan of a Kwoma village, a Cargo cult in North Wosera.

a Kwoma is still his own way as much developed by mythical ideas and a set of rules called Nyaiwa. Now the original Nyaiwa but to be given up and his evangelical faith by men and especially great importance. Nyaiwa has a Nyaiwa of to himself. Each story however, several people divide the story begin a town, and corresponding to the values of Nyaiwa and in some cases Nyaiwa does part of a Nyaiwa Nyaiwa and Nyaiwa (Fig. 1).

Though not connected with cultivation, no one, however low his religion of with Nyaiwa, however it is concerned with his growth. But just when cycle a Nyaiwa and Yambaiwa (or Yambaiwa, as his Nyaiwa call it), and now go to gardens at last on this to Nyaiwa. They are nothing but a Nyaiwa work, Nyaiwa south of a Nyaiwa[illegible] work, and the cycle is carried Nyaiwa a Nyaiwa Nyaiwa. To harvest Nyaiwa when other Nyaiwa Nyaiwa to the cycle, proclaiming only a Nyaiwa party Nyaiwa will have to Nyaiwa from the Nyaiwa who inspired even that Nyaiwa of Nyaiwa, and Nyaiwa as the Nyaiwa to have Nyaiwa part. It is said that if a man Nyaiwa refuse the Nyaiwa, the party Nyaiwa go home without Nyaiwa. But as no Nyaiwa ever has Nyaiwa, the Nyaiwa are to continue. Finally the Nyaiwa will Nyaiwa work to the Nyaiwa, who pay them in the sum of a Nyaiwa for a Nyaiwa Nyaiwa of Nyaiwa. But Nyaiwa, Nyaiwa is not Nyaiwa with his pre-eminence Nyaiwa off for Nyaiwa as the Nyaiwa, which Nyaiwa, Nyaiwa, is Nyaiwa as a Nyaiwa Nyaiwa to Nyaiwa of Nyaiwa.

[illegible]

If the Nyaiwa had ever been in such Nyaiwa Nyaiwa with a people whose primary interest in life was Nyaiwa, it is possible that they would have succeeded Nyaiwa Nyaiwa with agriculture and active work. But their Nyaiwa with the Nyaiwa have inevitably led them to take an interest in Nyaiwa, and to think that the possession of Nyaiwa is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire Nyaiwa, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(59)

4b. [illegible]

[illegible] (6)
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

...

...

...

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [402] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [244] 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochogget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiy, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [178] [148]

l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLó Dorobo FLó

Agriculture

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbaremik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iuotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeiyuet* (*xymonia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuria* and leaves of nettle, *siuot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiphetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorôbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochonget*, pl. *kochongwiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itôkto*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muûsik*; N. *muiuak*), upon which the occupants [513] eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurkut*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mêit*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*saimet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [372] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sôtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*soiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litêto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorôbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piônet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (N.),[1] about 15 ins. 372 long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*teet*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sasyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porôwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*liëtto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-ap-tumatet*, or *kweînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprawit* (N. *kipnut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *poiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemuuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoïsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraitî*) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreitî*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriatî* and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkwit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirarênik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaïsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

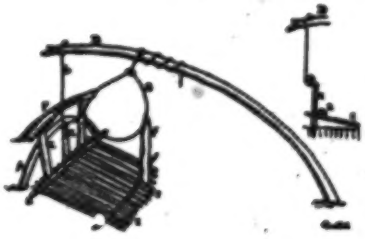


Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[39]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[39] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

[P. 194, A]

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence which all help to make. Each is therefore a family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an independent labour unit.

The grain crops are stored either in granaries of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapet*) of the hut; but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large owing to the small areas planted, storage problems are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging

241 423 [351] [614] 251 261 [437] [735]

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to daima, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[071] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
• 251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[201] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[415] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each [251] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el maîn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

411 In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or
322 busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with
[461] making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making
[462] of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

1; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *camboluet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iuotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemsiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *siwot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *hiphstinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Aboos*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

262 [136] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and [222] [462] cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very ●252 poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

276 439 263 [258] [171] Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

273 [824] Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinnet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rutik, kepele mat si koherer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisee kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si konuanit, kiinde eñgaret
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

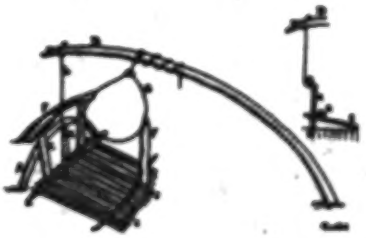

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[99]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*litwito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*muaarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*ingurk*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[99] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
251 usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
439 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
231 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
262 for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
[439] Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[415] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokoi), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 (411) 224 (234) (231) When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances (136) are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

262 [136] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and [222] [462] cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *silotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyet*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinet*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very 252 poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two 276 439 stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

263 Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a [258] suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the [171] resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

273 Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kiptetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, [824] the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si koherer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisec kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si kowuanit, kiinde eŋgaret
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

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[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwee*, is also known to the Kitšto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserimbwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[824]

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own 241
strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence 423
which all help to make. Each is therefore a [351]
family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an [614]
independent labour unit.

The grain crops are stored either in granaries 251
of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapot*) of the hut;
but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon 261
after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large
owing to the small areas planted, storage problems
are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are [937]
got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging [735]

[P.194, B]

261
[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kiphetinik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepeyget* (*aemilia integrifolia*).

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Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it.

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The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

n^1, n^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst].

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(2)

Forest	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkorom	8	8	15	10	10	46
Sunyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kolpai	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	46	58	35	34	226

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidog (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east–west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *masinonik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *isotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[Text continues on P.58--analyst]

1;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *nguret*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porouet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *camboluet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iuotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momonial* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemsiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *siuot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *hipkelinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

262 [273] tree," *rotinuet* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

439 [648] [177] The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and [582] there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [181] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

[186] From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to [437] the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[435]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 [177] [648] The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*: pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-johóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandee*; the Nandi, *Chepkeche*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-ohesenè* (Masai).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balañga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro*

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorōbo, is hunting (*sagas*: Kony, *kip-sagas-ian* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarorōt*; N. *soiet*), rhinoceros (*kip-komit*), leopard (*melilto*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ägetuindo* N.,) giant pig (*tumda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (*See* "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorōbo.)

[411] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyuägda*, N.) and arrow (*kōtick*, N; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*†). Arrows and spears for hunting are
[278] poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorōbo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipuruiyeinat*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*porōwet*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*ägökto*, pl. *ägökik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorōbo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

● 869 136 The staple foods of the Dorōbo are honey (*kumiat*, N.) and meat (*panyek*, N.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimereraget*,).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus aequatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. ignu-isaaci*).

[1] *Acocanthera Schimperi.*

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262 136 Keremsiit (N. *poinet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipeomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *koroiitye*t,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tisiet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus grisco-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Toraet (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochærus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ngetundo*).—Lion.
Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.
Pĕliot (N.).—Elephant.

262 137 Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sliuriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siwot* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasanit*, pl. *pasanik*; N. *moingot*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

222 To take honey, the Dorôbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorôbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriityet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

264 In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*liitto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipkĕtĭnik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumutet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*tarûnik-ap-tumutet*, or *kwanîsik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kipruswit* (N. *kipsut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sessiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imburet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngomuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiak*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angat*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeruit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorrit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeitetitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkuiyuit*; N. *chepkuit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirorĕnik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

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614 177 11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiting; totem, *kipuskeriat*".

The clan-animals are: *kwonyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *sout* in Nandi; *kipkamoiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *kuuskut*, baboon, called *mout* in Nandi; *sowowyo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *sowoiyon*, Nandi *ceptirkisat*; *tuvut*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *tovut*, Nandi *tovt*; *ropta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimorokat*, hyaena, called *kimakutiat* in Nandi; *sombit*, lion, called *setundo* in Nandi; *cuswoetiat*, partridge, called *toiyout* in Nandi; *aniata*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipuskeriat*, snake, called *evout* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *ovt* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap ovt*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Na oruunun?* "what is *your ovt*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ng tiond ap oruunu?* "what is the animal of your ovet?" Clanellows are considered as *kiisenetik*, relatives; marriage [583] within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Oruuyun*, or else as *Ar i apu*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clanellows.

[262] There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito-makiome kitio, kiomo tiosik tukul* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

614 587 Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiitwai cepto nepo Moi ingo po kut ake ne moeye kwot ake a makomi tiliet*; *ngut kiitun nepo tiond ake, mapile* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

> one whose totem is Kongonyot may marry one with Soiet or Kipkamoiet;
> one whose totem is Soiet may marry one with Kongonyot or Kipkamoiet;
> one whose totem is Kipkamoiet may marry one with Soiet or Kongonyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group, and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongonyot man married a Soiet girl.

[177] There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Koraput, for instance, may marry Kapuket, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

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a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*suuta* or *sowin*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

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A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b] Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *wsait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

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The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

592 594 262 [224]

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

[263]

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

*Ngemwuyot**, the common duiker (cephalophus Grimmi).
Kipsekeset, the blue duiker (C. aequatorialis).
Mindet, the red duiker (C. igna-issaci).
Keremaiit, the bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus).
Irukutet, the reedbuck (Cervicapra arundinum).
Kenyelet, the oribi (Ourebia montana).
Kipsomeret, the waterbuck (Cobus ellipsiprymnus).

Of monkeys they eat:

Sairet, the colobus (Colobus guereza).
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey (Cercopithecus albogularis).
Cereret, grey monkey (C. griseo-viridis).
Konokcet, the baboon (Papio cynocephalus).

And of other animals they eat:

Torret, the wild pig or wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus).
Tumia, the giant pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).
Melillo, the leopard.
Sombit, the lion.
Soiet, the buffalo.
Peliot, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

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262 [136] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

[222] [462] Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siuot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very 252 poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two 276 stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.
439 Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made 263 a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or [258] of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the [171] resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

273 Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kip-ketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, [824] the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rutik, kepele mat si kokerer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ce somisec kui
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si konnanit, kiinde eŋgaret
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

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kopotok. Kiinde tapot hut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ce caw si korurio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
hut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the 272
Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation.

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without 262 ●
food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a 224
man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could 177
usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a 262
small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a [464]
family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily [466]
ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself [693]
but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far 476
as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution 224
was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and 476
sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what [888]
their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Past: →	Past: →	Ideal: (in most cases)
[462] [594]	Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest	Cultivation of shambas	Stock
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.		
			Some: working for wages		
		Women:	Preparing the results of trapping	Cultivation of shambas	
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.		
			Housework and food collecting		
[857]		Children:	Weeding		
			Herding		
			Housework		
[462]	Men Living Alone:		Trapping	Cultivation of shambas	Stock
			Making things		
			Preparing the results of trapping		
			Cooking, housework		

[556] Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

● 262 [778] [231] 264 Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minie said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey [789]

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through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lakok ap Kaptolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Makicome
They-burn the-children of Kolelac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
anun mopelo Okiek timdo ne tinye lukuk ce kioma,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngui ne mii pasanet ap sekemik: ngui kololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
one sekemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sekemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sekemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sekemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

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the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*wokto*, pl. *wokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *porost*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

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is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[20]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[20] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 beer called *ses* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there A form of
[273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months:
[132] *Lovara*, a time of rain; and *Loichetto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Ladunga.	*Loukwung.*	*Ladunga.*	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*
Lemuka.	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lovara.*
Lukwu.	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loichetto.*
Lovara.	*Loichetto.*	*Loichetto.*	*Loichetto.*	*Loudunga.*
?	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	?
?	?			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[222] far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
[285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
[323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco.
[415] Their shields (*kezen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga
[411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
[352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*nekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest: At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[99]

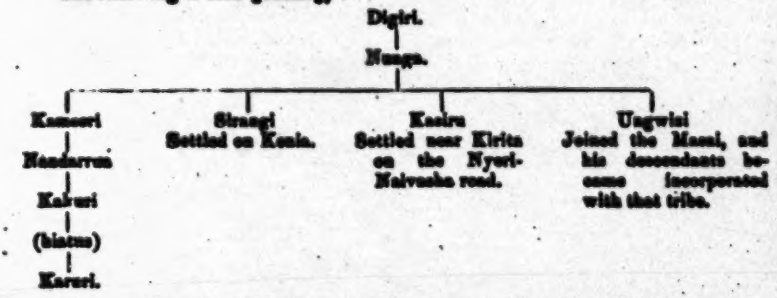
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiok (or Oggiok) or Ogiochua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiok (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiok is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiok are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] Kameeri, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiok.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiok circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiok is the ant-bear, which is called Ungure, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

[262] [173] [648] The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P.194, B]

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[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketinik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepeŋgwet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). 273 262 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it. 361 614

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195. ^{1} ^{2}

^{1}, ^{2} [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiiyech panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilōk, okōnech tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

[P.197, A]

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come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead.

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[682]
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[726]
[823]

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MD 142 eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

MD 619 174 Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

MD 174 619 233 262

/14 cont./

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[201] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/249 cont./

224

merker phot.

Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe its meat -- only the Wandorobo living on the Donjo Kissale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

[262]

/250 cont./
224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night.

Ill. 62. Wandorobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered 224 meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant 262 carcass several days old, which even /251/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

/231 cont./

224 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
822 fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here
[223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, wherein on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes
[825] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it
[777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobunog of the Wandorobo also
264 hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former,
171 however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the
[778] warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retain-
[268] ing the en dorik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful
[229] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The
[263] many spices and stimulants that we become acquainted with among
[276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but
561 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists
224 of four men and is called e sirdg, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in
[974] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kwyagda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiot* tree (*Ilex* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iust*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *kerowandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kwepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with heat made from
[124] a plant called *teperwiot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *teperguet* (*amilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[439] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
[304] Red earth, *orokait*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
415 earth, *sosoiot*, [illegible] For carrying a number of small objects a
417 carrying-net called *kibandet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of lions stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

996 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ajaiyet paneyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Arwoa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ereoniki*, a word which
includes the *oik* (ancestral spirits) and *mesambwanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
995 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *kibomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

959 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
[276] recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
of the type called *sekenyet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
159 called *orkonyot* (pl. *orkonik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
789 who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

964 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukuyuet* (*Ficus* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

Ngemuwyot, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipsukesei, the blue duiker (C. aequatorialis).
Mindit, the red duiker (C. igna-issaci).
Kavemaiit, the bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus).
Irukutet, the reedbuck (Cervicapra arundinum).
Kenyelet, the oribi (Ourebia montana).
Kipsomerot, the waterbuck (Cobus ellipsiprymnus).

Of monkeys they eat:

Sairet, the colobus (Colobus guereza).
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey (Cercopithecus albogularis).
Ceveret, grey monkey (C. griseo-viridis).
Komokut, the baboon (Papio cynocephalus).

And of other animals they eat:

Tuvut, the wild pig or wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus).
Tumta, the giant pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).
Maiito, the leopard.
Sombit, the lion.
Soiat, the buffalo.
Peliot, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

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eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia) and of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kiptetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokerer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisec kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumial puc, si kowuanit, kiinde eŋgarel
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

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313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
● [263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci hereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). ¾ The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

¾ [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

[P.194, B]

261
[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketisik*), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *tepeyguet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). 273 262 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the *imbaret* among the four households which form it. 361 614

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

n^1, n^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en doros, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

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262 Keremsiit (N. *poimet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
136 Irukutet (N. *irukutiet*).—Reed-buck.
Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.
Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *kaviitiyat*,).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiniet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus albigularis*).
Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus grisco-viridis*).
Konokchot (N. *moset*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Torset (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochærus æthiopicus*).
Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.
Melilto (N.).—Leopard.
Sombit (N. *ilgetundo*).—Lion.
Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.
Pëliot (N.).—Elephant.

262 Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*sllouriet* (N.), fruit (*e.g.* berries, such
137 as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siuet* (N.), *Girardinia condensata*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasamat*, pl. *pasamik*; N. *masingat*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the tenetwet (N. *tenduet*,) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

222 To take honey, the Dorōbo first makes fire in a loose ball of sasyat (fibre); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the kipsepuet (N.) tree[1] in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The sasyat is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking sasyat is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorōbo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipiriityet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the kipsepuet leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

● 264 In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

[1] *Tilia* sp.

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prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*litêto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-ap-tumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kipraut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemweyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraiit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkawit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirorênik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingaîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Past: →	Past: →	Ideal: (in most cases)
[462] [594]	Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest	Cultivation of shambas	Stock
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.		
			Some: working for wages		
		Women:	Preparing the results of trapping	Cultivation of shambas	
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.		
			Housework and food collecting		
[857]		Children:	Weeding		
			Herding		
			Housework		
[462]	Men Living Alone:		Trapping Making things Preparing the results of trapping Cooking, housework	Cultivation of shambas	Stock

[556] Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

262 [778] [231] 264 [789] Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minis said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

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through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lakok ap Kapkolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Makicome
They-burn the-children of Kolelac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mepele Okiek timdo ne tinye tukuk ca kiomo,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngut ne mii pasanet ap sekemik:ngut kololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sekemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sekemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sekemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sekemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

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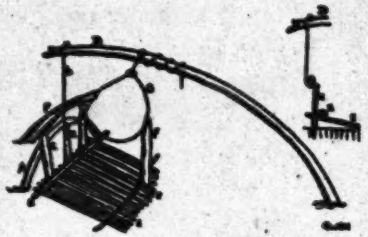

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter:	*Meat to*
1.	Wife and children.
2.	Father and mother.
3.	Wife's father.
4.	Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saiwet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Konokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

/231 cont./

621 [192] [171] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndarerañg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauergg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 412 413 177 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (lelewgg), as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereré). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat [251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[415] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining [262] [224] the en doro, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirder, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kilaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kisherembara*, is also known to the Kisiba Masai and is called by them *Ol-Mondodua*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[824]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Móiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Móiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Móiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Móiro* in the vicinity of Lo-sokoine. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Kotu-'n-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Móiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Móiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mildyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumas* family of the *Il-Molkpusa* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Móiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly obstreperous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Móiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. Maguire.

(To be continued)

/330 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
[352] the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
251 usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
259 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
251 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
camps: cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[339] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
[372] only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
devour milk and have this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[191] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[342] Both the foods for the men, his wives, and children and, on the other
[345] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitoloni), of
191 which each adult dining in the meal has his own. From the food
laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
ash and /333/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

Schoolingford K-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

kuptuk. Kilindo kuptet kut kemeric. Pomi e chemisk ne ane ei kemeric 273
ne mok. It is put in the hole kill it is ripens. It is sometimes like days many then it may
kut kotok mutjuk. Kito.
ripen till. It becomes like drink. (Then) we drink.

(Some wood-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i.e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the hut to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *kokwek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of wood-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272 ●

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the presence of Europeans have not altogether removed. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, an "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Kotet had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Mutai, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people is a bad season. Shortages are cancelled as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was then as follows:

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

/XVI cont./

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251 usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
939 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
251 dried, it is moved away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
camp: cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
262 for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
[939] Wandorobbo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
• [872] only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
never milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[191] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
873 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[870] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter price
[871] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobbo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
254 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
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[915] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
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by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
salt and /XIV/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

l:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porowet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognised by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognise four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imoik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *koosoosik*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kipindowik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kowet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapsowaik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*panaosi*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognise their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbarsit*, pl. *imbaresik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land, provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropesonik* are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also stone axes, *ndobut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The sowing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muaisonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and rodents. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *kemsiyuat* (*rhoicissus americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa sasota*, wild banana), the sap of the *sesuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *sinet*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiptotiosik* or *kumik* as in, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[962] [213] tree," *rotinust* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyeh*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, [648] [177] the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and [582] there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [181] [186] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to [437] the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1930 were:

[935]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[915] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they [177] have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; [648] but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*listo*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terônik-ap-tumatet*, or *kweînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kipraut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from soseiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemuuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitibo*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraiit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorriit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitsiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeitsitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkoiyuit*; N. *chepkowit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirorînik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingoîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiuet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little ekuuine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kiptetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokwer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisee ku/
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepambunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si kowunit, kiinde ee eigeet
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate-

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

hopotok. Kiinde tapat kut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ee can si korurio 273
so-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Kete had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of naring, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

262 224 177 262 [464] [466] [693] 476 224 476 [888]

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Ollamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapanariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[276] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
● [273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci herepoinik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapanariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1 i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 278.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[39]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*himiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[39] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 A form of
[273] beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there
[132] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognised, as are two other seasons or months: *Lowere*, a time of rain; and *Loichatto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lobongo.	*Lembweng.*	*Lobongo.*	*Lobongo.*	*Lembweng.*
Lemuka.	*Lobongo.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lowere.*
Lobwe.	*Lemuuk.*	*Lemuuk.*	*Lemuuk.*	*Loichatto.*
Lowere.	*Loichatto.*	*Loichatto.*	*Loichatto.*	*Lembongo.*
,,	*Lowere.*	*Lowere.*	*Lowere.*	,,
,,	,,			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Doketho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[222] for and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
[289] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
[323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Doketho in exchange for tobacco.
[419] Their shields (*kwan*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiu*) come from the Dodinga
[411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
[352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only barbed spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*ambidwap*) of Doketho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

14:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939)1942
FLS DocobFLS

[P.194, B]

261
[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; 273
honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketi-nik*), and salt is made by burning the caves of 262
teperguet (*aerulia integrifolia*). 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division 361
of the *imbaret* among the four households which 614
form it.

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

A^1, A^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *inbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *inbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, classmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and classmen, if it will go so far. [962] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [344] 574 273 276 [331]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kuskegut*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 312 [771]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiiy, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this [224] [771] [845]

14 Huntingford E-S (1930-1939) 1942
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[P.196, B]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

224
[124]
[648]
[834]

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesumiki* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

[776]
[782]

Asis, ĝoĝyuk paspuk.
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesumiki, okkuch tiony su kipun.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and investment: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, [illegible]"

222
[262]
[278]

[111]

[1] [illegible] [124]

Lh Meiner--306 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1911 FLIS Mawi
Dorobe FLS
Aaa

/378 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[852] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
239 dried, it is moved away in the above-mentioned ruse, close to the
251 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Wawi
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobbo, in barter with neighboring tribes, are able to come into
[859] the possession of vegetables, they also live on them, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
[872] devour milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Wawi belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[870] way as the Wawi, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[871] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobbo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[852] Both the foods for the men, his wives, and children and, on the other
[815] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kinikeg), of
283 which each adult drinking in the meal has his own. From the last
191 laws of the Wawi, the custom that young uncircised men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
ash and /333/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/Bill cont./

with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The ends is plaited together, coming out invisible, out of dust animal wastes and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of wastes are neatly cut off, whereupon one then robs the new finished bowstring with more fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 94) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is vested with feathers that have been coated with the remarkable juice of a not yet described species of plaintive known as dirdi, whereupon, as rep, one drills in the end- /Bill/ /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here/ cone-shaped hole for the ring of the arrow by a rotating motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine hair thread and then glued fast with the glutinous juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal wastes is found between the feathering and the cue notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

The people buy the iron points only if a piece breaks off /Bill/ as they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Ainus. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the Kerintshis of the island. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned. The bag for the rear part boy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from veterinary rubber. On the other hand, in more places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

The fact that the Wandschina ag ost play the board game so popular among the Ainus was explained to me by Bill with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

With the coming of darkness complete silence as a rule rules over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on special evenings do the old people often sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a good bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls have met on their talents sing ring out through the still night, from

[illegible] 213 [illegible]

DS Harbor--FLS G-4 (1899-ca.1918) 1911 FLS Wood
Dorobo FLS
A.m.

/Ki' ewet./
which now and then, as though on an uneven, the cry of a predatory animal responds over to them. The dance differs from that of the Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only raise their heels. The narrow, veiled place of the camp permits only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied each time by song.

In a falsetto (3)

[36] 1. Recorded by Hans Waldmann /half physician/ Dr. Rhenish.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (seventeen strokes), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends to the six-four /[illegible]/ chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer than the falsetto, until, descending to the same degree of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, is just uncertainly, is just playfully.

Arpeggiations, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the entire gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- ak rooto nakt /so to speak/. No other figure are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octaves; on the fundamental tone is pleased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four /[illegible]/ chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as wrong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often pathetic, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /Ki'/ text is arranged at thirteen /ar vili/ for each one heightens the tension, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listener.

18 Merker--316 G-6 (888-ca.1908) 1911 PLIS Masai
Dorobo PLS
Kwa

/230 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 191 childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /Kik/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and 574 their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gatad i ol ik, to which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, [illegible] the rank that belongs to its furthermore, two head of cattle, which

[illegible]

From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for [illegible], which they call keeping or keeping. For a keeping a feast, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire (see which), just as for every other supplication feast, they wave the censer of the honey bee, rendering clouds of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles these persons with honey bee, they sing [illegible]. After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they rest to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey bee are consumed. At a keeping a egg they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing [illegible] (meat = game). The men wearing the bearskin act out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing [illegible] which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the elk deer (Alces palmatus) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing [illegible]. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, for then after a keeping a egg they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The [illegible] do not have a feast corresponding to the of eggs | of guests. Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut off a strip out of the hide of an animal just shot and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are very commonly used. The caftan are only one, which they called raven and which consisted of a small piece of [illegible]. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to pro-

[illegible] supplications Feast conducted by the Bears to preserve the health of human beings and [illegible]-dead part.]

The women
prepare food and rock upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished.
At the present day the Dorothe are taking to eating chocolate grain, which is crushed
on grindstones (*Mahle*, *N.*) and made into a sort of porridge; coral nuts, which they
obtain from Ruanda, if there are any men there. Beer is made from honey, and
is called *Ngbalabali* (*N.*). Tobacco (*mwanza*, *N.*; or *ekpakolokolo*? *N.*) is bought
from the Ruanda, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either
chewed (*wiri*, *N.*) or smoked in Ruanda pipes (*mbuli ngo-mwanza*, or *kwabuli*, *N.*),
which are also obtained from the Ruanda. The men rarely tobacco in *ngbalabali*
horns called *Ngwanzi* (*N. Ngwanzi*) (Text-fig. 88), made from *mwanza* (*kwabuli*),
with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by
which the horn is slung round the neck.[1]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorothe possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During
the last quarter of a century or so a few of them living on the edge of the forest have
taken to cultivating small plantations (*Lukwa*, *N.*), in which they grow chocolate
grain (*Mbwanti*, or *pwati*; *N. pati*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or
two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head.
The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*ekwisi*; *N. kpwisi*).
Warriors wear skin garments of clothes (*ngbisanga*? *N.*) called *ekwisi*; they wear
leg-bells attached to a leather band (*ngalibbo*? *pl. ngalibbolabali*) on the ankles.
Dorothe-boys wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*ngai*, *N.*) tied loosely? Old men
wear loin-cloth skins (*ekwisi*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ngwanzi*) are worn, of
blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors.
Belts (*mbwanzi*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors.
Necklaces of shells (*ngwalalla*, *N.*) or bone-wire (*ngbagali*, *N.*) are worn; also various
kinds of iron ear-rings (*ekkwanzi*) and bracelets (Text-figs. 15–17); *N. kwan-*
wisi) are worn by warriors and chiefs.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of
Ruanda women. They wear skirts (*ekpakpigani*; *N. ekpakwi*) and upper garments
(*kabbo*, *N.*), both of waxed leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the
Ruanda women. Their ornaments consist of iron wire armlets and leglets (*ngbisanabali*
and *kwali*, *N.*), and wire necklaces (*ngbagali*, *pl. ngbagalibali*, *N.*). Married women wear

[1] *Ngbalabali* means "snuff" in Ruanda.

[2] There are leather in the Ruanda Congo Colony, from which indeed they are probably
borrowed.

[3] As in the Ruanda, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorothe.

4:Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-hives. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sirinik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mmomyat*, *rubus rigidus*.
Fruit of the *kwariyaat*, *clausena anisata*.
Fruit of the *sasonisi*, *Musa ensete*, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, *gnetum conchinatii*, *netik*.
Pulp of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimeiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiset*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before fruits and wax obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the sabagaat bush (*acanthus longifolius*), or of the serogiet tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a receptacle resembling, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Nandi Kaviloandi used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little simple beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkeiwet* or *kwonyo apt* is, "honey-wine"; is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the wood-pods of the *mitemet* tree (*Angelia acrinagina* or the *mmagat* tree, which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

[illegible]

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

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unite it, i.e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the heat is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral coniction with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn ype, and low-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close ogether. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together vith heat. A hole is made with the needle, and the heat is pushed through it. t frequent intervals the fibre and the heat are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made; as each coil makes a complete ycle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the ides. When a new piece of heat is needed it is shoved right through the hole, eaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. he basket maker works with lengths of heat of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil s of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the ength of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new ips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the asket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of oil tied to the next by stitches of heat. Sometimes the base is made of a maller piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the rocedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

281

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple rocess, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly egged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When ry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held t an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till e skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other ject in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by [462]
omen. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, [465]
d parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. [285]
e needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to [462]
ake a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, especially [465]
e used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured
ith. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. blue duiker), and unless [925]
oloured for luxury the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a
p, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder.
ommon size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. [274] ●
9½ ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have
ther covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so
at the owner can sling the box round his neck.

434

The natives of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the
Gall. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork;
ner things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly
antity, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into
istence. In 1939 some of these values were: 436

† considered for a good bill of honey.
0 known for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

436 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagisi of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal meal for 1 basket (*korpet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[E4] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *korpet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
438 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[E62] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away undetected to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his kind. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or classificatory. (2) When people
[M7] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[344]

Together with the spirit of co-operation in the rule of joint consumption.
[378] We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his classmates in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kewiok* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo.* Like those who have the privilege of [illegible] non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

* Cf. my remarks in [illegible] op. cit. p. 370.

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mising acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollessos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *ameimenik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *dost*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In

[1] A hunter's bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 9 ins. wide; it contains about twelve or maybe twenty as a general. A hunter's (baragoet) is about 9 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] Namely, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and *Tyiret*, the grass hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *shamba* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *shamba* and livestock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 195), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go so far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *hodoggot*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building longer and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain; [illegible] some; my friend Arap Mining, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), [illegible]

/232 cont./

262 If lean times thecome, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honeyand honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that arehung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
239 dried, it is storeaway in the aforementioned tree, closet to the
231 camps: cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are notkept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in baer with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[239] the possession of vgetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times-when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise th vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, specially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and lue this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to thre away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[271] they eat that of slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that thepreviously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and eat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[270] way as the Wamitaisu serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[271] that made by theirmore than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kd. Men, women, and children eat together.
[262] Both the foods for'e man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for thyouth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[265] From this the foods poured into small wooden bowls (kitchens), of
which each adult eating in the meal has his own. From the food
273 laws of the Wamaithe custom that young unmarried men may not
271 drink honey beer still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
• 276 luxury of the rnared. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Good to powder and mixed with a little snuff
[illegible]
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/251 cont./

224 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
222 fallen or stricken animals: indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoc-
eros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here
[223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny
dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich,
which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the
Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments.
They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not
relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the
seventeenth day, the ol onjogi, no one goes hunting because, according
to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day,
whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes
[825] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it
[777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it
again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 Like the warriors of the Masai, the dolenong of the Wandorobo also
224 hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former,
171 however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the
[778] warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a
matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer
any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food
in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retain-
[262] ing the en dunik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful
[224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at
the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The
[263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among
[276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent.
They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but
561 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists
224 of four men and is called a siriq, in which one recognizes the pioneer
[379] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e siriq spends the night in
a strange camp, the host is given a howling and a hind leg of the
hunting booty.

/254 cont./

X.

Diseases.

757 For diseases the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
1911 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. These medicaments,
• 276 that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
1911 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warrior,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
1911 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
1912 for the principal diseases are the following: Headache = ngeng ngôna =
sick head; toothache = lîgî ngoma = sick teeth; cough, chest or pleural
chest pain, lîbe ngoma = sick chest; stomach-ache = vaia ngoma =
sick stomach; diarrhea, vaia kutîî, constipation, vaia gwhobogwogwe;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maeburgo
or alîgi chickenpox, sinîmo. Gonorrhoea, dondîî lom, ne ekîtîn.
Elephantiasis, as well as f. scurv, is said not to occur. Fever,
kalongoma; bilious fever, ol odoa. Tension, pinîdîgi sarotik,
752 swelling. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, pinkiline covering of the roots of the ol
(736) dungit bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
(732) regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the ol piratîni, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called ark-ap among the Wandorobo, the midwife gweche
kare-kawa-kwiîn.

Lithuaingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, basically similar to Dorobo types (measurements from the Kamasi bow [Dorobo op.] 5 ft. 6 in. long), and the bowstring, used, is made from gut of the giant pig, Hylochoerus. Arrow-shafts are made from the Acokanthera and sometimes from the Euphorbia candelabri; arrow-heads are bought from the Kamasi, and are of the Kamasi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the Acokanthera Schimperi.

Basketry

Making baskets, though, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the plantain-resembling palm, *Hyphaene*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *ngwenetet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat plait gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *Salsola Aucheriana*, but coarse white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Kamasi who, in 1938, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *mokwet*, is mixed with fat or ointment as fat rubbing on the body; white earth, *mwonet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *kibwaiet* is used. It is made of a pair of oval rims 2 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of bark stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of tennis-racket rackets. These are sometimes used by the Kamasi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipkore ipkoyoti*, "Asis, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilat*, the Dorobo, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *mwendwa*, a word which includes the ash (ancestral spirits) and *mwaamberenik* (evil spirits) of the Kamasi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Kamasi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both in an Iten people and in one kind in the form of *kibukeiti* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have reasons to divine/ask as to cause of illness or witchcraft, they go to Kamasi diviners of the type called *oiboyanik* by whom they are charged a shilling fee. The people called *ollotyot-ap-arkaldi* among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from roots and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful sun-makers, they themselves say that they have no sun-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

The old, sick and weak are buried in narrow holes about 4 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length, varying from children who are put into a sitting position by children about a month of age, to old people who are laid down in a grave. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA ↔ robo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often the of reedbuck or 411
leopard—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstances.

A small supply of *bush poison* (*agwaro*) is sometimes carried [378] ●
in the keel of the quiver. This poison is a hot, sticky mass [439]
made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakumbe. The Dorsi know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*kiwindagwo*) and a 378
fire-block (*arumadi*). The Dorobo are expert at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanzikiwandia*) 418
for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *awasu ziziki*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch diameter, not unlike a pea-shooter, will always be found in Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulo*, is used for drinking out pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy place. (It is a [391]
point of honour with every Dorobo and an injunction built law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulo* is also used to blow, by blowing 392
through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from [coal grass put into a fire to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of 415
objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five cows. The price usually paid to [383]
the parents of a girl taken in marriage is [illegible] cows, to five cows, over a subsequent six-year payment; but for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they use over seed. When hunting, it is stated to have a local result. [391]
[illegible] to obtain a specimen of this poison and found the statement [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

SOME *MINIRO* FOLK-TALES, FOLK-LORE AND SUPERSTITIONS

" Epito dimdo kitii " [1]

These answered a *Miniro* Dorobo whom I called on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Mossi Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutwa* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Mossi is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Miniro* themselves and admitted by the Mossi to be Dorobo in origin.

The Ostrich and the Elephant.—The ostrich, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: " Thou art I recommended by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of ostrich-dung, showing that many of these animals [illegible] path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyaena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] " I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Mossi *Ya-dim kitii*.

[2] *Albizzia antidysenterica*, according to the authority quoted in Dalziel. It is used as a remedy for stomach ache and to produce a huge appetite. It is highly prized by the Mossi and is scarce in the Dorobo localities.

Schlesinghaus B-5 (501-/503)/509 FLA Dresden FLA

Hunting

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dwellas, is hunting (*ngan*: Kiny., *kiy-ngan-kan* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kijanumb*; D. *wini*), rhinoceros (*kijibwai*), leopard (*wollibo*, D.), lion (*wombi*; *kjakinombi* D.), giant pig (*mombo*, D.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dwellas.)

[xiii] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*bogolighi*, D.) and arrow (*bisai*, D.; *mbwaiti*, etc.), and spears (*dikenombolo*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the bitter tree (*D.*)? Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Dwellas region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dwellas have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind.

[xiv] (1) The (*ngwai*), armed with thin sticks and horns, with spikes (*kijanangkinai*) on to the bottom. (2) Snares (*gumbai*; D. *nuwai*) (Text-fig. 26), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, *b*, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to the upper end is fastened a piece of cow-rope, *R*, which is loosely attached to a hanged stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little below down the bent stick *b* is fastened a snare made from the silkworm tree, which is held in place by a thin stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the snare is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope *R*, it releases the rope, and the stick *b* flies up, thereby tightening the snare.

[xv] Dogs (*kjibbi*, pl. *kjibbi*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dwellas who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary kite-eared pye or common native mongrel, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of manure in the neighbourhood of a Fiwoli hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 549 below.

Food

216 The staple foods of the Dwellas are honey (*bombo*, D.) and meat (*ganghi*, D.); 132 the meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kjikombo (D. *kwanngo*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*).
Mombo (D.).—Red duiker (*C. spec. incert.*).

[xiii] *Kwambura Kinjogoni.*

Kororoto (*myllocheilus mandibularis*) : honey-harvila.
Kiwuk : honey-harvila.
Kiwanyoni or *Tiwuki* (*afrex, alex chrysophylla*) : fire-wood.
Kiyuwuk : fire-wood.
Ceriat (bow sp.) : fire-sticks.
Dat (*pellis*, *platyrrae preuss*) : fire-sticks.

(b) *Plant materials*. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[1]:

Kwiat (dry grass) : matter for making fire with fire-sticks.
† *Tuyawanyi* : fibre for baskets.
Kwiat (*phoenix reclinata palm*) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiriat* : medicine.
† *Ngulo* : medicine.
Kororoto : medicine.
Lokyawuni : medicine.
Kiriwat : medicine.
Kiriwi : medicine.
Kiwat (*anthos sp.*) : medicine.
Tiyangiat (*aconitus integrifolius*) : salt.
Iwangiat : salt.
Kwiriwat or *Kwiria* (*bignia orthoptera*) : making honey-wine.

(c) *Horns and animal products*. These include :

† *Kwakuy* : food, clothing.
† *Iwangiat* : food, clothing, bags, quivers.
Tiyangiat : bow-strings.
Kwakuwa : arrows.
† *Kiwuy* : food, wax : ritual purposes.
Kwai's tor : ritual purposes.
Kwata : bride-payment : ritual purposes.
Lotia : bride-payment : cattle : dung : hides.
Kwak-kwak : cats for breeds.

The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small bangle, about 4 inches deep and 4 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Nandi Akamotinu, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange for the Kisumu Akamotinu Nandi. [illegible] for the Kisumu ... as are still women with Nandi women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the wood palm, which is split into fine strips, and bark from a plant called *kipkwenet* which is used for sewing the ends of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the wood fibre, preparing a certain length and tying it all at the

[1] Those marked with a dagger (†) are used in the preparation of objects given to the Kisumu in exchange for their products.

[illegible]

the farm. Quivers are made of ox-hide, bow-guiver is made from the bark called *bäkt* (*svorvenfiberg bildningen*), the use of which the Finnish way was discovered by the Swedes.[1] It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put to a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After resting poison a man-eater partly towards by hanging to a cross. Kaka poisons quite very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The Swedes consider the skin of every a not very well destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Swedes used to have hunting dogs (*vallar, pl. vallir*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I met in the Bolgan-Kijkavomi area in 1937, seems to have died out for though I met a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the tide-reward not as common to Native Reserves and as fierce whenever Whites are heard. The original breed, as I saw it in 1937, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called 'fierce' dog of the Belgian Congo.[2] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Swedes put bastion collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they got up game. It was noticeable both in 1937 and 1939 that the Swedes covered their dogs better than Whites usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and loathed them.

The traps used by the Kijkavomi are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *njarok*, is simply an oblong pit about 4 to 5 ft. long, 1½ wide, and 4½ deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kijkavomiak*, were often put in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used today. It is called *jiemek*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Swedes. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are vines, bark, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife of native manufacture). [illegible] The trap shown to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kijkavomi by Lisimbi-ang Kuruva on 1 July 1936. It took him about (illegible) minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it. It should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[1] Cf. Bäckman, *Nya Svenskt*, Helsinki 1935, p. 146.
[2] Cf. Hugo A. Bernatzik in *Journal Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* 66, 1936, 144.

Zeitschr. f. Unters. d. Nahr.- u. Genussm. 1903. 6. 1

/346 cont./

000 /Semana I continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here."
From "Über Anacardium Extingent als Mittel bei Hautkrankheiten/On Anacardium Gum Extingent as a Remedy for Skin Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Guttmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1910).

• 276 324 [434] Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wakchaggo, the Wakamba, the Wakuafi of Aruscha (artist sent of Meyerberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To have the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Anacardium abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 [434] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The women who bring food and firewood therefore place these objects while calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (mwiki) or in a leather bag /bat/ (ngoko), and, to be sure, like the quiver with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] G. W. S. Dunnagan.—Modern Eskimo: Some Account of

Bows.—These are made from the lesser (R.) tree, and average 3 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (sec. 9 c), which is made from the sinews of the great pig (seeals, 9 c), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

Arrows.—The bow heads (kigaktiqat) are bought from the South, and are usually of the fourth shape called kagdlaligaat (Text-fig. 5) and kigaluagat (Text-fig. 6) (R.S. Pigs. 91, 94). They are from 6½ ins. to 8 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted to a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 8) and bound with fine or thin binding (seeals). The shafts are made of the saxifrage (saxifrage), ossetia, and loosestrife trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (tavvit), 9 c, which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with thin sinews, the notch (sarpa) is shortened, and bound over the shoulder with a thin sinew. The length of the feathers is 3 ins. to 3½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (seeatsa 9 ; ekkigliat or kaitlen, and about 2 ft. 6½ ins. long with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorothy for shooting with the bow, see D.S., (9, 11).)

Knives.—The iron blades are bought from the South. They vary in length from 4 ins. to 10 ins. and are about ½ ins. wide. The handles are about 6 ins. long of wood, with spiral inserts set in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the inserts as they dried through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (sikaksi, 9 c) which are attached to leather belts (sapainek, 9 c) (Text-fig. 9).

(B) Leather.

Skins are cleaned and smeared, and tanned, leather articles of clothing and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called (seeksi). It is used for various purposes, including carrying bones ; the bones bags are for a crossing. Bags for carrying other things are made of envelope skin (e.g. kigaktiq, thin bladder) with the fur left on, and bags to store them, which are fastened by a thin cord and round the bag (Text-fig. 11). They are slung from the shoulders by a thin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins., others are larger.

(c) Bedskin Gauges (ß. kingaarik (9 c)).

These are made by the women. They resemble round bodkins of the same name. The upright sinews in the bodkins are called kigaarik ; the cross sinews, saalik (9 c ; Eskimo suitcase gates). The bodkins are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average length of the bodkins is 4 ins., width at top 6½ ins (Text-fig. 12).

(d) Miscellaneous.

For carrying things in the house, a contraption called tuksuktiq (9 c) is used (Text-fig. 13). It consists of two oval objects connected by cross-pieces fastened

Kilbuiningland B-1 (1936-1938) 1951 PLA Dundee PLA

waste fl. i.e. on the bone and gets this, a sore and is shaved under the binding; the foot is kept lowly to a handle. The technique is a spiral basketlike with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-and-under type, and two-ply rushes, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with flax. A fold is made with the coils, and the flax is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the flax are maintained with the lips when the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of flax is needed it is shaved right through the fold, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of flax of 6 to 10 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 3 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of flax. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of bamboo, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The drawing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no stretched apart is applied. The newly flayed skin is lightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 30°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards on the skin to soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object to which fur is not worthy, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally sinew. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the end through it. Bags are also used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and tobacco-cakes. They are generally made of antelope skin or a fine leather, and sometimes for honey the fur is left on the inside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 5 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 15 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from intermediate of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The custom of Islands fill transacts exchange of products with the Swahili. The most important of the products they get by exchange is livestock; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, wood, salt, cloth, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1936 some of these values were:

1 cow for 1 bag(s) of honey
1 woodcloth for a good bag of honey
5 metres for 1 day's wording to the Mushambi's dwelling.

[illegible] Service File

After breakfast the day's work begins. Pots have to repaired and resurfaced, for which branches and twigs for the bases, fuel for heating it, and long-armoured grass for covering the roof and lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually see them sitting in the doors with some handwork. They are clothing, bags, basket covers for the coarser pots, cot straps, etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandaobe excite for themselves these things but the latest also excite for themselves they only buy the metal-forged work from latest blacksmiths. The working of the

Fig. 6. Pot

[illegible] earthen pots (Fig. 6) [illegible] to the women. From dark-grey clay (white) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually rubbed with dried grass pipe to bring per to a fine polish with dried cow hoof with which it is similarly covered and to which it sometimes add a wipe on a dark red color. The finished pot, to enter "to present a love-inviting living sac," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, to which a bean has cooked, is poured in.

The dressing of the hides from the cow covers having been also taken a great deal of time. These consisted for sale are, of course, simply newly cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked and beaten in the way described for the latter. In them, the coarser

S/Buckinghamshire B-1 (1939–1970) 1993 PSA Dorothea PSA

needle B, i.e. on the loose end goes this, a new end is doubled under the binding; the load is kept handy in a handle. The technique is a spiral [illegible] with a flat, then gradually expanding coil, of the straight even-wrap type, used two-deep routinely, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre rods, arrow together with heat. A hole is made with the needle, and the load is pushed through it. An [illegible] intervals the fibre and the load are maintained with the fish. After the first six rods, a slight rise is made - as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bond between the base and the sides. When a new piece of load is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is given through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of load of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is at about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of load. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is lightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and to this stage it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards on the skin in soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers and parts of tobacco-boxes. The materials used for sewing is generally sinew. The needle of metal has an eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, quivers, etc. used for many purposes, including the carrying of heavy and coherent earth. They are generally made of antelope skin in a [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] for heavy life fur is left on the animal. They are provided with a [illegible] [illegible] one, a strap for hanging and a strap for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 1 ft. by 1 ft., but I have seen them as big as 3ft. by 3ft. Tobacco-boxes are made from [illegible] of leather, but they have [illegible] leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The system of [illegible] still [illegible] exchange of products with the Ovaldi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is livestock; other things are pottery, [illegible], wood-work, and cloth, and a fairly [illegible]. Though possibly [illegible] exchange values has come into existence, its [illegible] some of these values were:

1 ox for 1 [illegible] of [illegible]
1 [illegible] for a good [illegible] of [illegible]
3 [illegible] for 1 [illegible] to the [illegible]'s [illegible]

[illegible]

Interview #18
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is dolomite, i.e., huts of the ovambo[illegible] men, in contrast to the [illegible] is ombanja, the camp of the ovambo. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the camps, a separation into [illegible] of the ovambo and [illegible] of the ovambo, similar to the one mentioned for the ombanja.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the ombanja to [illegible]knowledge, however, on even smaller. A heavy pot (ombili, ombilongo), a gourd bottle (ongati) for drinking water and [illegible] beer, a leather bag (ombanda, ombanda) for collecting honey, a larger one (ombanda, ombanda) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (ohia, ohia) and smaller ones (ongaka, ongaka) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (ongi), a rope net out of an animal skin (ombanda, ombanda) in to up the dish mash, a cord ordered out of the hair fibers of the tschani (ombanda ombanda) for the lowering up and letting down of the bedsteds long in case (ombanda), along with a few adjacent skins (ombi) that serve as beds, as well as an [illegible] (ombanda) and knife (ombanda), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the [illegible] (work-holders) of the ombanda, here called ombanda (ombanda), as well as a hammer (ombanda) for forging and a chisel for designing the ornaments (ombanda, ombanda), and finally that instrument most piece of them are serving as water bowls (ombanda, ombanda). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the [illegible] children, live in one [illegible] hut. Men and boys, however, are usually not. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They [illegible] up and with a small [illegible] of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game are [illegible] bait, as they say. A day [illegible] more eagerly and cautiously than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. As daybreak women and children leave the huts [illegible] and [illegible] an [illegible] up in order to visit the most [illegible] from a [illegible] bedsted to a nearby one. The [illegible] a bed there and sat in the [illegible], so that it hangs in the air and thus [illegible] from [illegible]. After that the morning meal is eaten. Normally the [illegible] do not have [illegible] [illegible] as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 1. [illegible]

[illegible] the two [illegible] of the [illegible] each [illegible] a wooden handle like a [illegible] and is used as a paring [illegible] the other is a bottom [illegible] [illegible] with which [illegible] the [illegible] as the [illegible]. The two openings are closed [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] fitting [illegible] the opening, [illegible] each of which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]. The hanging, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

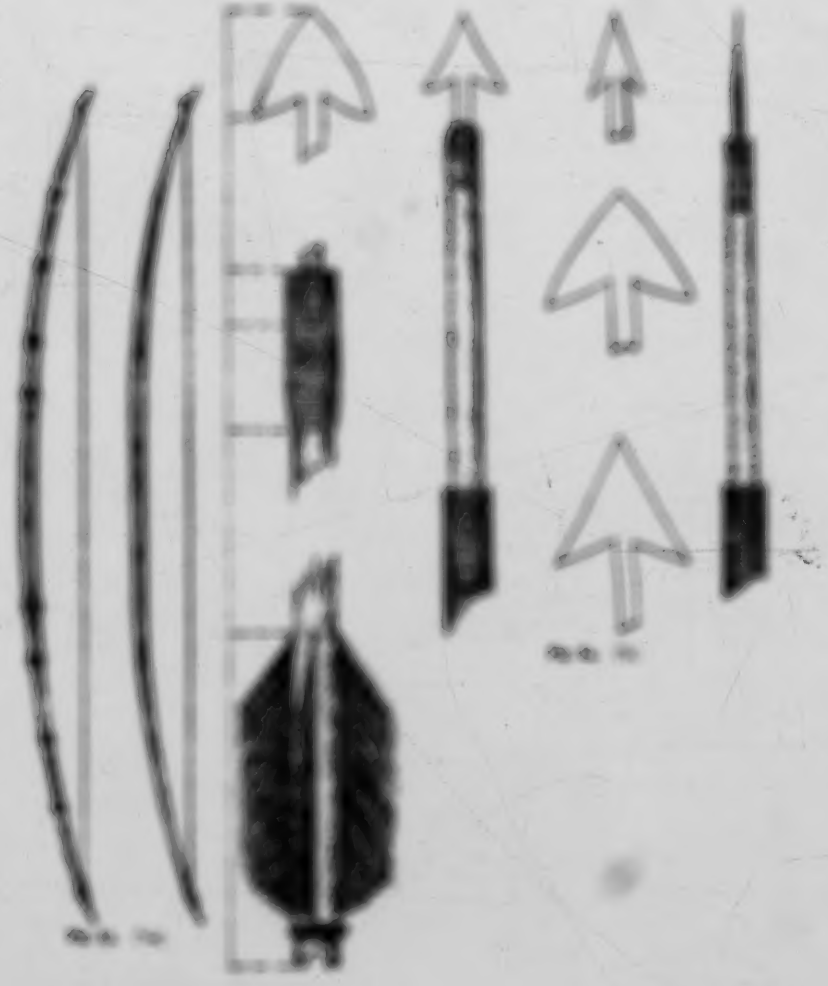
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



Self-living alone on the Downs. The only weapon is the bow, invariably called the Dwindle (also Dwindle) from the Dwindle tree (Dwindle sp.). It is about 5 ft. long, and the beginning, with a depth from part of the great ply wood. Dwindle-wood are made from the hornbeam and valuable trees, or Elm timbers, obtained under bonds are bought from the Dwindle, and are of the Dwindle gateway. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow points a made from the native bone (pronounced Arrowpoint).

Dwellers

Making Dwellers, Dwellers is a common occupation of Dwindle women. They are made from bone of the gathering Dwindle plants, shells and even milk bone made from the plant called Dwindle. The technique is a spiral incorporated with a flat base particularly resembling one of the straight over-and-in type and two-step variety, the interior being spiraled out and the sides together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used is by mostly from the ashes of the plant Dwindle Dwindleflora, that and white earth is found near Dwindleton on the east of the Dwindle country, and also up to quarter of four or five to day is carrying home the work in large leather bags, mostly to order or sell it in the Dwindle area, to Wolf, gave them 20, a bag. Both work, Dwindle to assort with for or spoken of for nothing on the back, white earth, counter bag dwelling-religious ware. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying net called Dwindle is used. It is made of a pair of cord rope 2 ft. 6 ins. long and plenty of bass stretched across them, concerning something a pair of Dwindleton small animals. These are sometimes used by the Dwindle.

Spirits and Demons

Religion

Dwindle the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people. And, please goodness, they did so with need. It is sometimes pleased, Dwindle Dwindle, it is believed that there is a being called Dwindle, who produces rain, and the rainbow is the sign which shows up more for rain. The Dwindle also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called Dwindle, a word which includes the still unnamed spirits and ancestors and spirits of the Dwindle. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Dwindle, and though they protect the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and only the living, according to the beliefs of elders, both to see their people and to get food in the form of Dwindle (living and insects) spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dwindle appear to have no divisions of their own, and when they have reasons to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Dwindle Dwindlers of the type called witch-doctors by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called witch-doctors (or witch) among the Dwindle are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dwindle have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are looked to survive bodies about 3 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes over grave after an old man's death his children place a bunch of Dwindlewood (Dwindle sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out like the Dwindle, body resting on the right side with

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411 *Bows.*—These are made from the lenkot (K.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (net, K.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (ewoin, K.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[511] [512] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (kipsikijet) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chepkilakjet (Text-fig. 5) and kipchepet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 69, 70). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 5) and bound with fibre or skin binding (ewoiko). The shafts are made of the sosiyet (*Senecio*), tumbiis, and kemsupsiiet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (kerorik, K.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 6). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin strands; the notch (nesin) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin strands. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mosiot* K.; *sabukjet*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, see H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1½ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*sheket*, K.) which are attached to leather belts (*ngoiwet*, K.) (Text-fig. 3).

(3) Leather.

201 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called *mutsket*. It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is preserved. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipunket*, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

415

[210] (4) Baskets (*kempet*, pl. *kempunik* (K.)).

205 [206] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called *tepserik*; the cross straws, *mulk* (K. = *Phoenix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 11).

(5) Miscellaneous.

413 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called *lebwalet* (K.) is used (Text-fig. 13). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

823 *Kwondet* (*euphorbia candelabrum*) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mwet* : honey-barrels.
Okwenjwet or *Yondit* (*olive, olea chrysophylla*) : fire-wood.
Kaynetuk : fire-wood.
Cowet (*ficus sp.*) : fire-sticks.
Tet (*cedar, juniperus procera*) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sweet* (*dry grass*) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
• [355] † *Tajwarwet* : fibre for baskets.
[370] *Sweet* (*phoenix reclinata palm*) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tirwet* : medicine.
† *Ojwin* : medicine.
Kwondet : medicine.
Lelwyon-et : medicine.
Sirotwet : medicine.
Sokwet : medicine.
Cowet (*aloinia sp.*) : medicine.
[363] *Tajwogwet* (*aeroilia integrifolia*) : salt.
Sworogwet : salt.
[372] *Kotiwet* or *Kotit* (*kigelia aethiopica*) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † *Monkey* : food ; clothing.
[371] † *Antelope* : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] *Pig-gut* : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† *Honey* : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Rat's fat : ritual purposes.
[373] *Goats* : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
[372] *Cattle* : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bush-buck : hide for breeches.

225 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kenjet*, about 4 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kenajet kenyasiek Nandi*, "we make baskets [361] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the sweet palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tajwarwet* which is used for sewing the ribs of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[2] The basket maker starts by splitting the sweet fibre, preparing a certain length and fitting it all as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[2 Lit. see autopsy 116 p 691 - Annoyot.]

made 6, i.e. as the bone and gets hide, a bone awl is shown under the binding; the tool is kept handy in a handle. The technique is a quick overhand stitch with a fine, thin gradually unwinding awl, of the simple one-piece type, and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of the fibre cords, sewn together with hide. A hole is made with the awl/s, and the hide is pushed through it. An ornament intervals the fibre and the hide are maintained with the hide when the two are cords, a slight rise is made: as each cord makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the level between the base and the sides. When a new piece of hide is needed it is shaved right through the hide, leaving about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket makes works with lengths of hide of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre cord is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 1 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of hide. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the fibre coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is lightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 30°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object on which fat is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers and parts of tobacco-boxes. The essential need for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, sometimes used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. blue duiker), and when intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a strap for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins., but I have seen them as big as 10 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from intermodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The system of Ovimbo life demands exchange of products with the Ovandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange to transmit; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cured meats, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1919 some of these values were:

1 ox for 1 bagful of honey.
1 smoothaxe for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's wooding at the blacksmith's shambo.

Fig. 1. Dog-net (Kwoma type).

When a man gets up a new bunya-barrel, he calls out to the boys to come and settle in it.[1] The invocation to lure him is set forth, and is uttered in a rather undistinct, high-pitched tone:

[illegible]

Boys do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by bunya-rats. If they are caught in a storm while getting bunya they have also a mention

[1] Two reasons take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[2] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Hayaw ye*, "come here".

[3] The Tumbi have borrowed this formula, and attempt it in their imitative manner as follows, "*Hoiyo ye, gwar woo lolo tha wawa bua*".

(1) (2) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

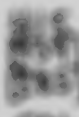
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, as many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and [illegible] commercial [illegible] trade with among the Bhotiá, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The Bhotiá are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search, and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the inspector smoking gleefully to a chorus of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a nest has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick shoals of smoke are readily produced by the use of the Himálaya [2] which every Bhotiá carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the Bhotiá are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen Bhotiá wearing a single garment of rough hemp-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Bhotiá blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a rugged strip of 'kamlikoti' or blanket, reaching down to the extremes, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the bites made by moth exist in the hair, and leave their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Bhotiá women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and 'cowrie' earrings of the Bhotiá women are seldom, if ever, seen. To very

[1] *Cuculus indicator* – a small dark bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive call-note is often heard in the hills, particularly in the vicinity of bee-hives and other places where honey is to be expected to be found. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the quest, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The Bhotiá always marks the site of his bee, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call the bird *Indi*, the Masai call it *Enjokonu*, the Bhotiá name it *Cherkwallo*, the Hindi, *Chakhoda*.

[2] See the section devoted to Bhotiá arms and equipment.

[3] *Chubkeenti* (Bhotiá).

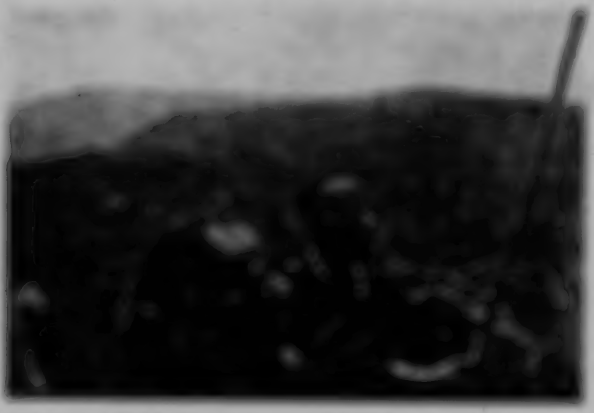
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]



[Facing P. 30]

[illegible]

(c) Plant materials. The following trees and plants provide materials for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[illegible]

(d) Skins and animal products. These include:

[illegible]

The basket most commonly made by the Dendo is the small teraph, about 9 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a great deal by the Dendo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Kwadi. Senghor Benguendi Pandi, "we make baskets for the Kwadi", as do the women with Dendo husband, when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the sweet palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called sukwenwe which is used for sewing the ends of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the sweet fibre, preparing a certain length and tying it off at the

* Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Kwadi in exchange for their products.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The fact that in many things the Ibid served as a model for the Lenge-Lenge and that the Ibid also often designed decorative motifs borrowed from the circumstances. They are held sacred [illegible] features, whereas among the Ibid generally the tendency toward animal habitually has still been preserved here and there.

In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Ibid will be discussed. Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Ibid idiom.

The fact that the Ibid are divided into the races Ichwa and Ijaw[illegible] on the coast and Ibibeoh and that they also regard the [illegible] as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. [illegible]

Ill. 61. Wandering men.

1. [i.e., the chief of the Kossi people--Analyst]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Service FSR
[illegible]

[illegible]

0800 Clothing and adornment. — Cloth materials. — The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Ahaggar. — Head and body hair. — Stain. — Painting. — Tattooing.

4[illegible]
6[illegible]
1[illegible]

Cloth materials, such as are the modes of the caravan peoples in the Sahara trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Aoï. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans either, unless pressure from the Ahaggar, [illegible] they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Abissinian bisontes for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter under the Ahaggar tax [illegible] with Barca, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate the type of trade.

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One therefore sees the Aoï almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, [illegible], [illegible], which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Ahaggar, but lacks power and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable in the boys' and many [illegible], called a [illegible] and an [illegible] by the Ahaggar, which the Wandalâba name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in [illegible] the [illegible] is too inconvenient because of its length. The [illegible] otherwise do not generally wear the a [illegible], rather more often an [illegible] made of calf hides, which they buy from the Ahaggar; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-haired antelope. The costume of the women is here called [illegible] (pl. [illegible]), as in the upper part of it (at [illegible] of the shawl) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Ahaggar designation [illegible] (pl. [illegible]). The [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] is here called [illegible] and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the [illegible]. Sandals ([illegible]) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment the poverty of the Aoï is shown particularly among the [illegible], though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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142
392

FIG. 1.—ELGEYO WEARING FUR CAP "SAMBUT."

FIG. 2.—ELGEYO MAKING FIRE WITH FIRESTICKS "PEMBE."

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FIG. 3.—OLD WOMAN "KAPTUGEI," WEARING EAR-RINGS "TAIK," INDICATING THAT SHE BELONGED TO SPEAR CLAN.

FIG. 4.—TWO GIRLS "SEMENGOKWEI." THE GIRL ON THE SPECTATOR'S LEFT IS WEARING A NECKLACE OF "LEPTUTWEI" BEADS AS A CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE; THE NECKLACE IS OF THE BARIS TYPE. THE GIRL ON THE RIGHT WEARS A BEAD DECORATION ON HER HEAD OF A BARIS TYPE. BOTH ARE WEARING "KUTEI-AP-GUSA," OR SLICES OF WOOD IN THE EARS.

[Facing P 378, A]

MODERN HUNTERS.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired [356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and [462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, [281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy 439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81 (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

/233 cont./ As there, the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramacog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakambe, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1, [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

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FIG. 1.—YOUNG JIE WARRIOR.

FIG. 2.—JIE MAN.

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FIG. 3.—ANDROBO YOUTH.

FIG. 4.—ANDROBO WOMAN.

[p230 (J)]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

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A *Môsiroi* (LEFT) AND A MASAI OF THE *'L-Aiser* CLAN. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN AT KIBAYA. THEY HAVE EXCHANGED THEIR WEAPONS. (MCCALL.)

[*To face page* 134.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chophecho*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okesendi* (Masai).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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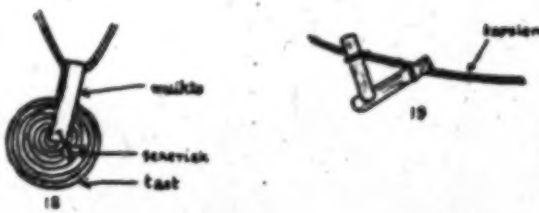

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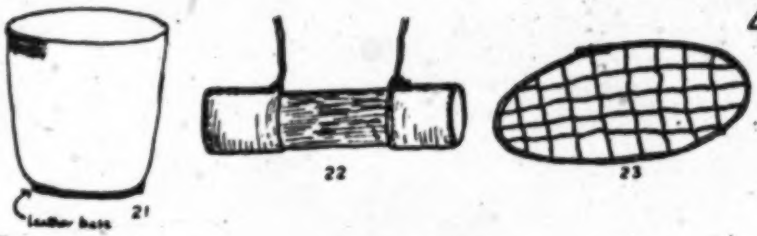

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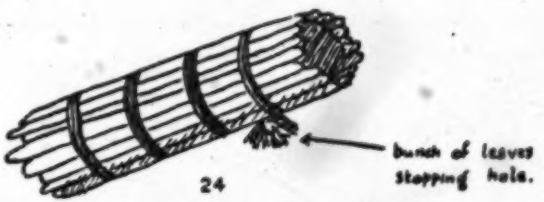

FIGS. 13–17.—MEN'S IRON EAR-RINGS: (13–16, *olaimerial*. 17, *kimeitaiit*). FIG. 18.—MARRIED WOMAN'S BRASS EAR-RING (*luet*). FIG. 19.—CHARM OF EUPHORBIA WOOD AGAINST RHEUMATISM. FIG. 20.—*Lepayuwet* NECKLACE, WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE. FIG. 21.—BASKET (*kerepet*). FIG. 22.—BAMBOO TOBACCO-BOX WITH SKIN COVERINGS (*kipruuvit*). FIG. 23.—CARRYING NET (*lekuelet*). FIG. 24.—HONEY-BARREL (*poonet*).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*listto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipheñsik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochôtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-ap-tumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprawit* (N. *kiprast*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sociyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek†*, or *paiek*; N. *pêk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemowyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikoñsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeruit†*) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit†*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat†* and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkowit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirarênik* and *kurik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingañsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochotit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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30 large discs of brass wire (*tast*, pl. *tatik*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muilto*; N. *muito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekerick*; N. *sekerok*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*akuriot*) or cloth (*suget*). They have armlets (*lurik*, N.) and leglets (*ndapaluet*; N. *tapaluet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*ssingait*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ingoberit*; Kony *ingoberit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorōbo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*ketik ap iitik*, N.), as among the Nandi.
[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorōbo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kuroon-it piik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngurnet*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 The Dorōbo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-
[439] lurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kuyuāgda*), arrows (*kōtiek*, *kiperēnik*, *kipchāponik*, N.; and *mbunatit*); spears (*olmorondoit*† or *morondoit*†); swords (*wesekto*; or *rotuet*, N.); shields (*loāget*, N.); and knives (*chamboluet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL/ Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad oiik (*oiik he yuek*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oiindet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad oiik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *kuret ap oiik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*yondindet*, pl. *yonik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoiyotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "opojo" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sukut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyuwet tree (N. *lupuonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakunyet*, or *kuroiito* (*kuroitu*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the rĕrendet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*ilgetik*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*poiiniek*, or *apoiiniek*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*ilpik*, N) and women (*korusiek*, or *chepionik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Maried people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the sigiroinet (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*nureriat*; N. *nureret*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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FIG. 1.—ELDER WEARING FUR CAP "SAMBUT."

FIG. 2.—ELDER MAKING FIRE WITH FIRESTICKS "PIINET."

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FIG. 3.—OLD WOMAN "ENGITOGIT," WEARING EAR-RINGS "TAÕK," DENOTING THAT HER HUSBAND IS STILL ALIVE.

FIG. 4.—TWO GIRLS "SIMBOROKÛNIK." THE GIRL ON THE SPECTATOR'S LEFT IS WEARING A NECKLACE OF "LEPEYUWET" SEEDS AS A CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE; THE NECKLACE IS OF THE NANDI TYPE. THE GIRL ON THE RIGHT WEARS A HEAD DECORATION ON HER HEAD OF A NANDI TYPE. BOTH ARE WEARING "KETIK-AP-ITYIK, OR BLOCKS OF WOOD IN THE EARS.

[Facing P.378, A]

MODERN HUNTERS.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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FIG. 1.—TWO ELDERS "OLMOROKIMIEK." THE MAN ON THE SPECTATOR'S RIGHT, WEARING A WHITE NECKLACE, IS ARAP BOAMBOAM, THE FORMER CHIEF.

FIG. 2.—TWO ELDERS AND A WARRIOR; THE LATTER, NAMED ARAP KIMINJO, IS THE FIGURE ON THE SPECTATOR'S LEFT.

[291]

[Facing P.378, B]

FIG. 3.—FOUR ELDERS.

MODERN HUNTERS.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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a : Arap Mining.

b : Cepkumuren his Wife.

c : Cwakirikat his Mother.

d : Sitoni his Daughter.

e : Kiprotic Tempoi Kiptema his Son.

f : Common Pile.

Anthropos 46. 1951

[Facing P. 32]

/242 cont./

843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (en entua) is severed with a razor-knife (hevera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family. The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me /243/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 71 aged Asa women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/351 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

439 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in
648 the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent
199 among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /352/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade: the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather
191 clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks
[511] poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and mens' capes, called e meggi and en jorika by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the oi gela is too inconvient because of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e
[561] meggi, rather more often an en jorika made of calf hides, which they
[237] buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of
[439] the female black-headed antelope. The costume of the women is here called gak (pl. tak), as is the upper part of it (oi eghekobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation of ngomana gumóna (pl. gomonót). The oi gela i oi moruak is here called gak o dalma and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en jorika. Sandals (ikirika) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment
• 301 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though
561 one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the
832 fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/252 cont./

301 [561] [832] that which fills the ol méran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as [171] among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gisoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment. Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation 301 192 then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns): ol orowñ, here lilúod; ol eleschua, here called the same; ol gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here ehguan; ol kibaha, here likewise; en ñil, here called the same; ol benik, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiik; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschik, tamagik, and the large ornament of iron wire es segenget e murt, here es segenget endet to inat; es segenget ol baraŋgasch, /253/ here es segenget to lubang; es segenget en dagwik, here es segenget to n dagwigt, and the es segenget ol oreschet, here es segenget to el.

301 Finger rings (here ol gimei ku seigetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (eimug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1, A [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oje baaki = ol olje baaki.

395. ol ojedgaléni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okiténi. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [784] 398. ol ómik. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol olorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol olorobi. The berries are edible.

401. ol ólól (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol olubói = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol órók olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol ólóóló (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark-bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l ol aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l ol dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eig osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 410. eig osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *ilíet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *ilíet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuncia cicoto*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sebutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sebutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *hoveniot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyagda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*lovlea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
278 made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from
[824] a plant called *tapaririet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*æmilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
481 earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

776 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

780 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
648 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
759 of the type called *sakeynot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
789 who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

291
301 large discs of brass wire (*tuet*, pl. *tudk*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muilto*; N. *muito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekeriek*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*akuriet*) or cloth (*anget*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*ndapalweet*; N. *tapalweet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*asingait*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*engeberit*; Kony *ingeberit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorōbo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*ketik ap iitik*, N.), as among the Nandi.
[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorōbo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kororon-it piik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngaret*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325
[439] The Dorōbo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(*a*) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kuyaāgda*), arrows (*kōtiek*, *kiperēnik*, *kipchāponik*, N.; and *mbunatit*); spears (*olmorondoit*† or *morondoit*†); swords (*weseito*; or *rotuet*, N.); shields (*loāget*, N.); and knives (*chambolust*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoat* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoat* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoat* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Keipuncin cicoto, meiwendi* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sekutiet* grass (Sporobolus) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words '*keipuncin*', etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sekutiet* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the base is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyon tiec*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectio phalli, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, he by the *Pa-tum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *korosiot*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *oltamiyoit* (olive), *ceptuiyet*, or *masaita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *korosiot* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *korosiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

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5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been
[614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were
754 reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo
682 and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies
[701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime,
[721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore
[783] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man
[802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase tokei*) with stripes of white earth (*emoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*uuan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241
[361]

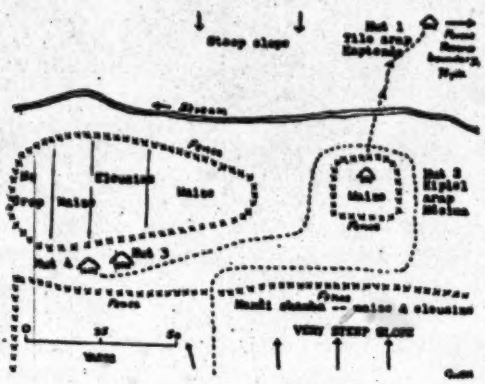

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *keseviat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be 439 verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *euoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

18: Merker--319 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):

[171]

301 192 ol orowĭl, here lilŭod; ol eleschua, here called the same; eń gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here eńguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol benĭĕt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiiĕt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschiĕt, tamagĭg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeĭ e murt, here es segeńgeĭ endet to issat; es segeńgeĭ ol barańgasch. /253/ here es segeńgeĭ to lubaog; es segeńgeĭ en dagule, here es segeńgeĭ to n dagulet, and the es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet, here es segeńgeĭ to eĕ.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

• 302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1, [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

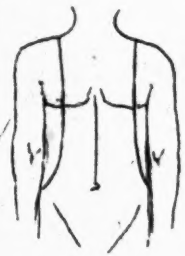

Fig 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

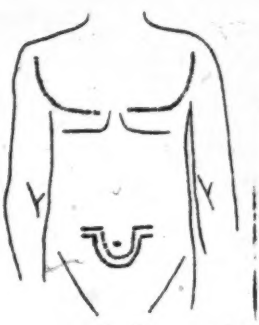

Fig. 88.

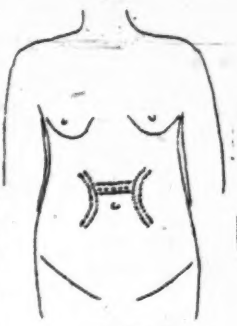

Fig. 89a.

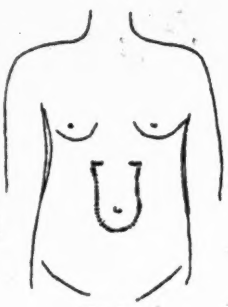

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word en gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

561 *Life Cycle*

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yoseik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engitokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

[304] [587] [887] [589]

Kinship and Behaviour

602 [171] The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601 Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamoyo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiet;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604 In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1928–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cogimich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipalkonyeh*, the middle; and *Ruwahanik* or *Kiptoimik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

Is Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

side, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to leave the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 86). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass cut me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living above the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Camps

Housing

(a) **Forest type**: the *kocwogat*, in one or two as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) **New types**: the *kwiet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kut* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kocwogat* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*tauk*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 3 ins. when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

301 301 large discs of brass wire (*bat*, pl. *tuk*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*mwiito*; N. *mwiito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*ndowiti*; N. *ndowiti*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*ekwiat*) or cloth (*angat*). They have armlets (*kwiti*, N.) and leglets (*ndapalwot*; N. *ngalwot*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*mingati*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ngalwiti*; *Kony ngalwiti*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kotik ap tiik*, N.), as among the Nandi. Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

305 (b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kuruna-it pich*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (See V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngurut*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as men often are Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is even trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

305 [303] The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-work, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kogeiyôn*), arrows (*kitiet*, *kiyoriotik*, *kiyokkyoniik*, N.; and *ndoroniik*); spears (*ekwarandoiot* or *warandoiot*); swords (*mondito*; or *ratuet*, N.); shields (*kokyet*, N.); and knives (*kondolwet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (arom), "Son of (he-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kimirilig, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miriliq, and is known as Arap (Ki)miriliq. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

55 [182] [281] [111]

Circumcision. (Tum.[a] X.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

881 [304] [171] [582]

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sendet*, pl. *sindwisiet*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Colobus ellipsodon*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

583 [585] [595]

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimurukat*) to devour.

764

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

576

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ibondit*, N.).

[203] [291]

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Supai*"; answer, "*Chem-le*" (lonkin). To girls and women, "*Tilimonga*"; answer, "*Ipi.*"

(b) Of farewell:—"*Saiano*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saiano ak inge*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saiano ak ainok*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chem-le*" as the answer to "*Supai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*koiset ap nik*), which, however, are seldom used.

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

142

one or two features which are worth mentioning; but these are far more likely to be due to environment than to be true racial distinctions.

The Dorobo are usually small in stature, averaging about 5 ft. 6 ins.; this, however, may be accounted for, because, like the Wambuti (Congo Pygmies), they are forest-dwellers.

[144] The Dorobo, like the Nandi and other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, are dolichocephalic, although not markedly so, and in some cases even inclined to mesocephaly. Their skulls tend to slope up from a rather flat frontal bone to the occipital, giving one rather the impression of very slight artificial cranial deformation. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain any specimens of their crania; but, even if we had, I believe it would have been almost impossible to distinguish them from any Nandi specimens.

[131] For a black race their noses are narrow, being distinctly leptorhine, with a well-formed bridge; this may be accounted for by the fact that, although they live actually on the Equator, they live at an altitude of from 6,000 to 9,000 ft. in the dense forest, where it never really gets hot, and at night it is bitterly cold; hence they show very little tendency towards the true platyrrhine nose, so intimately associated with the tropics. On the whole, the lips of the Dorobo appeared somewhat thinner than those of the Nandi.

Colour of Skin.—The younger children, who presumably have never been out of the forest, were of a distinctly lighter colour than the average (*cf.* Congo Pygmies). Otherwise the Dorobo were of the same colour as the Nandi.

That the Dorobo are habitually hearded, and have hair on their bodies and legs, is an absolute fallacy. It is true, however, that several of the old men whom we met had beards, but no more so than their Nandi neighbours. We met none with hair on their bodies or legs.[1]

Hair.—In hair classification the Dorobo are typical Ulotrichi.

304 [191] *Artificial Deformation and Mutilation.*—The Dorobo, like most Nilo-Hamites, pierce and elongate the lobes of the ears, and it was interesting to note that, in a great many cases, among the old men, these lobes had been broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

The Dorobo usually extract the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. They also practise circumcision and clitoridectomy.

[1] We emphasize this point, because there seems to be an idea that the Dorobo are a "hearded" people, *e.g.*, Mr. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 39, p. 30. Whatever other sections of the Dorobo may be, the Kimelilo-Kipchephendi certainly are not more hearded than any other tribe. [114]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

892
142
372

FIG. 1.—ELDER WEARING FUR CAP "SAKENUT."

FIG. 2.—ELDER MAKING FIRE WITH FIRESTICKS "PIENET."

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304

FIG. 3.—OLD WOMAN "ESUTOGIT," WEARING EAR-RINGS "TAÑE," DENOTING THAT HER HUSBAND IS STILL ALIVE.

FIG. 4.—TWO GIRLS "SIMBOBORÓNIK." THE GIRL ON THE SPECTATOR'S LEFT IS WEARING A NECKLACE OF "LEPEYUWET" SEEDS AS A CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE; THE NECKLACE IS OF THE NANDI TYPE. THE GIRL ON THE RIGHT WEARS A BEAD DECORATION ON HER HEAD OF A NANDI TYPE. BOTH ARE WEARING "ENTIK-AP-ITYIK, OR BLOCKS OF WOOD IN THE EARS.

[Facing P.378, A]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chesw*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, yukui*) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 20), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; 361 342

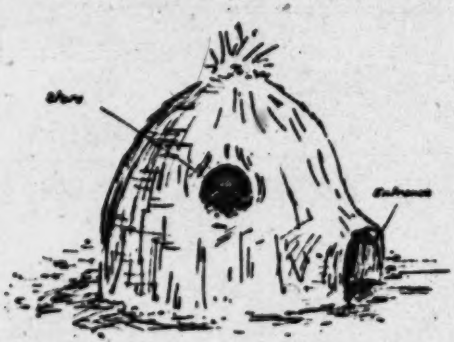


FIG. 20.—AN ANDEROBO HUT (*Yukui*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that cicatrization, apart from the *segwa*, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 177

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*lotob*). In addition to this they grow a little semsem (*sunem*), indian corn (*nyaburrigi*), and millet (*ripp*). A form of 241

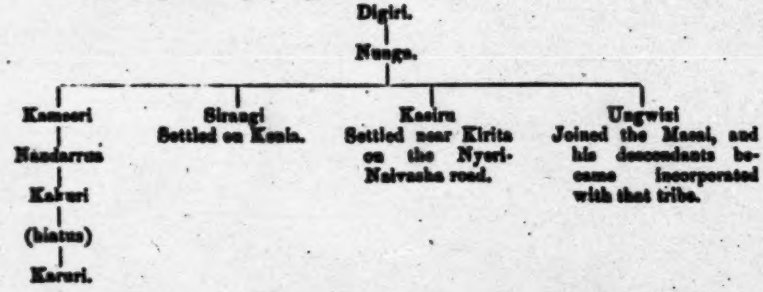
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.*

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechue.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1905, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] Kameeri, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungaro, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds. [262]

[173] [648] The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Eunso Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

D 197 /15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 619 [844] [876] Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

P M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 **Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidoñ lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.**

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [754] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

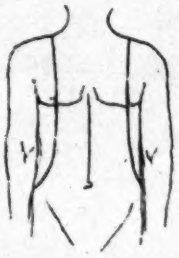


Fig. 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

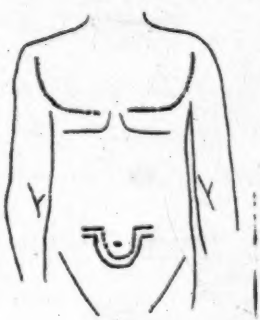


Fig. 88.

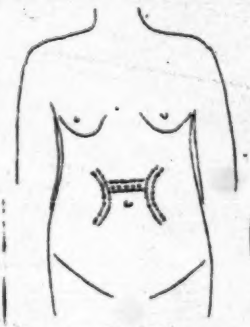


Fig. 89a.

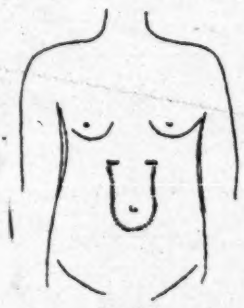


Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word en gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

/431 cont./

142 (2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, somewhat flattened at the occiput. From the occipital view, crown and parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval and in profile orthognathous. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, rather broad, root of nose flat toward the forehead, bridge of nose somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The gap arising from that has had the effect that the grinding down of the corresponding upper incisors has not taken place parallel to the original chewing surfaces. Rather, the latter stand at an angle of 75° to the (vertical) inner edges of their teeth. The left outer incisor of the upper jaw is missing. It has been pried out, allegedly because it was painful. In general the teeth are small and broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. The breasts are pendulous, conical, and rather large. The areola of the nipples is very large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is very large, strikingly big and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and straight. Woman has given birth to four children. [163] and is looking forward to her fifth confinement. A large tattooing [304] on the abdomen.

No. XXXXIII.

Sanaschi, ♀, about 28 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

/432/

♂ 'L eng-adji-nanjugi ♀ El morinjero ♂ El barmangig ♀ El ba sindé

♂ ♀

♀ Sanaschi

18: Merker--590 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/432 cont./

142 Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and palm of hand somewhat darker (28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-brown (27). [304] Larger tattooing on the abdomen. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly visible frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad; saddle nose; root of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out. Between the two corresponding upper ones there is a natural gap of 5 mm.; through grinding the chewing surface of the left one stands at an angle of 60°, that of the right one at an angle of 75°, to the (vertical) inner edge of its tooth. Analagous to the grinding down of the middle incisors is that of the outer ones and of the canines on each side. The set of teeth is strikingly ugly because of the grinding down of the teeth. The teeth are medium-sized to small. The ear lobes are considerably stretched, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Breasts pendulous, conical, large, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and not very projecting. Foot medium-arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs rather sturdy and, except for a rachitic curvature [163] at the shanks, straight. Woman has given birth to four children.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired
[356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast
for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and
[462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with
this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one
usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They
[294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps,
[281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves
306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy
439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the
323
462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with co[illegible]ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others,
[171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into
000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iuot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iuot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize [4]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriruo	*Kipsundet*	October	
Kipsundet	*Kipsundet oiew*	November	
Kipsundet ake	*Mulkul*	December	Muainonik
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwat kut*	March	
Iwat kut	*Waket*	April	
Waket	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iuot
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Puretо	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeset	*Mulkul oiew*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

[4] Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign n, representing the "long-tailed s". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kariraui‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Renny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimchanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kiboko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lobor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1920 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamojo is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone-Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See *Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kameon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karomojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magusi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	„
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kadama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	„
Ngi'ngoleriet	„
Ngi'merimong	„
Ngi'kopo	„
Ngi'pei	„

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	„ „
Ngi'watia	„ „
Ngi'kotido	„ „
Ngi'panyangara	„ „
Ngi'owtakow	„ „
Ngi'silanga	„ „

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkemoren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepenko, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepenko himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkoroon, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialise. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and timber.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, rools, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kwiet (*Ficalhoa* sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kenyanendit: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyot (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Kotwywot: traps.
Kimulwot (*vangueria edulis*): traps.
Kelit (*acocanthera* Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekwot (*dracaena* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipenpwot (*tilia* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Maruita: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasawiet (wild banana, *musa ensete*): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetwot: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Pawot (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

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§23 *Kowodet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
Mosot : honey-barrels.
Okowiyuit or *Yowdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Kayanik : fire-wood.
Cowat (lycus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tost (amber, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

§24 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*]:

[372] *Sosiot* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[346] † *Tajawarist* : fibre for baskets.
[370] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiiwet* : medicine.
† *Opeito* : medicine.
Kowodet : medicine.
Lepeyanet : medicine.
Sisiwit : medicine.
Sokolot : medicine.
Cowat (urtica sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tajangwat* (aerulia integrifolia) : salt.
Sowangwat : salt.
[278] *Rotiowet* or *Rotiot* (hagenia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

§25 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † *Monkey* : food ; clothing.
[241] † *Antelope* : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[241] *Pig-gut* : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† *Honey* : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Rumi's fat : ritual purposes.
[283] *Goats* : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
[282] *Cattle* : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kowpet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *Ainapei kowpenik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tajawarist* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[194] [194] [194] [

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kayapko*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwisel* bow (*Dombeya* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *ewet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *bondo*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenendet* and *mamata* trees, or from bamboo, *mwinyet*; arrowheads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow-poison is made from the *kakut* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kwopet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *pheenix reclinata* palm, *mwiet*, and sewn with heat made from a plant called *kaparwiet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually corrugating coil, of the simple over-over type and bee-sting variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *kaparwiet* (*acacia Seiegriiida*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *ewokwet*, is mixed with fat or ghee-oil for rubbing on the hair; white earthy matter (*chuiit* whence or *Gisii*) is in lumps of a pair of oval discs 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of them stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of lumberjack's snow-rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Religion

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, tgkyon pamyerk*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Tiet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ormomdet*, a word which includes the *mik* (ancestral spirits) and *mamumbamik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *kibukwet* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *ostoiyoot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuyuut* (*Ficus* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kevpet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[404] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kevpet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
438 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or chance-fellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[309] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[376] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241
[361]

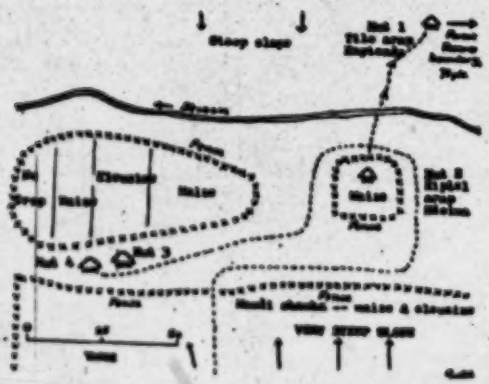

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *keseviat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a [illegible] divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

● 317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in [423] large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 439 485 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *crokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *cuoriat*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [552] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*litito*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *koroseek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parîngetuny[3] arap Ñgamîngam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

described as *cemenemsuwet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniet*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kotil kitit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uaruet*).
Olaloiyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wanasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiriritiet = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

231 [422] [428] Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [322] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mocet* and *rerendet*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tenetuet*, *silipcet*, *lepekuet*, *kipsepuet*, and *marorto*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, liana is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mocet* and *rerendet* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the endpieces and bound together with liana, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

a) and c) Needles; d) for boring, e) for basket work.

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [13]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather unnatural, high-pitched tone:

Sekem, sekem, ce mii en emotinueen tukul, wa pusi [13] *anyun, ocololion,*
bees, bees, who are in countries-these all, come here now, pour-in-(honey),
ocololion [14].
pour-in-(honey).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[13] New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[13] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Onyon yu*, "come here".

[14] The Nandi have borrowed this formula, and altered it to *Opua ocololion temenai* [illegible] *se lalan*, "come ye, pour wax into the warm hut".

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224 [816] [220] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minio told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [15] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. [231] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [239] Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumta;* the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[15] Better known to Europeans as Kibolosa and Kapsagol.

294 412 283 /233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one 's own 439 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden 437 with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they [805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 [889] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters. 231 322 412 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1, [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (nja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

[422]

Fig. 82. (1/10)

[171] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each [251] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el maîn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

411 In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or
• 322 busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with
[461] making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making
[462] of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./

411 322 283 237 with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

237 824 412 The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as diriṭṭ, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 237 136 283 824 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

325 322 171 439 The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 285 The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old 273 535 533 people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*liitto*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *kwat*, pl. *kwosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, see V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A form of

beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lowaru*, a time of rain; and *Loichetto*, a time of much rain.

The Calendar.—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Ladunga.	*Loukwung.*	*Ladunga.*	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*
Lomuku.	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lowaru.*
Lokwe.	*Lomuk.*	*Lomuk.*	*Lomuk.*	*Loichetto.*
Lowaru.	*Loichetto.*	*Loichetto.*	*Loichetto.*	*Loudunga.*
?	*Lowaru.*	*Lowaru.*	*Lowaru.*	?
?	?			

Food.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set far and wide in the trees.

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

Recreations.—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

Manufactures.—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (*kraen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*urkichalung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired
[356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast
for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and
[462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with
this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one
usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They
[294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps,
[281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves
306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy
439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the
• 323
462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others,
[171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into
000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

291
301

large discs of brass wire (*tast*, pl. *tatit*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muikto*; N. *monito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekeriek*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*sluriet*) or cloth (*sugut*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*sdapalwet*; N. *tapalwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*sningoit*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ongdoriè*; *Kony ingdoriè*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap tiñik*, N.), as among the Nandi.

[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko kwanen-it pirik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (See V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngorut*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 [439] The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kogelyôn*), arrows (*kitiot*, *kipartuit*, *kipaldjamit*, N.; and *ndoratit*); spears (*ndamandait?* or *mamandait?*); swords (*mandito*; or *ratuet*, N.); shields (*kokyet*, N.); and knives (*ndambulwet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The ribs is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Ornithimmus (Gothe, K.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Nandi hydrate, dressed skins, and honey in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuik* (K.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kiptorosa, Sirua, Kimoriongo, Sumiyo (location, K. *sisut*), and Mokogitik. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Muren (K.); East: Tu-tuwet (K. *ulu-duwet* = up). West: Tu'tuk-tu (= where the sun) *kumenda-tiktiet*).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo Kikyakpkondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkyiroy[3] arap Ngondigen, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindoi* (K.)=councillor) was chosen for "*kipkyopta bibin*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogen ap petinik*, K.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi one, above (K.K. does not mention it).

[2] On the use of bows, see G., "Miscellaneous." These are hardly to considered as instruments of music.

[3] K. = Son-killer.

Schuttingsland B-1 (1934-1935) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Mwaisowik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with, bow and arrow; and *Iwet*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to fall in September and getting low and low till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Mwaisowik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwet*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize[1]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipsiroo	*Kipsunde*	October	
Kipsunde	*Kipsunde aiyo*	November	
Kipsunde ale	*Waliel*	December	*Mwaisowik*
Waliel	*Ngetiet* *	January	
Ngetiet *	*Kipsiwo*	February	
Kipsiwo	*Iyot Iwo*	March	
Iyot Iwo	*Waliel*	April	
Waliel	*Ngo* *	May	
Kiwosi	*Kip no*	June	*Iwet*
Kip no	*Pund*	July	
Pundo	*Kipsa*	August	
Ngosik	*Waliel aiyo*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapsiwowa Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.69 inches, the maximum being 91.17, the minimum 29.41. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 5.0 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to forecast the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rain-makers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, rope, baskets, and bundles for loads. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

[1] Throughout this paper I have written the roots used by the age a, representing the 'long-rolled o', by words marked * the first consonant in the roots used.

/58 cont'd/
intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little to general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both.

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that area you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu .... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Kaimia repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

[P.199, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Dondi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown on yet, and this too must be obtained from the Dondi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
1 basketful of meal for one basket.

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the sweet potatoes for one knife.

Cattle are obtained from the Dondi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for love. The Nandi make friends with the Dondo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dondo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dondo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dondo offers his friend a fat cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mitoiy acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkilo ar Ollomo; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *ameinondi*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *ainet*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dondo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, while pig of various kinds[1] were

[1] Bushbuck is about 32 ins. long and 2 ins. wide; 2 varieties (their sizes as much bigger as a goat). A bushbuck (*Tragelaphus*) is about 2 ins. long and 4½ ins. wide at the hip.
[2] Duiker, the most big (*Pseudotragus melampus*) and Tiriet, the small big or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

/301 cont./

with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The string is plaited together, running out beautiful, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 54) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of plantlike leaves as *dirr*, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /302/ /Figs. 53 and 54 appear here/ centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- any of the feathers of the carrion vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) -- is fine fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the plantlike juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /303/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Mimi. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Mimi. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned. The Ask for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from neighboring tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

The fact that the Wandorobbo do not play the board game so popular among the Mimi was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule covers over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a good bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and in their falsetto sing ring out through the still night, from

[illegible] 315

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only *ebembes*. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *sokowet, pl. sokowenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, *ebembes, paiek*, and maize, *tjendek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *sipsendek*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, *chepsil* bee and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *sokdiet*, and knives, *rotwet* or *tondobet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *mwaiwenik*, from October to March, and *mosiet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of *ebembes* and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and *ebembes* are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. *Ebembes* is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom erected, as the plots are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by such wild foods as they have easy, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-hawks. Wild fruit, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *mosomwiet* (*rubus rigidus*), *kwonjwet* (*clematis simensis*), and *sawenet* (*rosa woosii*, with leaves), the sap of the *sawenet*, and leaves of nettle, *ainet*.

Interesting drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipkwinik* or *kwonik ap ki*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "*mosop*

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kowet* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kowet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *kocongat*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *ewiet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kocongat* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*tandi*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Ceremonially a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo re-

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumas* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorōbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongot*, pl. *kochongesiek*; N. *kerist*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itūkto*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muĉnik*; N. *muiuck*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mūt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*suinet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [378] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sēltutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*suiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litūto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorōbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piōnet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the chorset tree (*N.*),[1] about 15 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*test*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sueyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porōwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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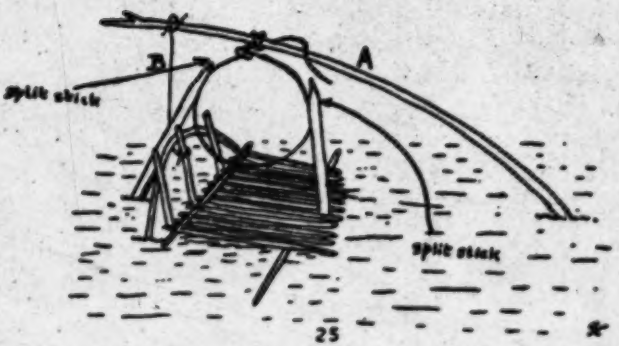

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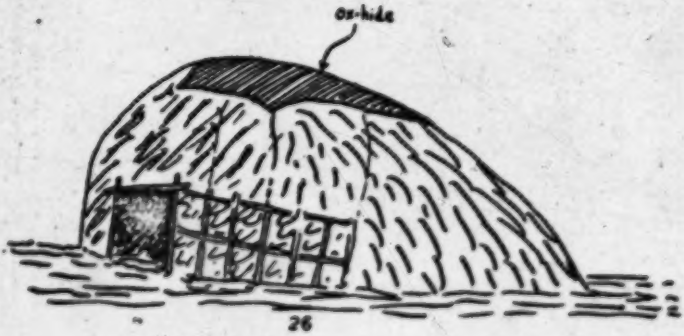

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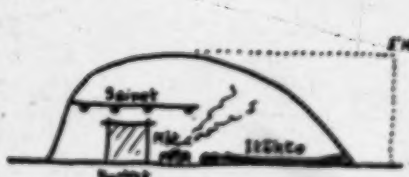

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FIG. 25.—GAME SNARE (pardevi). FIG. 26.—HUT (korkoppi). FIG. 27.—SECTION OF HUT.
FIG. 28.—PLAN OF HUT.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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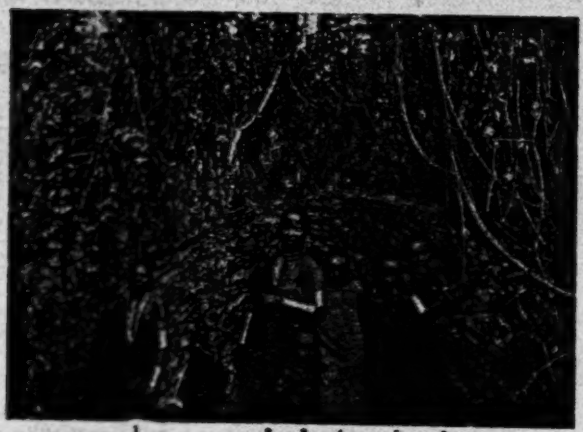
[142]



1 2 3 4 5 6

FIG. 1.—GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUTSIDE A HUT. NOS. 1 AND 2, MARRIED WOMEN "ŋɔ̀ŋtik"; NOS. 3, 5 AND 6, GIRLS; NO. 4, A BOY.

FIG. 2.—HUT "KOCHOSOET."

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FIG. 3.—THE COUNTRY ON THE SIDE OF THE FOREST, SEEN FROM SOSOITO. MASAI HUTS WITH PANTED-REED ORÍŋO HUT (ON LEFT) IN FOREGROUND.

[Facing P.378, C]

4tHuntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

596

MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati = Cemiemit ♀
(*Kimnyihe*)
♂ Kipsoimo
(*Juma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam
(*Kapielac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim = Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo = Cematia ♀
(*Maina*) — (*Nyongi*)
Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimalyo
(*Juma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

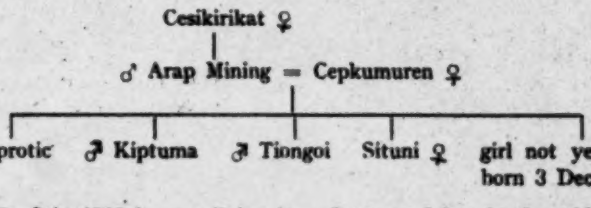
In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:



[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriat (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyweet: traps.
Kimolwet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekwet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipserpwet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Maroita: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetwet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chwe*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, guhai*) within the village is *itself* stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but *some* of them have two stories (Text-fig. 39), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the *side*, for storing grain and property; 361 342

Text-fig. 39.—An Akumoro hut (*False*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that circumcision, apart from the ngoro, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 277

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*kindi*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*nyoro*), indian corn (*ngakworipi*), and millet (*ngyi*). A form of 241

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokwaro	Kokwaga	40
Ungwe	Nyangoma	60
Lotwiro	Lotwiro	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokwaga (north of Kisumu). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ungwe and the Lotwiro 643 622 are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relatives. There are no official deliveries, as among the Lulwoo. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lulwoo, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lulwoo. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.* There is a special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lulwoo practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

* This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the dead abscond at all festivals.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXI, 1931, Plate XXVIII.

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FIG. 1.—AN ORDINARY VILLAGE.

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FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF ORDINARY VILLAGE.

[p230 (K)]

MPK 648 174 787 835

Sapi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkoye an animal called Hako (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Sapi; the Masai brought a bull fat on milk only; and the Elkoye the animal called Hako.

Sapi then told each tribe to take its respective shares and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

PK 179

The Masai, marching into Elkoye from Kaiwaka, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkoye, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

D 552 [illegible]

The Somali or Galla were then disposed of, and only by the name Irogi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlement in Elkoye. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bardile, who is still alive and resides in one of Bargi's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuti's nurse.

179 [illegible] [illegible] 8727

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Elkoye, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Elkoye fought amongst themselves.

PK 311 174 C48

If the Elkoye were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Kaiwaka, Kericho, Kijabe, on Lukipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Aguoiko). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language! The Baringo, Kaiwaka, Kijabe, and Kericho Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kaironum and Kaironj as the birthplace of their fathers.

PK 174 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Aguoiko and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these give way to tiny huts now anywhere in the Elkoye country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Elkoye to enter into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkoye; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkoye may have but brought sufficient a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Dundas. (In addition may be made with Dundas-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

[The country lying between the Nzoia River and Kedjepos in Elkoye.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the industry than on hunting. 241 431

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the industry and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make trapping and luxury-articles, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family take part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 195), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go so far.

The typical Dorobo hut, hedegeri, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a mostly flat roof. 302

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic in certain old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Mitaly, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), [illegible]

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only sweets. Though they subsequently came to become cultivators, cultivation was subordinate to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business, for the livestock, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Kenia.

Land

Those who live in A and B dorobo categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenia law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, reckoned, pl. *indomeek*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings, to other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living fence is built inside the fenced area; occasionally a man found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Kenia squatters to have a little piece of their cattle-eaten land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live considered on their land provided they gave no trouble, but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was then precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *pimik*, and maize, *tamukiet*. Millet had not been grown by 1941, though they bought it from the Kenia. Sweet potatoes, *ngbowuik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, *shagwal* here and the panga, or cutlass, both obtained from the Kenia. They have also small axes, *sikibat*, and knives, *rotuet* or *sambabaet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *ongkomok*, from October to March, and *mutat*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Kenia method, with grazing and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Kenia, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though pumpkins are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Kenia manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Kenia type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut generally held all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Kenia manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Kenia. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural products, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *mwanunat* (vide *infra*), *kwakwanet* (*Grewia* spp.), *ngotuet*, and *ngaret* [illegible]

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipketuiek* or *kwonik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long wood-pods of the *mwanga*

THE FARMS OF THE NORTH CHINESE PLAIN

Introduction

The Chinese began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago in some [illegible] and in the long grass only stubble. Though this cultivation was [illegible] in Chinese subsistence conditions and instruments in the development of cattle [illegible] as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a [illegible] however, for the working implements, and even the seed used to sow, [illegible] have been obtained in the North.

Land

There are five to 6 and 9 hectare categories (with others above as are also [illegible] these categories would give to the open land which surrounds the town. [illegible] have an rights of tenure, except the temporary ones supplied, according to Kroeb [illegible] law, if land has been in occupation under the Chinese Native Landowners Ordinance. [illegible] plots, varieties of agricultural crops in any town are divided into two [illegible] agricultural buildings, of half an acre divided into four buildings, in other cases plots [illegible] of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre divided by one person. All plots are fenced, and [illegible] a living hut is built inside the fenced area, occasionally it was found that [illegible] Chinese were allowed by Kroeb regulations to have a plot given to them with [illegible] land to work.

Everyone farmers in the district, with whom the Chinese land questions may be [illegible] allowed are something to do the Chinese live considered as their land you [illegible] which they gave an example, but the government authorities brought observing, and [illegible] the question of a Chinese who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on [illegible] to consideration the new land was then [illegible]

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, viz-maize, millet and native vegetable. Millet has [illegible] been grown for 1000. Though they bought it from the Kroeb. Some [illegible] vegetable are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, [illegible] digger hoe and the sickle or reaper, both obtained from the Kroeb. They have [illegible] their small area, which does horses, cows or [illegible]

The growing of crops is restricted by the dry and wet seasons, commencing from [illegible] October to March, and ended from April to September. The land is prepared [illegible] between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. [illegible] cultivation follows the Kroeb method, with spring and hoeing of the land. The [illegible] of manure and water is brought from the Kroeb, usually from standard brick [illegible] Water and manure are planted together in the seed pits through [illegible] are generally grown separately. Planting is begun in the Kroeb manner by raising [illegible] the seeds above a ground by hand. Harvesting of Kroeb type are [illegible] seeds, but not without disorder as the yields are so small that the [illegible] generally sold all that is not eaten at the time by a few [illegible] Cereals are roughly ground on stone or grinding in the Kroeb manner.

Food

Food is the all that constant anxiety of most agriculturists in Kroeb, and [illegible] vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Kroeb. The food supply [illegible] with based on their own agricultural products, supplemented by cash which they [illegible] have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Rice is not obtained [illegible] by trading, though grown by Kroeb, it [illegible] the Kroeb of sovereign sovereign [illegible] and Kroeb. Money is got by [illegible] described, from many [illegible]. With [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

for found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-wards for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that actively evade most from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean action, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Horseface trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and bush[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

5. Agriculture[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the nomadic hunting economy to the more settled one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. The tribe is here to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Masai for grain crops, and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Masai and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (shamba), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are chiefly maize (*Mwele* commonly called *mealie* in English) and millet; coffee and tobacco are still bought from the Masai, from whom the Dorobo also get *shauka* cultivation and other necessary. Under the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The bush-killed are:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[illegible]

share the labours, each house having its own
crop, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence
which all help to make. Each is therefore a
family or clan unborn, and the group is an
independent labour unit.

The grain crops are stored either in granaries
of basket-type, or else in the loft (upper) of the hut;
but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon
after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large
owing to the small areas planted, storage problems
are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are
got (i) by purchase or exchange; (ii) by begging

7: Wayland M-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

94 [97] [132] A form of
were called *sere* is lowest from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lenkoreng*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemoru*, a time of rain; and *Lekibatu*, a time of much rain.

825 *The Calendar.*—The Wandorobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lenkoge,	Lenkoreng	Lenkoge,	Lenkoge,	Lenkoreng
Lemoru	Lenkoge	Lenkoreng	Lenkoreng	Lemoru
Lekoo	Lemoru	Lemoru	Lemoru	Lekibatu
Lemoru	Lenkibatu	Lenkibatu	Lenkibatu	Lenkoge,
?	Lemoru	Lemoru	Lemoru	?
?	?			

262 [772] *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wandorobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chickens (the Dorobo say that this is because they—the Wandorobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set for and with in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

577 *Recreations.*—The Wandorobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

[578] [579] [580] [581] [582] *Manufactures.*—The Wandorobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dorobo in exchange for tobacco. Their skeins (hanks) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiri*) come from the Dorobo country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Kenya. They are handsome (considering) of Dorobo origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their spears in guards, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/221 cont./

to dobosoi, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjong), a gourd bottle (ngot) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebem, lebenge) for collecting honey, a larger one (odaré, ndarerig) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idig, idis) and smaller ones (ngoba, ngoba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (mbaro, mbaroge) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merikpe), along with a few dehaired skins (lsio) that serve as beds, as well as an (kafe, kaweng) and knife (pandjeng), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ax dawra /pack-saddles/ of the Masai, here called laisho (laiswa), as well as a hammer (gitiki) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mai, mare), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (karé, kaweng). The entire family namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /sio/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now between heat; as they say, it does funds more eagerly and cautiously than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder lowered to a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it keeps in the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Actually the Wandorobbo do not have definite mealtimes as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

II.—Huts or Structures.

Houses.

The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kokongwi*, pl. *kokongwinik*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become verminous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping place (*ildim*, N.) and the fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*mutkuit*; N. *mutwat*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*lookor*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite each other. Between the door and the sleeping place is the hearth (*ndi*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*mutwat*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping place. The loft is about 3 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and obsolete grain (Text-figs. 30-32). The only household utensils are a small broom (*ndhutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*ongot*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 9 ins. long; a grindstone (*lolbo*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding obsolete grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pirisi*, N. *pirisot*) (Text-figs. 33a, 33b). A thin stick of the obovate tree (*K.j*) about 12 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a *stick of cedar (sarit)* about 18 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pirisi*, the cedar stick tenement. The pirisi is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the pirisi and working downwards (Pl. LXII, Fig. 2). When repeated until fire is obtained, the pirisi drills a hole in the tenement, and the burnt wood-dust thus produced falls on to a hole-blade which is placed underneath. *After ventilation when ignition is to take on a small handful of cedar (sengat (sic) gwan) or fibre of the gudwondi tree), and blown till the cedar kindles.*

[1] Fire-sticks. [2] *Sengat* (sic) *gwan*. [3] *Gudwondi* tree.

/331 cont./

to debeney, i.e., his of the unmarried men, in contrast to the alja to dalima, the emp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the case, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, maljeug), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and hwy beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey; a larger one (ndaro, ndarero?g) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ngubu, ngubu) for cooking; a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (naru, achéruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bast fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and lifting down of the beehives hung in trees (nerilgoi), along with a few dehaired skins (bilir) that serve as beds, as well as an (bulu, asengi) and knife (pandyng), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ax dawara /pack-holder/ of the Masai, here called lalabo (lalewg), as well as a hammer (ribé) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (na mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving razor-knife (bené, benegi). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /kiji/ to. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a mouthful of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best, as they say. It then feeds more eagerly and calmly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes angry to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched by a hunter located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and eats the camp, so that it hangs in the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the returning meat is eaten. Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

II.—Men of Sengwer.

Houses.

The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kokongoi*, pl. *kokongoiik*; N. *kwiq*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope.[1] The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become verminous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping place (*ntilio*, N.) and the fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on the side of which are laid ox-hides (*mostoli*; N. *mosioli*), upon which the occupants sit and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kwobet*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*soli*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*saiset*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and elevsine grain (Text-figs. 30-32). The only household utensils are a small banana (*sulkutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*saigat*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 15 ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. long; a grindstone (*kitlo*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding elevsine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Dorobi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pirsat*; N. *pirsat*) (Text-figs. 33a, 33b). A thin stick of the sharuan tree (*Ki.*)[2] about 15 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*mutit*) about 30 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pirsat*, the cedar stick *tumwet*. The *pirsat* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pirsat* and working downwards (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2). Thin dry rotted bark fire is obtained; the *pirsat* drills a hole in the *tumwet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a bark-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*saigat ilit gwan*) or fibre of the *gutiroit* tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] Tree-sp. [2] *Senegalia senegal*. [3] *Acacia* sp.

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dorobo and other tribes of Kenia (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 1 and 2). A few measurements are appended. 192

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (above) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has no fence and outer stockade, within which every hut (*ho, godo*) within the village is built stockaded. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a sack of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact mass. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 30), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens on the side, for storing grain and property. 342

Fig. 30.—An overcrowded hut (Dorobo).

They are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, every time the camp is determined by a semi-circular fence that protects the village from low-roll footing rains. 956

Dress and Ornaments.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Lukuru, except that circumcision, apart from the aspect, seems to be but little practised. 351 (Dorobo)

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dorobo, and they keep dogs. 338

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Kenia, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*tumbi*). In addition to this they grow a little sesame (*ronono*), bulbus corn (*ngabenyiki*), and millet (*ngek*). A form of 341

Lib Harbor-Off C-E (1888-ca.1916) 1910/Elk Island
Dorcas FLS
Ans

/300 wom./

After breakfast the day's work begins. The must be repaired and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gleaning firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the doors with their handwork. They sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut scrapers, etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandoh make for themselves those things that the Ideni also make for them; they only buy the metal-forged work from Ideni blacksmiths. The making of the

Fig. 91. Clay pot.

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 91) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (ocher) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made of dried cow bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it stays until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in which women prepare their cooking meals, is thoroughly heated on a hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bean has cooked, is poured in.

The dressing of the hides from the cows also hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply cleverly cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, however, which are to be used to make clothing, are washed into leather in the way described for the Ideni. As soon, the tanned

[illegible]

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PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

[illegible]

BASIC FEATURES OF ECONOMY

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Economy

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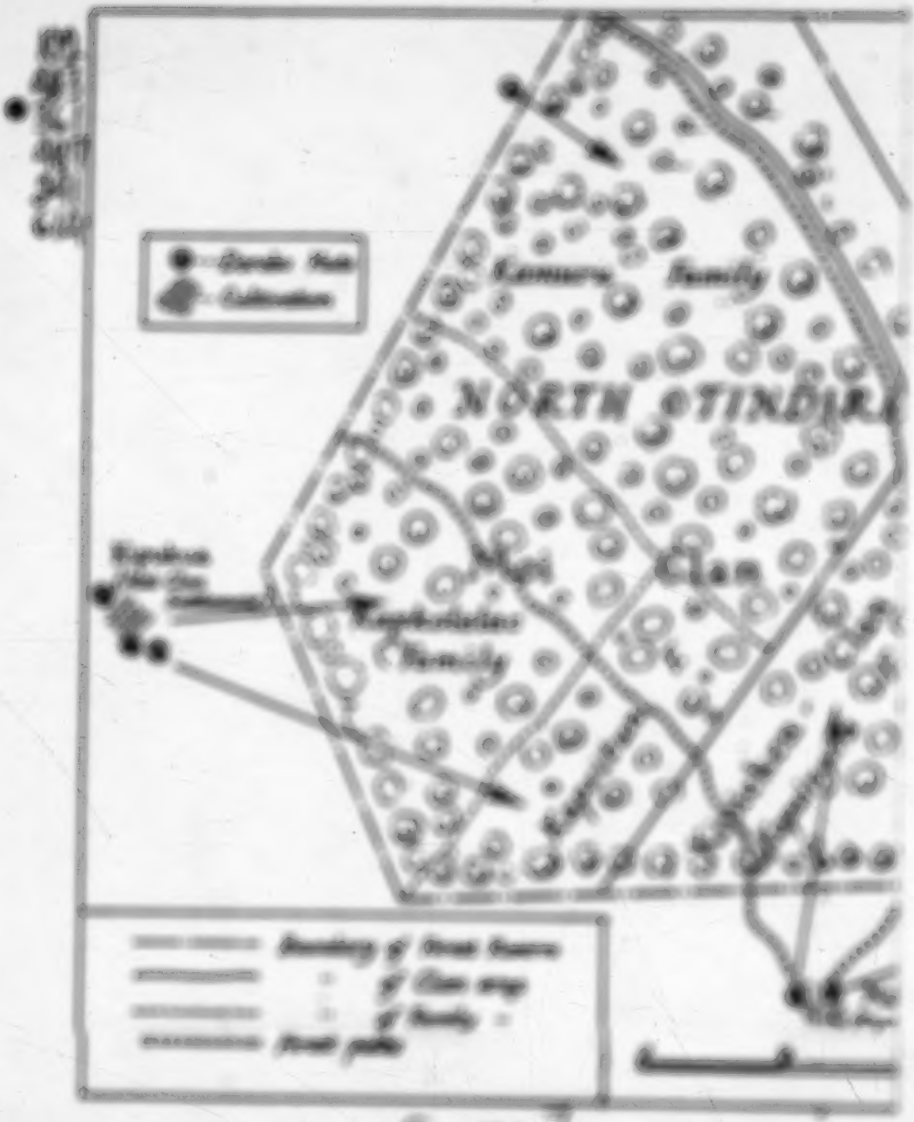

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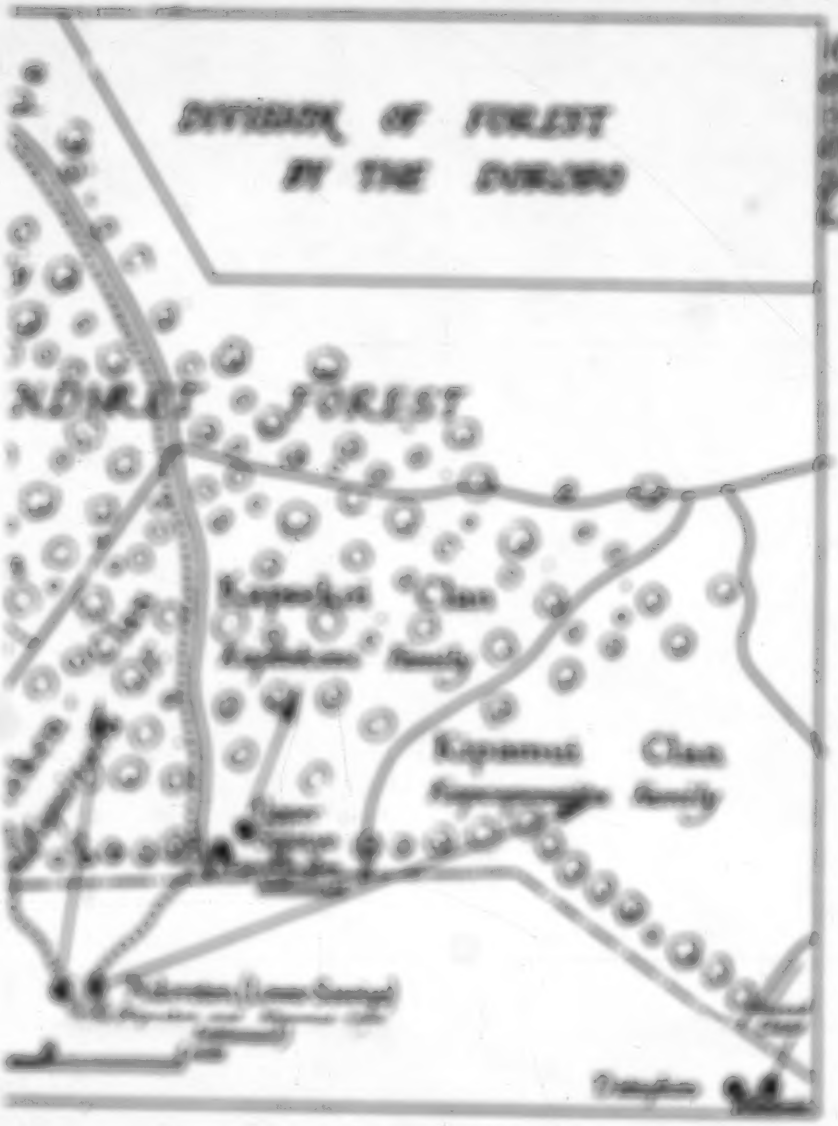

[p. 61]

patronymic from both father's paralign name. Younger men generally take their patronymic from the latter's settlement, or the most recent circumcision to their area then.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Kwafi, and the Dorobo keep record for the opening of the Kwafi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised by Kwafi with other Kwafi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936-37. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as sponsor for the Kwafi. The whole procedure of circumcision rites is identical with that of the Kwafi. Only outrage the operation of circumcision whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Kwafi, and it works exactly as among the Kwafi, with the same six names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Kwafi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Kwafi system, p. 91. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat-aney* by which the Dorobo have only three, called *Lagabach*, the senior; *Tugundi* or *Kipaliliwonyik*, the middle; and *Ramokiandi* or *Kipsiandik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the girls have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the psychical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to solidify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo *pundit* refuse to shelter one of his own tonds, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set structure.

Economic Organization

Land Relations

The Dorobo live mainly in the settlements divided between a number of clans-in a position (formerly only here). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest, after that they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ent*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kwet ap ent*, the eldest of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the names, these clans are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as still as in 1936-8. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has *kwet*, one of which is shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, and a group of people supposedly related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of Kut, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exception before the possibly to the influence of the Kwafi, among whom Kut marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 91.) There seem to be no restrictions other on marriage between Kwafi (or among the Kwafi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo have very few totems, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Kwafi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Kwafi.

"The Kwafi occasionally an agent to this end. [illegible] Kwafi word meaning " the tattoo."

1: Huntingford E-4,5 (1926-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

side, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to leave the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 76). Theft, when not dealt with immediately, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of assaulting local men may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man bewitched another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary murderer, was a serious offence, because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Camps

Housing

(a) Forest type: the *kowogut*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) Hut types: the *kowet* has a circular wall about 3 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kut* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kowogut* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*kach*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a blubber cap, and sometimes dressed with mud, earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

A.Magaiore G-5 (ca. 1936) 1927-28
FSA Shoebox FSA

clans or families," after the manner of the Mussi, but there is no difference between their several houses at the present time. Mbidro and Bilikiri Dandia live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Mussi Reserve to-day. They are hotly enemies* (for Dandia), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Mussi.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dandia (referred to, henceforward, as Mbidro collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Mussi.

According to Lobito, who was the only man to reveal possessing even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the Mbidro is at Tabassi.* He, in common with many Mussi and Dandia elders, admits that the Dandia originally came from a country designated vaguely as Jau,* but no living Mbidro can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Tabassi.

The Mbidro are to be found, occasionally, living with the Mussi in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small outlying kraals of their own, close to the Mussi. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.* More often, however, the Mbidro live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn enclosure, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Mussi. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the Mbidro in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcase has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

* More probably the former.
* Possibly one week, including the women and children.
* See note 3, p. 129. * Jibar - in the vernacular the word
* The Mussi regard the eating of birds or eggs as unclean.

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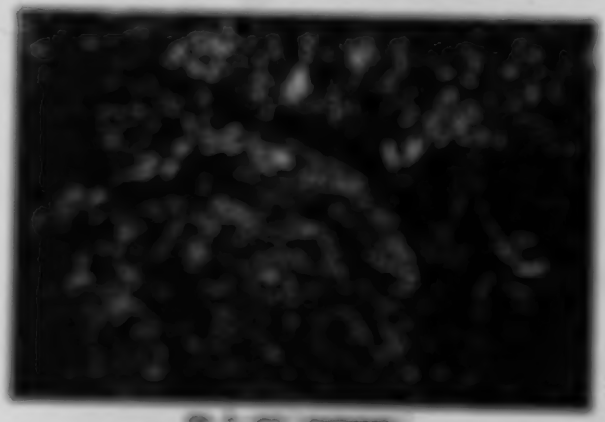


[illegible]

[illegible] Map of the Eighteenth Charter County

[illegible]

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Gondo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 280 surviving members of the Kirkmichael tonds, 87 (), were living in the forest or on forest days to it. The remaining (), were settled in groups to certain areas of Gondi where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Gondi, and in Cuan Valley, with a few in the Glenmore and Brae districts. Most of these (), maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Gondo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization, but the segregation of them into groups accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Fortunately it was not too late in 1939 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Gondo.

The dispersal of the Gondo made it necessary to classify the people according to their residence, and this resulted in a grouping of the tonds to four "domestic categories":

I. Tonds the bonds of an aggregate of 6000 ft. and over.

II. Tonds on the edge of the forest, usually over 7000 ft. and within a mile of the forest.

III. Tonds on Gopish Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with several conditions generally similar to II, but a little lower.

IV. Brae, Glenmore and Cuanbeg where conditions is places are similar to III.

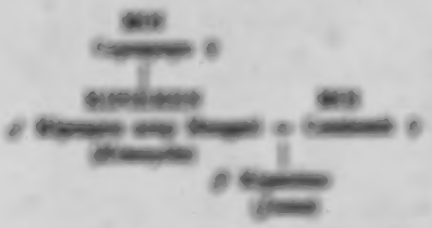
An analysis of the census and domestic categories will be found in the Appendix p. 9.

Here in this paper we are first and only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and then a short summary of other aspects of Gondo life may be included. The social unit published life of the Gondo is based on the idea which has its core meaning in that with personal affairs and even in day groups live in the groups. This is common to the Tonds where the Gondo are dispersed and play for a small part in common political life. The Gondo is divided into nine divisions or gentiles (Gondo: *ghe tonnandh*) of which only four are now inhabited. These divisions have names (Gondo: pl. 1 *Cuanna*[1], 2 Bridge, 3 Gopi, 4 Glenmore, 5 Gopish, 6 Brae, 7 Kirkcam, 8 Fort, 9 Gopish) to which are Bridge, Glenmore and Gopish were inhabited. No have had been passed with Brae). Each person has a name, which must also express belonging to the division or a short designation of that. The Gondo never suppose the exact date of his birth. Names consist now and then have one underlying significance in the past, but the exact one that a name designed and the thread what has the Gondo consist.

There is no chief of the tonds, but an elected chief at Gopish is called the at Gondo consist the tonding was developed — the committee

[1] *C* is hard, much as in and one the was throughout

[illegible]



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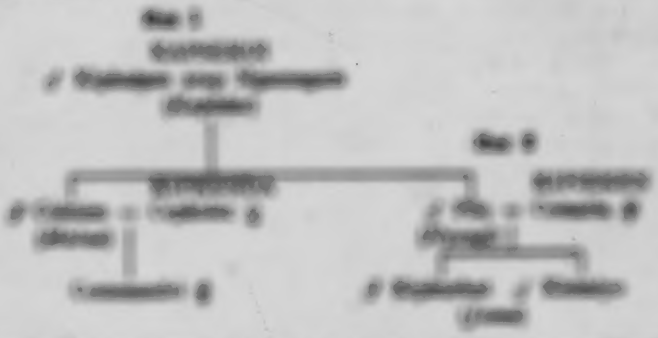

[illegible]

[illegible] helps his wife in bring up the children, overlooking her choice on him in affection which subsists childhood love and age.

[illegible] My chief friend and informant among the Dwardas, Kimaya wrap Khaing, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipadaw, with his mother Lakhetkan, and his family consisted of the following:

Lakhetkan ♀

/ Aung Khaing = Kyihsaweme ♀

/ Kyiwone ♂ Kyihame ♂ Thinkyo Khaet ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of the centre of his [illegible]; but by November of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a palisade round outside the planets. His mother's hut was about 400 yards away at the other end of the planets. His thing here will [illegible] to himself being a Pyungyi ranged from about four years old (some age-mate to himself being a Pyungyi ranged from about four years old (somewhat [illegible] Khaing, the other girl, was about seven. At this time he slept in the third part of the hut, the room, where his goods are kept at night, and he [illegible] with the children in the front part, the [illegible]. This was because his wife was [illegible] a baby. Initially, Aung Khaing should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, his wife [illegible] the room from the [illegible] was allowed to make the back room as a separate hut (the original type of [illegible] but has no partition at all).

[illegible] the day I arrived [illegible] early and found that Kyihsaweme had gone across the valley to get a new [illegible], leaving Aung Khaing in charge of the children. [illegible] when the baby, but still he found the responsibility [illegible] a bore; [illegible], and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Kyihsaweme fed the baby, and the children [illegible] to eat, and soon [illegible] to the river to wash. At this time, when there is no [illegible] work to do, the other people [illegible]. On some days Lakhetkan comes to Aung Khaing's [illegible] to help with the cultivation. Kyihsaweme normally visits her own [illegible] once [illegible] while the baby is so young. When she does go Aung Khaing goes with her, and the baby is left with [illegible]. But the family is not so far away that Kyihsaweme cannot [illegible] the children if anything goes wrong.

[illegible] Dwardas [illegible] ought they seem to be independent and self-[illegible]. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, and in spite of the parents' authority, but [illegible] [illegible], yet the relatives who seem to counteract such to the parents [illegible] by friends seen at once to the father's brother, [illegible] who often lives in his own [illegible], or if not, only a short distance away. This person, [illegible] [illegible] is or other brother, has a position of authority over the brother's children's [illegible] equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

NANDI

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Fig. 1. Plan of a remote Remote in Saipan Lagoon, Fiddi Remote.

In Remotes in 1998 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs and a pest of moth called Remotes, that the original Remote had to be given up, and the occupiers built up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Remote has a Remote all to himself, more often, however, several people divide the area between them, each contributing to the labour of making it, and to make room Remote about each of a Remote Remote with Fiddi (Fig. 1).

Though not connected with settlements, we may mention here the subject of work Digging. Remotes is to correspond with the grounds that are often worth to Remote even Remotes (or Fiddi Remote, as the Remote call it), and were we to question of how or how to dig it. They are nothing but a digging stick, Remote made of a Remotepoint wood, and the work is carried Remote to Remote Remote Remote, by Remote Remote, when often Remote Remote to the work practically easy. A digging party Remote with Remote to dig Remote the Remote into Remote and Remote Remote of Remote, and thought as the Remote to Remote Remote get it to work Remote if a Remote Remote Remote the Remotes, the party Remote of Remote Remotes digging. Remote as an Remote Remote Remote Remote. Remote Remote are Remotes Remote. Remote the Remote get Remotes Remote to the Remote, Remote Remote Remote Remote

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿

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Appendix

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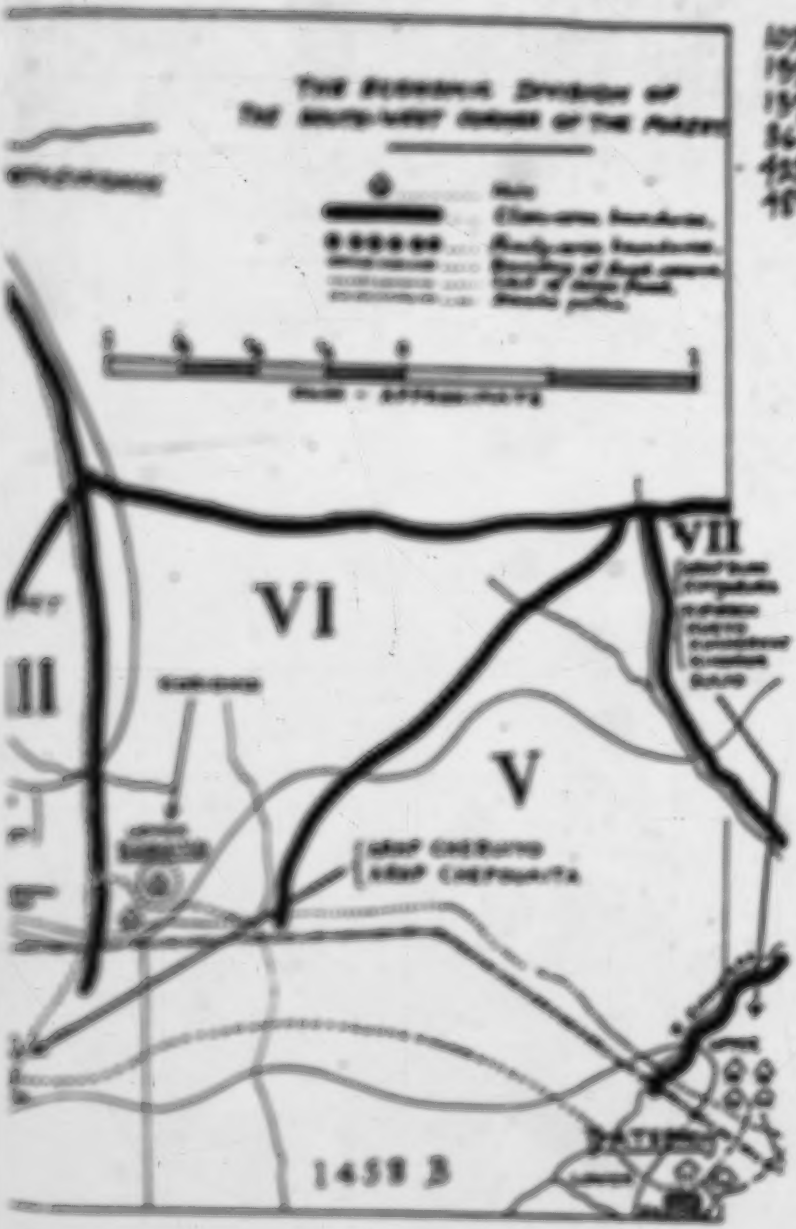
VI
VII
III
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1458 B

Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

162
361
621

The people contained in these settlements in 1939 were:

Kipokos:
Arap Mimi, his wife and 5 children.
Arap Ruto, his brother.
Cenkirikat, his mother.
Arap Keter, his wife and 3 children.
Kipsoo, Kolokwo, Kipsogei } brothers of A/Keter
Cepkoiec, sister of A/Keter.
Arap Tebuny, classmate.

Upper Sosoiyo: Arap Cepsumia.
Arap Ceruiyo, his brother.
Kipor, his brother.
Kipkutik, his brother.
Simotua, classmate.
Kiptanui, cousin of Arap Cepsumia.
Kwimo, brother of Kiptanui.
Kimitei, his brother.
Cepetip, his sister.
Arap Lengai, relationship not established.
Kerisnai arap Manyenguo, his wife and 3 children.

Xdoroton: Arap Singiro.
Ortuyi, his brother.

Kipkemei, his brother.
Arap Ngeli, Arap Kemei } classmates
Arap Cemamin.
Brother of last two.
Widow with 3 children.
Widow.

Isolated: Arap Kerum, alone.

Upper Ngatopkoo:
Kipiro (Kipiekwo).
Kweyo, his brother.
Kimmeikai, classmate.
Daughter of Kimmeikai.
Kibaror (Kipiekwo).
Arap Eani (Kapsekai).
Kimnorum (Kapsekai).
Sulio arap Silimbo (Tuiyot).

Lower Ngatopkoo*:
(1) Toto arap Kamnik, his wife and 3 children.
(2) Nekai arap Korrom, his wife and son.
(3) Kilunyo arap Kerongon, his wife and 3 children.

* Note that (1) is Kipiekwo, (2) Kaigil, and (3) Kapsekai.

Physical Characteristics.—The Wandonko, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dukwiko and other tribes of Sinoia (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). Their measurements are appended.

The Village.—The Wandonko village (above) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, within the which every hut (ie, grain) within the village is built enclosed. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three granaries of cooking stones. Similar clearings, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact town. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 94), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens on the side, for storing grain and property.

Fig. 94.—An erroneous view (False).

They are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the creek, is determined by a semi-circular fence that protects the village from run-off during rains.

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Lakwas, except that circumcision, apart from the aspirs, seems to be but little practised.

Livestock.—The Wandonko are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dukwiko, and they keep dogs.

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wandonko are the tobacco growers of Sumanja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*bwali*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*mwenje*), native corn (*nyakwanje*), and millet (*nyoli*). A heap of

[p230 (R)]

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE DOBUANS

By C. G. S. SELIGMANN

I

The Dobuans, who call themselves Tōdoi, are a [illegible] [illegible] people scattered over the high lands of Dobu and Fergusson. Twelve groups are recorded, and it is known that they are all exogamic, and that all speak dialects of Tōdoi. [illegible] The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tōdoi Area in the S. E. of the Field Reserve, at an average altitude of over [illegible] 2000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Sulgwa, Sigibomena, Gwaiyia, Chagaiwa, Nima, and Wabagaiti, which were five or six miles in the south from their another group in Tōdoi-tobi. [illegible] My investigations have been limited [illegible] to the first three of these divisions, since Chagaiwa, Nima, and Wabagaiti no longer exist, and the answers on Tōdoi from a distant group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dobuans were forbidden [illegible] by the government to live in the lower swamps, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, notice an appearance of the Dobuan

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Experiments, most fully worthy of a crime-free, but not [illegible] In 1911, in accordance with the decision of the Royal Land Tenure Commission of 1910, they were handed [illegible] and settled in the Crown Reserve. This attempt to settle them existed their native [illegible] failure, and they are now an eyesore for [illegible] group of semi-[illegible] a precarious existence on the [illegible] which extends up to the edge of the forest. Unlike their north as a race, they are [illegible] have a [illegible] and although they are [illegible] in the in March, the majority do not [illegible] to, and are [illegible] especially of being kept [illegible] of their own [illegible]. I had fortunately made [illegible] their acquaintance in 1907, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1910, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in [illegible] showed a total of 151 people. This is probably not the full story, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans, the names [illegible] were enumerated thus:—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

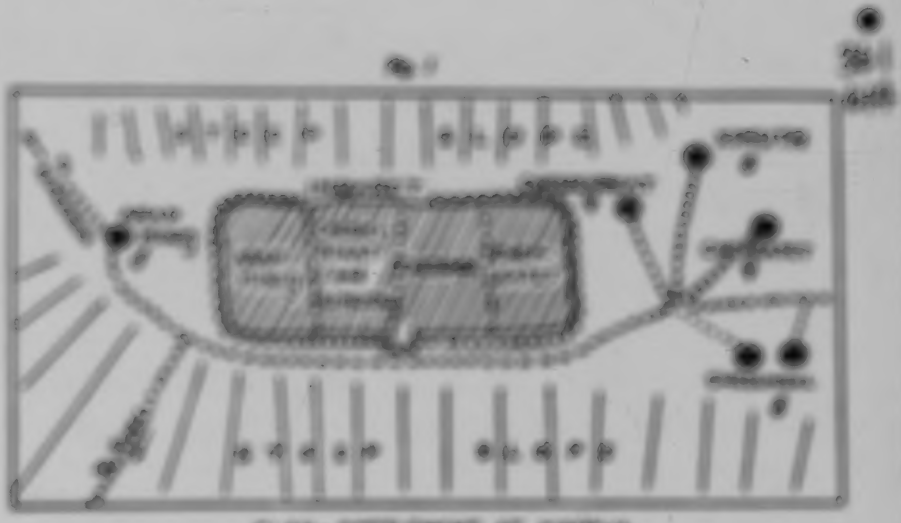
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



Dresden FL6

[illegible] Thirteen Mess Lists.

[illegible] Before closing this chapter I may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe, the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili, or a small race of people scattered over Masai land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The ostrich, the buffalo, and the rhinoceros supply them with meat as they are found, while they always find neighbouring tribes, too glad to barter vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where these animals abound; as for instance, in the Aruwa forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the forest-clad mountains of Meru, the top of Elgeyo, Mongasho, Chibbabongwein, Suey, Doinikh, &c. They are nearly found in numbers, and rarely in very small villages, as the duty in putting the arrow into the enemy does. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they set immense store of wealth in the idea by attending the most curious, wealthy are the Masai for both to a considerable number of the army. They also act as gobetweens or middlemen in getting the wanted people the vegetable food they require. So much an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Kajiado, at the place called by the native Olmoron, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or to any to the natives.

The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they use all much the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the indiscriminate slaughter of the women, as well as the young natives, a principle of the creed. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the natives must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the runner of a cocoon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in darting a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being covered over with the deadly poison of the snake. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwaai*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriakgat*) and a fire-block (*sasanda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kawalkwandet*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orwata silfild*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulet*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulet* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kokenyet*, pl. *kokenyeiik*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. [542] The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*ilikis*, N.) and the fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*mat'sik*; N. *masiud*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. [353] [513] In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurkut*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mik*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. [354] A loft (*mimat*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and elusine grain (Text-figs. 20–26). The only household utensils are a small broom (*sibatiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*sotiet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*kotito*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding elusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. [251] [378] [412] [415] Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pilnet*, N. *pilnet*) (Text-figs. 11a, 11b). A thin stick of the *chemnet* tree (N.),[1] about 13 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*tat*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. [439] [372] The thin stick is called *pilnet*, the cedar stick *tamnet*. The *pilnet* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pilnet* and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the *pilnet* drills a hole in the *tamnet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sorgut* (dry grass) or fibre of the *pesiwet*[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Vitex* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

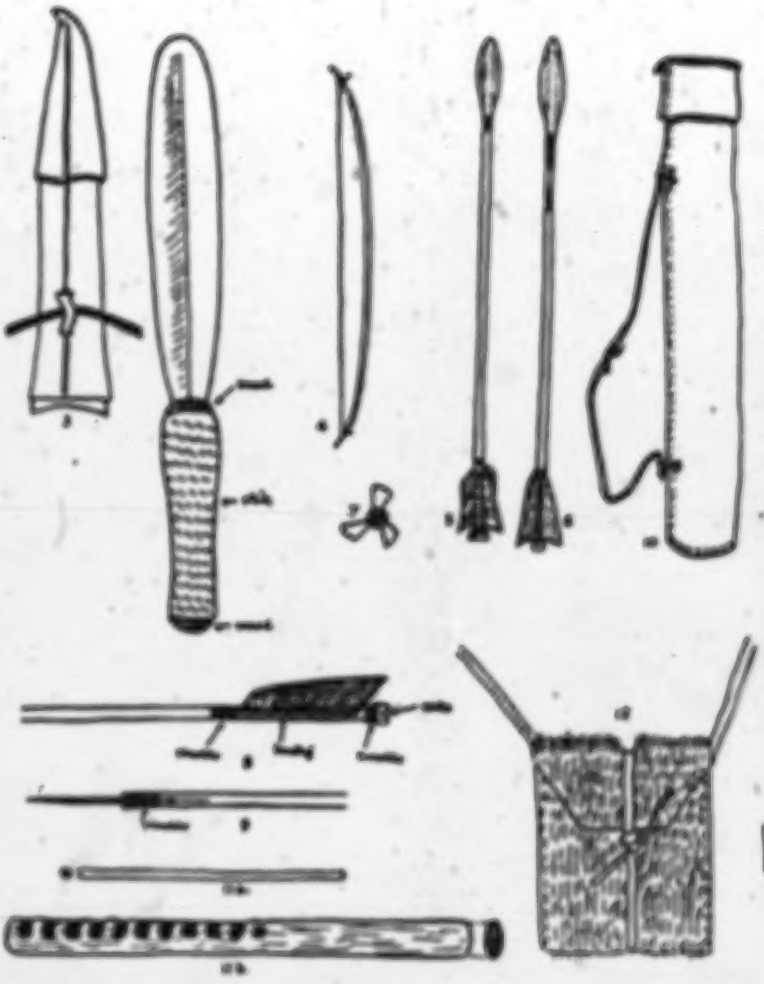


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FIG. 1.—[illegible] (Kwadilla) and leather sheath. FIG. 4.—bow (Kipsyabei). FIGS. 5, 6.—arrows (Okiek). (5, a, *Kipsyabei* type. 6, a, *Kipsigei* type.) FIG. 7.—[illegible] end of arrow, seen in cross-section. FIG. 8.—[illegible] showing attachment of feathers to arrow. FIG. 9.—method of attaching arrowhead to shaft. FIG. 10.—[illegible] (Kwadilla). FIG. 11.—[illegible]: (a) point, (b) [illegible]. FIG. 12.—[illegible] and (sandal), leather, 3 ins.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F'LÁ Dorobo F'LÁ

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LIX, 1929, Plate XXVI.

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FIG. 1.—ELGON WEARING FUR CAP "SAMBUT."

FIG. 2.—ELGON MASAI FIRE WITH FURNITURE "JEMBE."

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FIG. 3.—OLD WOMAN "KWOTHOR," WEARING SAS-SIRON "LUIL," INDICATING THAT HER HUSBAND IS STILL ALIVE.

FIG. 4.—TWO GIRLS "KWOKWOKÉSIK," THE GIRL ON THE SPECTATOR'S LEFT IS WEARING A FOREHEAD OF "LEPUTUWOT" BEAD AS A CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE; THE NECKLACE IS OF THE RARE TYPE. THE GIRL ON THE RIGHT WEARS A BEAD DECORATION ON HER HEAD OF A RARE TYPE. BOTH ARE WEARING "KWOR-AP-UTEK," OR RINGS OF WOOD IN THE EARS.

[Facing P 378, A]

MODERN HUNTERS.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Moost* : honey-barrels.
Olkewiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyassiek : fire-wood.
Corost (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Test (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

● [372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet* : fibre for baskets.
[270] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiinet* : medicine.
† *Opeito* : medicine.
Rerendet : medicine.
Lepuywuret : medicine.
Sitotuet : medicine.
Seketet : medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (acmilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet : salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiet* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :
237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kereput*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is
[439] used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article
[461] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "ai," "it," and "ak," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaŋga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaŋga* and *Kinyalaŋgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kuεanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porôwet* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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[386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-hâria*.[1]

[337] The bowstring (*inat*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootiat*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 396 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*hâtìk*; sing. *hâte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*nnuliandat*). The arrow-head (*sipelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunôno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Mâisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ité*) obtained from the *Ngoisiandat*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Ara'chet*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikôitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mitian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 251.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngorwa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Baiñga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kvavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokondet* (Nandi); *Hoombi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

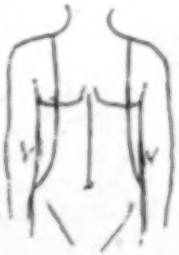

Fig. 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

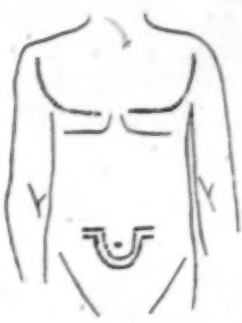

Fig. 88.

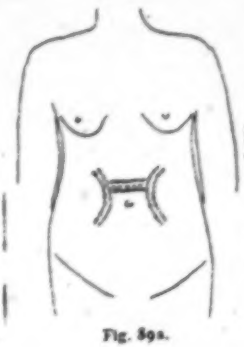

Fig. 89a.

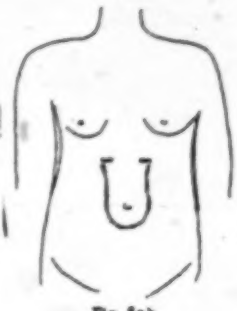

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word en gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosat*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, *i.e.*, deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyanda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kuviot* tree (*Strebla* sp.); it is about 3 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iost*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *koromandet* and *mutsila* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyot*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kelioi* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kerupet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *siniot*, and sewn with bast made from
[124] a plant called *taparuriot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
385 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguot* (*aemilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
482 earth, *ewoniot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
1 carrying-net called *lokudet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

776 *Atoita*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ipiyec panyoh*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Aruna* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ceuwuloi*, a word which
includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *menambuasik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *lokomch* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

760 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
768 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
498 of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
759 called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
789 reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 3; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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A *Mōurot* (LEFT) AND A MASAI OF THE *'L-Aiser* CLAN. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN AT KIRAVA. THEY HAVE EXCHANGED THEIR WEAPONS. (MCCALL.)

(To face page 134.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

The *Méséro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Méséroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Méséroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Méséro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kilinya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Méséro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Méséro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kichorombosa*, is also known to the Kiddu Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiarobosa*. This is a corruption of the *Méséro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaka* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Méisi*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaka* and *Kisyalakai* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kasanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-pavisai* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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411 [384] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kávia*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inor*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mostiat*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kátik*; sing. *kái*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandai*). The arrow-head (*nipáki*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kwénos*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wangusi), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Máirái*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ái*) obtained from the *Ngoisiandai*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Aratchai*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endarúki*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*oibáiái*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mótiak*.
[3] See note 1, p. 151.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngoswa* (Pedersiana sp.; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*sqweswa*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriakyat*) and a fire-block (*sesewda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kwesiwandet*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orwete silidi*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endaire*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endaire* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.
[2] Literally, "Small knife."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mōsiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ng* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ar* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalet*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ¯ appears over a vowel, it means that the letter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)529 FLA Dorobo FLA

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3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorobo, is hunting (*ngon*: Kony. *kip-ngon-ion* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt so much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarwit*; N. *seid*), rhinoceros (*kipkemoi*), leopard (*mokilo*, N.); lion (*sendet*; *kpteiado* N.) giant pig (*tomdo*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorobo.)

[411] [298] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kopelgda*, N.) and arrow (*kkiet*, N.; *ndomatit*, etc.), and spears (*almorondoit*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the koliet tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tinderet region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorobo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*ngoret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipsenjeiset*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*purbet*; N. *mamit*) (Text-fig. 32), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a looped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the mkwakyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*kpkiin*, pl. *kpkiik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorobo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-eared cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

869 136 The staple foods of the Dorobo are honey (*kwonet*, N.) and meat (*pungek*, N.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkemkut (N. *kimemkipt*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*).
Mimlet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. spadonotus*).

[1] *Acocanthera friesiorum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

291 301 large discs of brass wire (*kut*, pl. *kutik*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*mesilte*; N. *mesin*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*mdoriok*; N. *mdoruk*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*sbuviet*) or cloth (*sugut*). They have armlets (*kwrik*, N.) and leglets (*sbepukwet*; N. *tepukwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*sniagusi*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ongdwrit*; Kony *ingdwrit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap titik*, N.), as among the Nandi. [305] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kuruna-it pirik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngurut*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 [439] The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

● 411 These consist of bows (*kwgukgda*), arrows (*kitiok*, *kiperuik*, *kipchkponik*, N.; and *ndwanit*); spears (*olmorondoit* or *morondoit*); swords (*usuukto*; or *rotut*, N.); shields (*kulget*, N.); and knives (*chombolwet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kwoiot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*laat*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[237]

[439] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipchépet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chepilolîgiet (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 3½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the soosiyat (bamboo), masmita, and kwemamchet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kworik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*susita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mbolîyôt*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorôbo for shooting with the bow, see H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1½ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*chokot*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*tapsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motoket.
415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipsokot*, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a
[482] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereyet*, pl. *kereyonik* (N.)).

285 These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name.
[462] The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual for the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuywet: traps.
Kimoluet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipseputet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Maroita: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Ollamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasieh: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
[278] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Silotnet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usnet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinnet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1)[2/1]. The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

2/1 [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 [805] [221] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minio told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [15] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. [231] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

●[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [239] Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumta;* the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[15] Better known to Europeans as Kiboloss and Kapsagol.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. HOLLIS, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.

[17] Cf. Capt. G. DOLLMAN in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 beer called *sees* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there A form of
[273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months:
[132] *Lovara*, a time of rain; and *Loichetto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Ladunga.	*Loukwung.*	*Ladunga.*	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*
Lumuka.	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lovara.*
Lukwa.	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loicheto.*
Lovara.	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loudunga.*
?	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	?
?	?			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[222] far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
[285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
[323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco.
[415] Their shields (*kesen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga
[411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
[352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*sekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

131 361 439 [648]

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

197 361 144 411 415 439

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

101

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Asi and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

African, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

126 101

Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

[827] [821] [982] [911] 789 [911] [996]

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain oftened threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

197 It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P 177]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *muainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *iwot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torast*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murju*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361 M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aaiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas [233] among the El gaaurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
614 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the oi oiboni[1] as
89 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
171
000

142
291
• 411

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

1. [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each [261] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el mafh. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

• 411 322 [46] [462] In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 87) (from the el boengei tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/336 cont./

411 322 [323] [297] with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The sting is plaited together, coming and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

[297] [324] [412] The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the vanishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirrit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /336/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [323] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [324] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /337/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [434] [285] The Axe for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 [324] 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

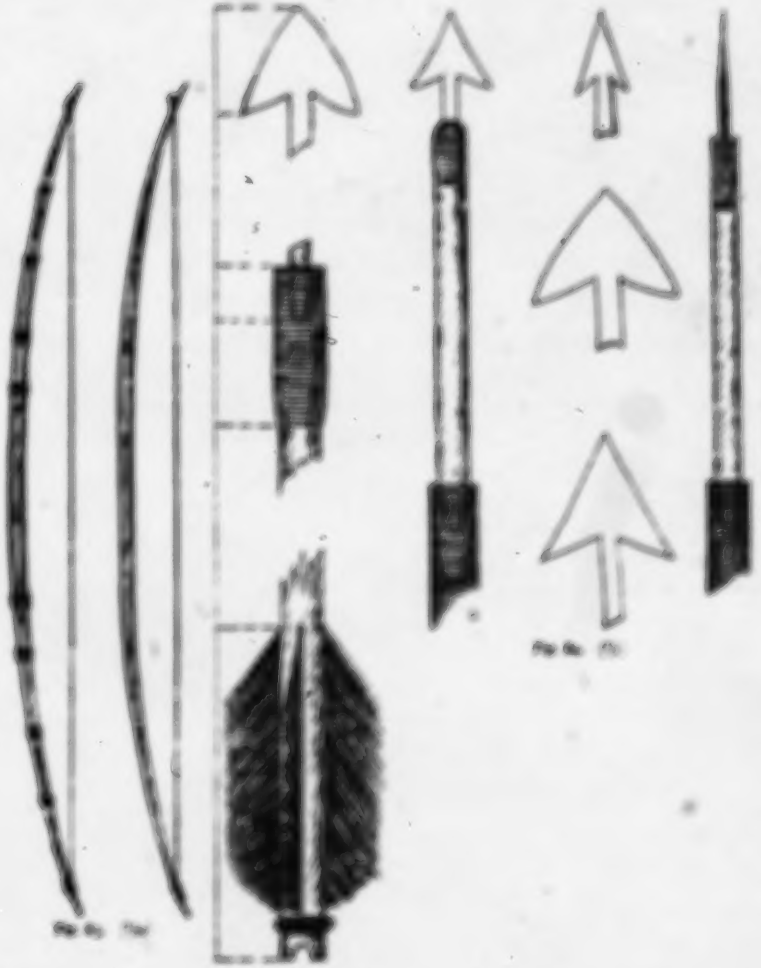
512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day: the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night. Soon

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

Sib Worker--III G-6 (1890-ca.1918) 1933 FLES Morel
Derelo 758
Ans

/Illustrations from p. 336 of the original source./

411
324



/344 cont./
elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
and again is elected knight.

About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/345/ VIII.

Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Owner-ship marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Ration. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Minor means of the hunters in the bush.

For the Ándorobo hunting is what war is for the Il máasai of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow ([Fig. 88] gari, gaiowag) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 88] ngátik, nadimarig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (kalya). The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/345 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukambe, where the Wandorobo, who call them miaré, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 88) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called mmchig. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain beast of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

Fig 87. (Tot)

[439]

[224]

422 [411] [224]

Fig 88. (Tot)

1b Marker--935 G-6 (1935-ca.1960) 1951 PLII Masai
Dorobo PLA
Ana

/345 cont./

422 directors. Besides such marks one also finds /345/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throwing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adog, i.e., poison (1).

000

1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D^{20} = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 191°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30}H_{44}O_{12}$; it is precipitated by cream of tartar; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

278 /947 cont./
278 arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.
782 Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and
834 keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their
[988] view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect.
They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point
278 with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance
• 411 from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very
294 hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is
[297] dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts
[988] very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a graze shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 10 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five
278 or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted
752 with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, [136] especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [791] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

/264 cont./

539 224 278 411 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol doroboni shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol doroboni found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again stalked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch firewood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, " If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyayda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*teviea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat;* arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparaniot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*nguano*[1]) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

THE *MÔSIRO* AND *ARAMANIK* LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ñg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{h}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorōbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongut*, pl. *kochongeiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the family moves to a fresh site. [590] Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itūkto*, N.) and the fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [353] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*mučnik*; N. *musiuek*), upon which the occupants [513] eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mūt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [251] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [372] only household utensils are a small broom (*wdtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [412] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water [415] jars" (*soiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litēto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorōbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piōnet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (N.),[1] about 15 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*iest*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sasyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porōwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

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[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

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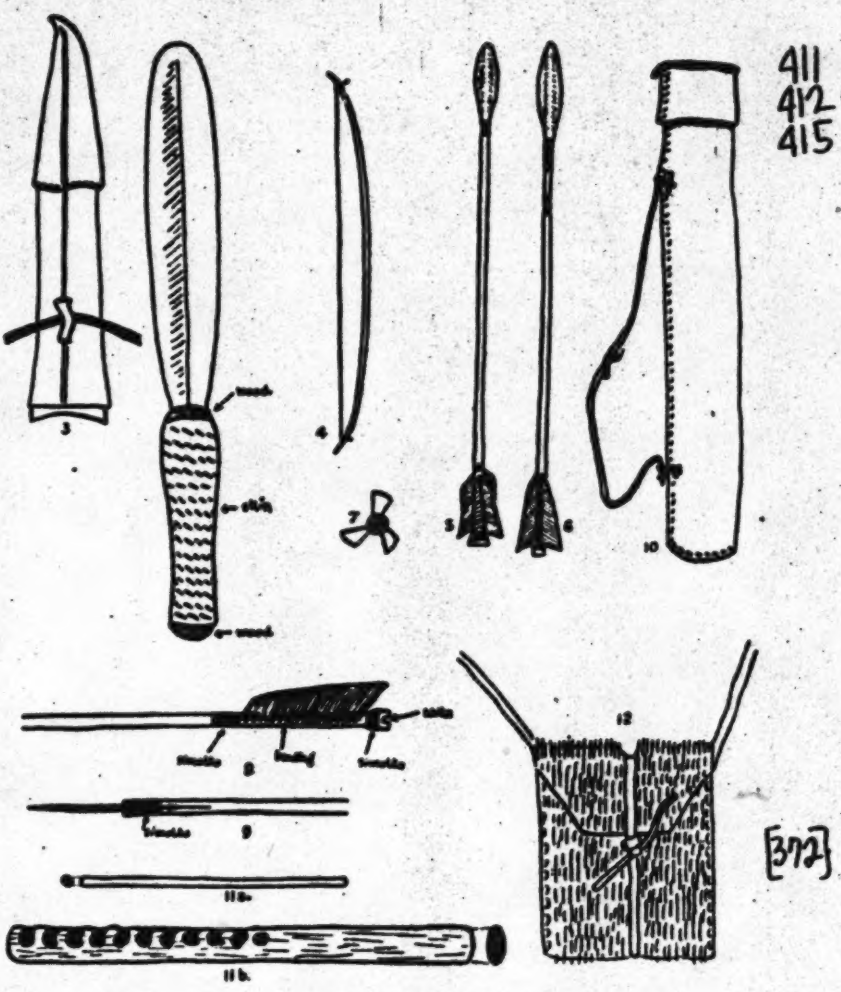
411
412
415



[372]

FIG. 3.—IRON KNIFE (*Chambolust*) AND LEATHER SHEATH. FIG. 4.—BOW (*kuyetigde*). FIGS. 5, 6.—ARROWS (*kitiek*). (5. N. *chepilolgiot* type. 6. N. *kipchepet* type.) FIG. 7.—BUTT END OF ARROW, SEEN IN CROSS-SECTION. FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM SHOWING ATTACHMENT OF FEATHERS TO ARROW. FIG. 9.—METHOD OF ATTACHING ARROWHEAD TO SHAFT. FIG. 10.—SKIN QUIVER (*mostiet*). FIG. 11.—FIRESTICKS: (a) *piiart*, (b) *tiamnet*. FIG. 12.—SKIN BAG (*motobut*). LENGTH, 8 INS.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [237] *Bows.*—These are made from the kuriot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*inet*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[239] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipchápet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chepilofigiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the soosiyat (bamboo), massaita, and koromandet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kororik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*suita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mboñgit*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, *see* H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*choket*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*topsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motoket. 415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipsoket*, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a [482] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereret*, pl. *kereponik* (N.)).

285 [462] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littō*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *koroseek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekut*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parîgetuny[3] arap Ñgamîgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ligelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

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it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyuwet: traps.
Kimoluet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipsepuet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Marorta: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

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313 *Rereshi* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Olawiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Corust (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tost (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
285 † *Taparariet:* fibre for baskets.
[278] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuywet: medicine.
Situturt: medicine.
Sekutet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (acmilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rutinuet* or *Rutiet* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include:

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kewpet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapei kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they [439] [461] have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *taparariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[½] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] * Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

½ [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

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waste it, i.e. as the bone and gets thin, a new end is shaved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type, and bow-shop variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made; as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 3 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 325

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, moreover, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 331 [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] 405 [325] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1930 some of these values were: 434 436

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

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that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 in. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mesat* and *ramalal*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *kwatsut*, *xilgwat*, *kyakwat*, *kiyaulpwat*, and *mawuzis*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, lines is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The *slat* barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the most and *ramalal* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with lines, a sticky piece of *mesh*, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize, and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hemlock hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [1]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather exalted, high-pitched tone:

Xalkan, xalkan, or mel-ne-mentmaura tsilel, ca gaut [2] *anyan, xealalkan,*
Gaa, kan, wha-ne to cosstmen-tlaus-ch, costa-kwa ayu, gaut-te (kwaay),
xealalkan [3].
gaut-te (kwaay).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[1] One swarm take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[2] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Gaya ya*, "come here".

[3] The Dentlan have borrowed this formula, and always it is *Gaya xealalkan nemen tsi ne kalus*, "come ye, gnat-ess into the warm tree".

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the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *kabet* (*acocanthera Schimperi*), the use of which the Kamîl say was discovered by the Dorobo[1]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Kabet* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*mdeke*, pl. *mdekik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kolpsi-Kipkoreon area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1938, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-coated cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, as a true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much larger, resembling the so-called 'basenji' dog of the Belgian Congo[2] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1938 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkoreon are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *ngoret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipsoriyoiat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *ginoret*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, bone, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkoreon by Cainda arap Kurum on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[1] Cf. Hobley, The Wanderobo, Oxford 1929, p. 106.
[2] Cf. Capt. G. Dieudonné in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36, 1937, 168.

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241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *potok*, *eleusine coracana* (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short graminaceous plant having a head composed of small grains; and *ejamakok*, maize. Millet had not been adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought [195] from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *rukomik*, are grown to a small extent.

● [212] Implements are confined to the hoe (*pukuwiet*), axe (*ishiet*), and ordinary knife (*asubuiet* or *ratet*), though the use of the *panga* or native [195] is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The billhook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [194] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [195] squatters on the nearby farms[*]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by eleusines, less maize and eleusine are planted together in the same pits so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process rejected if the land gets very dirty.

[197] Each shamba is surrounded by a loose mesh of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle-enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1939, however, some [197] Dorobo of Kipsikon, noticing the European practice of stacking maize in cribs before it is ripe, cut and stacked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose objects

[*] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

[illegible] 1910 FL23 Ideal
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/391 cont./

ol bobongo, i.e., hut of the unmarried men, in contrast to the *ol* to olosho, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the camps, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai in furnishings, however, are even poorer. A honey pot (*nadik*, *nadinge*), a gourd bottle (*ngai*) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (*lebeus*, *lebeusi*) for collecting honey, a larger one (*nian*, *nianeuik*) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (*dog*, *idig*) and smaller ones (*ngoibe*, *ngoibe*) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (*ng*), a rope cut out of an animal skin (*ekara*, *ekarage*) to tie up the skin coat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (*ewoligat*), along with a few dehaired skins (*bibi*) that serve as beds, as well as an (*ba'ka*, *baanga*) and knife (*pandang*), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ax *dawra* /*park-holdens*/ of the Masai, here called *lolabo* (*lolawua*). *ol'oibi* or a hammer (*ol'oibi*) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (*nat*, *nare*), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (*kad*, *kaaga*). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the unmarried children, live in one /*bibi*/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now between hunt; as they say, it then feels more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. *Ol kaybibuk* women and children leave the huts forward and water are carried up in order to cook the meat hunted from a ladder lowered to a nearby cave. The meat is kept there and not in the camps, so that it longs to the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes so long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/333 cont./ As there, the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maremeog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (aeng). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /334/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the [illegible] set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, whom disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 88), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 151 centimeters long and /Fig. 88 appears here/ 34 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 23 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (mukiyo). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Amliyet]

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (aja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

Fig. 81. (1/10)

[922]

[711] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschaggs.

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirigé, whereupon, [412] on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron perc- [283] nopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [191] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 191 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 [273] [535] [533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

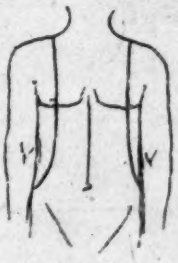

Fig 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garis), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

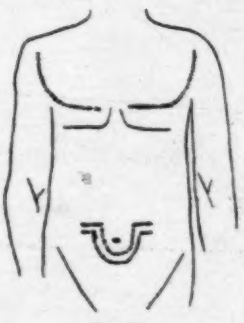

Fig. 88.

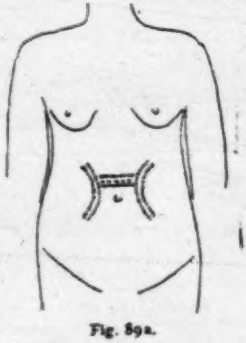

Fig. 89a.

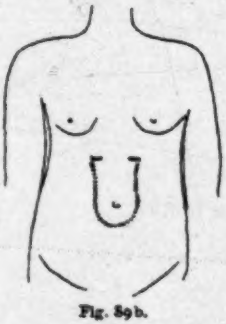

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

/231 cont./

621 [192] [071] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daſma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even 415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for 237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) 283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a 352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, 412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en 412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg), • 413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing 177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat [251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinuet* (*kigelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, cleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motohet*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kiphorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyagda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*isvlea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inot*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *tapuraiot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *takeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kária*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inee*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootiet*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kátik*; sing. *káte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandee*). The arrow-head (*sivelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunóno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Máisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ité*) obtained from the *Ñgoisiandee*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Ara'chee*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikóitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mótian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 251.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngorwa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance. 411

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwane*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1] [278] [439]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey. 372 410 [577] 227

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate. 415 [583]

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence. [278]

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

THE *MÓSIRO* AND *ARAMANIK* LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ŋg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{k}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ˆ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongot*, pl. *kochongwiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*iitkia*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*maŕsaik*; N. *maisai*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mdt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [251] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [317] only household utensils are a small broom (*sedtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [412] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water [415] jars" (*soiyot*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litito*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the [439] Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; 342 N. *piónet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (*N.*),[1] about 15 ins. long and ¼ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*test*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, *Fig.* 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*saoyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porówet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus sp.* [2] *Juniperus procera.* [3] *Dombeya sp.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

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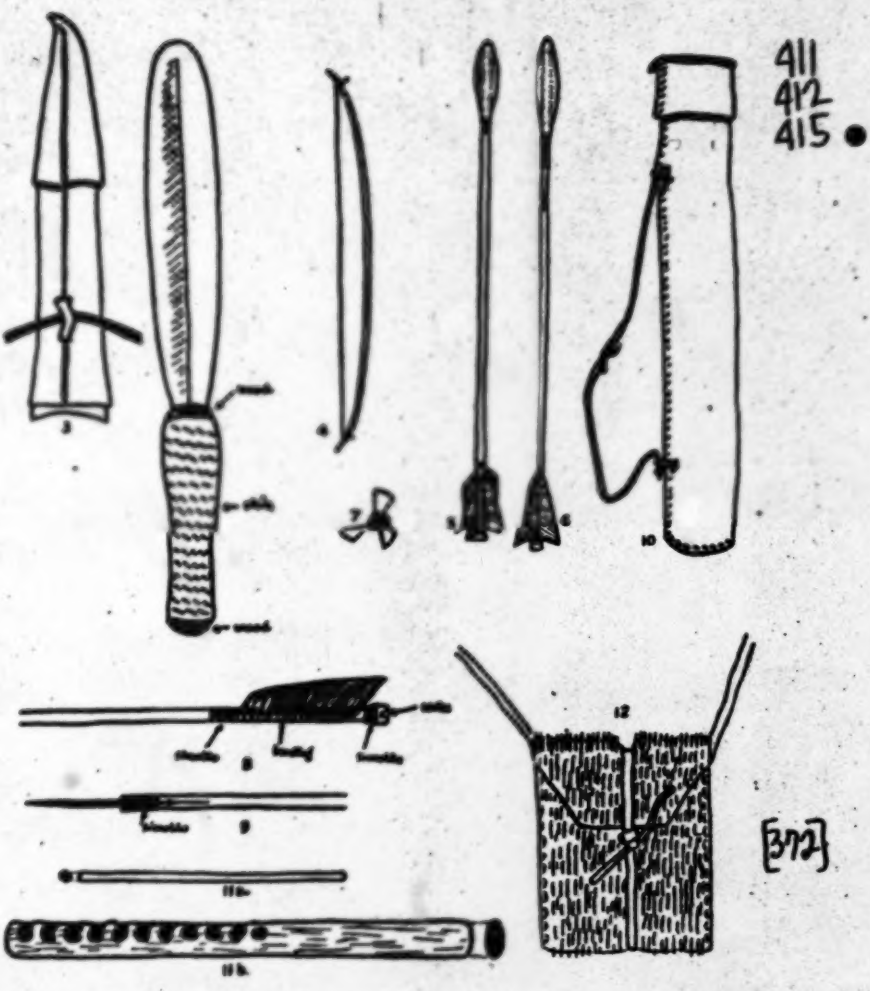
412
415



[372]

FIG. 2.—IRON KNIFE (*Chesukulwet*) AND LEATHER SHEATH. FIG. 4.—BOW (*kwpukpin*). FIGS. 5, 6.—ARROWS (*bûtick*). (5. N. *chepilukpint* type. 6. N. *kipchorpet* type.) FIG. 7.—BUTT END OF ARROW, SEEN IN CROSS-SECTION. FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM SHOWING ATTACHMENT OF FEATHERS TO ARROW. FIG. 9.—METHOD OF ATTACHING ARROWHEAD TO SHAFT. FIG. 10.—SKIN QUIVER (*mentiet*). FIG. 11.—FIRESTICKS: (a) *piiwet*, (b) *kamnut*. FIG. 12.—SKIN BAG (*metobet*). LENGTH, 9 INS.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[301]

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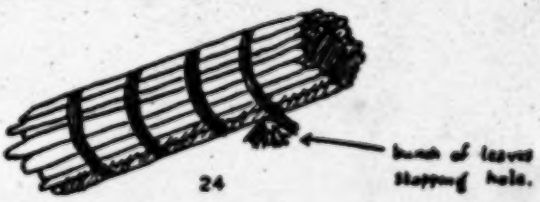

FIGS. 13–17.—MEN'S IRON EAR-RINGS: (13–16, *akimerisi*. 17, *kimsiloiti*). FIG. 18.—MARRIED WOMAN'S BRASS EAR-RING (*kut*). FIG. 19.—CHARM OF EUPHORBIA WOOD AGAINST REEUMATISM. FIG. 20.—*Lepayuwut* NECKLACE, WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE. FIG. 21.—BASKET (*kerepet*). FIG. 22.—BAMBOO TOBACCO-BOX WITH SKIN COVERINGS (*kipsuwit*). FIG. 23.—CARRYING NET (*kikuulet*). FIG. 24.—HONEY-BARREL (*pumwet*).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*lotta*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketindi* (N.). Tobacco (*tomotet*, N.; or *chepkendeiti*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*soit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*torbuit-ap-tomotet*, or *kondiondi*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprowoit* (N. *kiprowi*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *somiyot* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of these living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbowet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*silluiet*†, or *puiuk*; N. *pûi*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *ingurisi*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngomongo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*ngotitiko*,[3] pl. *ngotitikoisiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*sogot*, N.) dyed brown.[4] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Capes (*engerusit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorrit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingusit*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkuiyuit*; N. *chepkuswi*) and upper garments (*kolilet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*maliwotuik* and *kurik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingusit*, pl. *asingusiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkeketit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (921-9218)929 FLA Dicotyo FLA

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the hazel (K.) tree, and average 3 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (net, K.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (wambu, K.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[339] [338] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (kipsiliyat) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chaplelelgiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipsiongot (Text-fig. 6) (R.N. Figs. 30, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 8) and bound with fibre or skin binding (simotin). The shafts are made of the sawiyot (hazel-rod), emanin, and kwenanyiot trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. Three are three feathers (kwerik, K.), which are split and trimmed, and bound to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 6). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin strands; the notch (nuin) is shortened, and bound over the shoulder with a skin strands. The length of the feathers is 3 ins. to 3½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (sumtiet K.; sabulgiet) of leather, and about 2 ft. 2½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, see R.N., pl. VIII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (shukut, K.) which are attached to leather belts (sepsiwet, K.) (Text-fig. 9).

(b) Leather.

381 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called sumtiet.
• 415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. dipsiket, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a
[419] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(c) Baskets (*kwopet*, pl. *kwopsuik* (K.)).

285 [420] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called tapetik; the cross straws, sosik (K. = *Phoenix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 11).

(d) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lokwalet (K.) is used (Text-fig. 13). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis rackets fastened

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needle is, i.e. as the bone and gate this, a new end is shaved under the binding; the heat is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral combination with a fat, then gradually ascending and, of the single over-seen type, and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with heat. A hole is made with the needle, and the heat is pushed through it. Or frequent intervals the fibre and the heat are maintained with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of heat is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of heat of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of heat. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, in which the heat will be sewn. The rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, satchels are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 19 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The nature of Durobe life demands exchange of products with the Kundi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1938 some of these values were:

1 axe for 1 kaglol of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

A form of

[274] [277] [283] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324]

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilchinagwoni, Buru, Doukoie etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the game traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Miansi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Ikuyu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Aci and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

[P.192, 6]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and no all[illegible] ivorywork is imported from the Shank. Whatever which they like, is not grown or yet, and this too must be obtained from the Shank. There is a regular exchange of ivory, skins, and leaders, for wristbands, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 seven head is given for a pound of ivory.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of ivory.
1 large pot is given for a large leatherish skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
½ leatherish of seed for one leather.

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's working in the world's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Shank, in a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for ivory. The Shank make friends with the Dendo chiefly for the purpose of getting ivory, and the Dendo will give some to the Shank friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Shank gives the Dendo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dendo offers his friend a fat cheek for an ox, or e.g. my friend Jump Wimby acquired one from a Shank called Englishe or Chinee; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Technique

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *mwahmwah*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *mwa*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (poisoned) and by the Kapelepalemwa Dendo, and the hunters are dogs.

In wet weather hunt any weight in traps. In the dry season, what pig of various kinds* were

*e.g. [illegible] is about 12 lbs. dung and 2 lbs. milk; a [illegible] about twice as much dung as a goat; a [illegible] is about 4 lbs. dung and ½ lb. milk a day.

*Pangolin, the scaly-ant (Phataginus subcaudatus) and Civet, the palm hog or tree-pig (Nandinia [illegible])

/301 cont./

as delong, i.e., lots of the unmarried men, in contrast to the side to father, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the camp, a separation into head of the married and head of the unmarried, similar to the one mentioned for the ideal.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the farm itself, resembles that of the ideal; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (natik, natjang), a gourd bottle (ngar) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (ehem, ehemin) for collecting honey, a larger one (ehem, ehemnig) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (thig, thin) and smaller ones (ngaha, ngahe) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (ng), a rope cut out of an animal skin (ehen, ehingn) to tie up the skin bags, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the basket (Ahamonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the bedclothes hung in trees (nerthgn), along with a few skinned skins (hide) that serve as beds, as well as an (ehe, hoonng) and knife (nanthgn), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ear sheers /pair-holders/ of the ideal, here called ishaha (ishoongh), as well as a hammer (ghthk) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mah, ihern), and finally that eloquent exact piece of steel iron serving as razor-knife (hank, hanngh). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the unmarried children, live in one /301/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They eat one with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves just as they say. A man feels more eagerly and cautiously than a fox lures lion, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts (covered and crude) are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Normally the Wandorobbo do not have definite mealtimes as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

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Dorobo FLS
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/339 cont./

262 If lean times does come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camps; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with mountain tribes, are able to come into
[339] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[271] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[311] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter price
[271] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
254 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[258] both the foods for the men, his wives, and children and, on the other
[265] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kinkeng), of
273 which each adult drawing in the meal has his own. From the food
191 laws of the Masai, the custom that young uncircumcised men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
ash and /339/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

231 /310 cont./

Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as oi nuth. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 53) (from the oi lumpai tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

[237] [324] [412] The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] [136] [283] [324] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

* 415 [439] [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 [171] The fact that the Wandorobbo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 [273] [535] [533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto sing ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [439] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.

278 562 834 [784] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /347/ (amóta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverance, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

231
232

[222]

Fig. 2.
Slat Honey-barrel.

of enemies, which eat either them or their eggs. Three birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees, a small brown bird called *cephurushew*, a small green bird called *listet*, and a small blackish-grey bird called *mutuhtet*. The *kwoiet* bird (cuculus indicator) cries '*kwe-kwe-kwe*', and when it says that near a tree people know that bees are there; this is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Dorobo regard it as an enemy of the bees because it gives away their natural hiding-places. Soldier ants (*piresik*) eat the eggs and grubs (*sarek*) in the barrels. But no steps, either practical or magical, seem to be taken to protect the bees beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Dorobo say that bees know their owners by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are stung but little when they take honey from their own barrels. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not recognized and gets stung badly. People claim also to be able to recognize their own bees; for if, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the barrel along with the original swarm, they can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the barrel from which they come. Whether or not this is true, does not matter very much; but there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees know their owners, for I have seen Dorobo take honey without the paraphernalia put on by a European for the purpose, and get stung but little and with no ill effects from the few stings they did receive.

231

When a barrel is put in a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, since many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the owner climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles lashed together is tied loosely to the tree trunk with lianas (Fig. 3). To put his barrel in the tree, and to take honey from it, the Dorobo has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts, rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Dorobo makes fire in a loose bundle of tinder. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (preferably of *kiliyanut*, tilia sp.) and putting them and the tinder inside his garment, he climbs up to the barrel. He blows the tinder till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

[417]

Fig. 3.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder on a 50 ft. Tree.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *paisk*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *ipandek*, maize. Millet had not been [435] adopted by 939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are grown to a small extent.

[412] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mokombet*), axe (*ndolut*), and ordinary knife (*cambolnet* or *rotuet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass [439] is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [434] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [436] squatters on the nearby farms [10]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

● [417] Each *samba* is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gap formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the *shamba* is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some [427] Dorobo at Ilpukua, noticing the European practice of stooking maize in rows before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[10] A squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [467] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [244] 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kachonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [171]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minig, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this 224 [178] [48]
[illegible] almost is, I fear, irrecoverable.

423 /260 cont./
The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
224 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium ante-
•421 lope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadong, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
426 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

described as *cwaaswaaswaut*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sokowik*, "bees", are considered to be males[8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm[9]. A comb is made (or built, *ter mpoisiet* — build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*lomwoiet*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive[10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kotil kakit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey[11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kemet — queen (lit. mother).
Sokowik — workers (sing. *sokowiat*).
Kapuswik — drones (sing. *kapuswiat*).
Uswik — young bees, grubs (sing. *uswuet*).
Okdoiyet — swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wawoiet* — Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiroitiat — comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

231 [422] [426] Honey-barrels or hives, *pesuet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner of the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [423] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the cells. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article *Bee* in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 14, by Prof. C. H. Cheshire.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (nja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

Fig. 81. (1/6)

[422]

[711] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/345 cont./

411
[439]

rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijeki, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 88) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by sticking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called mwariki. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

Fig. 87. (1/10)

[434]

[424]

422
411
[424]

Fig. 88. (1/10)

16 Marker--285 G-6 (1856-ca.1910) 1910 PLIS Wood
Darwin PLS
444

/340 cont./

422 districts. Besides such exotic use also finds /340/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throwing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant poison, which the Wandorobbo themselves have out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call ouba, i.e., poison (1).

000 1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D$ ca. $-$ 38° for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 184°C; it has the per cent composition C_{30} H_{48} O_{12}; it is precipitated by excess of caustic dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Fraenkelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intravenously. Injected subcutaneously or intravenously in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained in the case put among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

THE DOMINI OF THE NORTH TINGREE FOREST (REPRINTED)

HISTORY

[13] 5.4 Over two millions of the South, West, and Kilvary, as well as of the Eastern Semenfore, that the Dombo (whatever that origin) were living in the Kaspa Highlands when the Wild Dombo and Dusky arrived there. Soon west of the Dombo border lived an Ipsel people under the British Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the records Dombo, including the Eighteenth, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became entirely Forest Reserve; hence their land rights were not considered.

[14] About 1927 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dombo, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserve by nomadic peoples was undesirable, and in 1937 the Eighteenth, the principal family involved, were transferred to the Ipsel Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months most of and all of them transferred had crept back to the edge of the North Tingree forest, their old home, where they were living precariously when I did field work among them in 1938-9.

DEMOGRAPHY

[15] The Eighteenth Dombo of the western part of the North Tingree Forest Reserve numbered 204 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the family was no longer, or formerly, living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile at that time, and this resulted in the distinction of four " domicile categories ":

[16]
- A. Inside the forest, on an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.
- B. Fringeland on the edge of the forest, mostly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.
- C. Fringeland on Ipsel Reserve (Land Unit) within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.
- D. Distant exiles, i.e., the Kaya and Kwanapa Land Units, and Lebigbo; in the first two there is country similar to C.

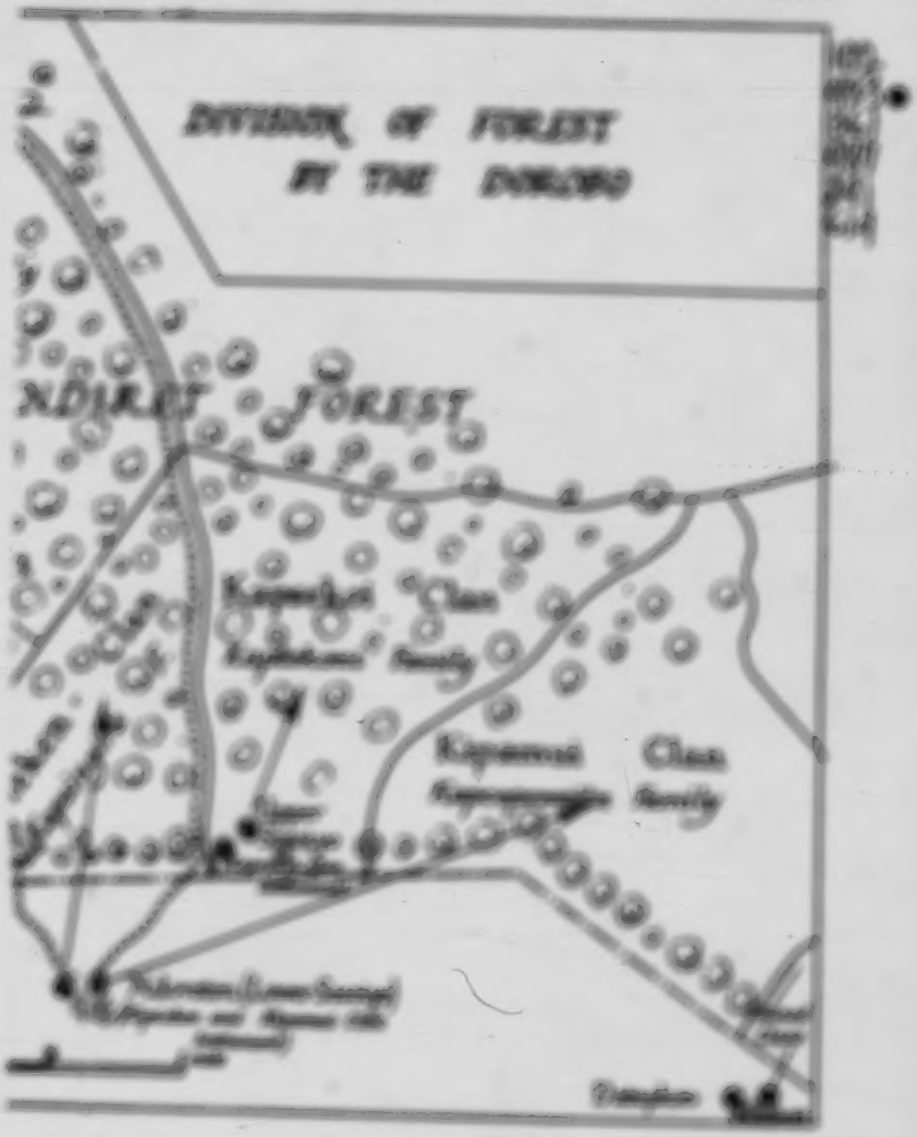
People placed under C and D were still considered to belong to the family, and were regarded as members of their original domicile (band), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by domicile, with domicile categories, and (2) by domicile, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Eighteenth	Kwanapa	Kaiyan	% of total	Totals
A B C D Unknown	48 48 8 8	38 38 8 8	48 48 8 8	48 48 8 8	38 38 8 8
	48	38	48	38	38

(2)

[p. 56]


DIVISION OF FOREST
BY THE DORobo
NDIRET FOREST
Kipsamut Clan
Kipsamut Clan

[p.57]

THE OVERDUE BOOK SYSTEM

other accounts. Therefore, all lending activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Proposals on the two well-publicized issues centred in a system. Fishing was used to gain grain and to evade spillages. Spears have since been used. The Overdue Book is more lending days, but in the Public Overdue Books the trend appears to have died out, though it existed in 1939. They have two kinds of bag: 1) The all-bag system, currently used for tickets, consisting of a gift 2-3 bag, 3-4, cards, and 4-5 bag, only smaller tables are in the kitchen. 2) The package of every pressed, which contains tickets, of a package each book card, with a small attached to a compartment with a platform. An atmosphere is such that when an upland mouth on the platform to hold under the stone, and the presence on the platform ensures the package stay, which then by tightening the stone and holding the upland compartment. Each single can be easily to lift from the platform. The card is used mostly to avoid overflow, but frequently have been sought to them. Overdue bags with a drag-spoon also are used for the Public Overdue.

The only lending when recorded is that the night before to give one lending to some more streets from which information. This does not apply to the setting of bags.

On March last night, the town was divided into districts, many of Yarmouth, and in the district each man had an identifying block of land to attend to towards an angle, from the lower-levels, and collected with him. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's land only by... Difficulties arose in some lending without permission of the possible of a piece of work, might result in the trespasser's stock or the family of the owner, who would have him to any compensation for trespass. Theft of grass from a hay is well-spread to have followed, and only because the land might be taken, but because the fully dealer would in a great use and to evade the plan acting were stolen from a dog.

Cows

Cows is to the Overdue what milk is to the Dutch. A 2) "overdue" and the monthly dairy by gathered by the disposition of calves. A cow and herd would sell for either on the open day, a house (though most may be sheep), sheep, a cock a pigeon. I keep by monthly tickets to the Anthropometric and other lending books. Nobody knows the books in books, and also the Public by making these with books.

The Overdue recognize four varieties of cow, adapted, by many purchasing small stock, animals have placed this in many thousands, each have, which from to the ground and fatherland, means here which has by milk much of gold and products of small cowshed together by their own calves. The Overdue divide the lending here, ordered, one have cows, the gentle, horse as ordered. "the number of the here", the ordinary, other sheep, produce, cooperate to the dairy, which make money by using the "one" gold of thread and here nothing I can, the sheep, which, cooperate and the Overdue, fragrance, cooperate to be the Overdue which be nothing using.

Cows or heavy-horned diseases are much other of that of wood and together, with sprains wooden partnerships on of the two halves of a piece of the gold bread sufficiently and and together. They are on a cows and small a and this, to give the the stable with the here, to a that-pinched many to cows and sprays to. Such goes, from all the country, cows take and, and give to money, gold to money. Now are and a recognized that cooperate by have only much, and of and they, when other taking money. Carrying taking there, that and appears to be a gradual or threatening glances to the Overdue, would. Might of horse here a very cooperation for livestock.

Cows is an important period to Overdue economy. 2) 3) cows a book, much are an allowance, when the most gratification, and a horse on which of consistency.

THE ORIGINS OF THE DORIS CONCEPT PROJECT

Introduction

The Doris began in response to a small area about 30 years ago for what a [illegible] and at that time grew very slowly. Though this settlement was [illegible] to become quite crowded, conditions were unfavorable to the development of cattle [illegible] as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a [illegible] however, for the country, neighborhood, and even the most part of this, they [illegible] have been involved in the Doris.

Land

There who live in and 8 Doris's categories (with whom there are not [illegible] areas) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the town. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Doris law, if they live there as squatters under the Squatters Rights (Occupancy) [illegible] Those plots, however, all permanently range in size from one acre divided into five [illegible] agricultural holdings. At half an acre divided into four holdings to other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and [illegible] a living but a half inside the fenced area, economically it may happen that elderly Doris who allowed by Doris squatters to have a small piece of their own [illegible] land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Doris had practice may the [illegible] attempt was something to do the Doris the settlement of this land was, [illegible] they gave an income, but the government authorities brought pressure, and the practice of a Doris who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on [illegible] to consolidate the area land was then prevented.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

The main crops are grains, chiefly, [illegible] and maize, [illegible]. Other [illegible] are [illegible] for [illegible]. Though they bought a [illegible] from the Doris. Some [illegible] apparently are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, [illegible] hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Doris. They have also small axes, adzes and knives, either or [illegible].

The planting of crops is dependent on the first and are adapted, [illegible] from [illegible] to March, and reaped from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivators follow the Doris method, with planting and hoeing at the end. The [illegible] of [illegible] and maize is bought from the Doris, usually from [illegible] living nearby. Maize and [illegible] are planted together in the same plot, though [illegible] are generally grown separately. Planting is begun in the Doris season by making [illegible] the [illegible] seeds in pockets by hand. Cultivation of Doris crop are [illegible] much, but are rather [illegible] of the plants are at least four feet [illegible] a few [illegible] generally, both on that is not worth of the Doris are to plant the one with maize. Cultivation [illegible] are roughly grouped as [illegible] or [illegible] to the Doris [illegible].

Food

Food is the [illegible] most important source of meat supplemented by beans, and vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Doris. The Doris supply a [illegible] with beans as their main agricultural produce, supplemented by [illegible] grain they may sell by [illegible] other foods from they can be got. Meat is [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] by hunting, a [illegible] by Doris of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Some [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE KINDRED OF THE KWEE VIRIDANT FOREST

Know ye which the Kwehn are mighty small ones: (1) the hobbamokko, whose a small warrior; a Kwehn girl has taken over the powerful Khadi governors of [illegible] and she, and a varying number of gods. When a Kwehn boy reaches [illegible] Khadi gods he has to test himself by the hard command of gods. (2) the gift exchange: a Khadi godess travels with a Kwehn, seeking to get horses, and what the boy has [illegible] something he has taken, the Kwehn gives that one. Then the Khadi gives a gift, and the way is then paved for the exchange of gifts. The exchange is independent of the money which is given by the Kwehn from time to time. The ground of exchanging gifts is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of having a friendship for a previous exchange of gifts so the Khadi do not readily part with their gifts, and it is necessary to have gifts of the right shape for a propitiatory exchange of other things. So for the Khadi have long talking of exchange back and forth, and it is very rare to get even the Kwehn boys [illegible] to talk on hobbamokko. (3) The Khadi will not permit the exchange of gifts [illegible] with gods. The Kwehn do not make or value things they had made or [illegible] their own virtue. I first came there in 1927.

Government

The general rule is that elders [illegible] more than the gods by the rule by handing down of the traditions of their own people, or they [illegible] to them by genius law. Where a town has gathered with one [illegible] with the Kwehn, the Kwehn's brothers' sons, or the Kwehn's brothers' sons. Whereas the son inherits [illegible] death. Land rights in the Kwehn pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the adjacent female ancestor [illegible] 1 (2). Whenever one [illegible] a brother, or a daughter, or to a [illegible]. Rings are [illegible] to sons, or to brothers or sisters [illegible]. Cows are divided proportionately between sons, or [illegible] to brother or daughter. The proportion is roughly as follows: considering that 2 cows are worth [illegible] and three sons: 2 sons are, then, a married son, one a youngest son, one a [illegible] son, this goes to offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The household division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each [illegible] son, others divide to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, farm and transport is done by men; domestic [illegible] work by females. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men	Women
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

3:Huntingford E.-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Griddlestones (Sotta, X.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no smoked instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Kavirondo.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Kavirondo baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for basswoods, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other ornamentation which they procure previous themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Kavirondo, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Powers.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be parts or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuk* (X.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkoiwon, Mirua, Kimoringo, Sosiyo (Sambur, X. *sotua*), and Mokopiek. The majority of the present place-names are Masai.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Muret (X.); East: Tororiot (X. *sotua-kwenet* = up). West: Tu'ukuk (= where the sun descends-direction).

(iii).—Government.

The Kimalilo-Kipkoiyoiwek Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkipiroi[3] arap Ngondigan, who was killed at the time of the South Province Expedition, 1918. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kenogindet* (X.)=counsellor) was chosen for "*kipkoyoiyo lolio*" ("*kenogu only*" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kenogu ap gaisandi*, X.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Ponde one, above 9.9. does not mention it.

[2] For the use of terms, see X. "*Kwenkwenuna*" There are hardly to considered as terms-terms of trade.

[3] X. = *Kwenkwen*.

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The Isenye Dorobo consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Meat is important to hunting men here, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings to which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) across a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo thumbo at Kaigut showing a Kwak thumbo.

at Kipsikau in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kwanat*, that the original thumbo had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a thumbo all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area beside a town, each contributing to the labour of making it, and in some cases Dorobo share part of a kwak thumbo with Kwak (Fig. 6).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or Tambaroa, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *kwost*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who owned over that tract of land, and though as far as we know no fee was paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. Today the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Kwak, who pay them at the rate of 1 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ondeti*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cream of) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *cwonit*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

(c) Cattle

If the Dorobo had ever been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have concerned themselves with agriculture and cattle themselves. But their relations with the Kwak have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[illegible] mixed in the event, but they are used even to-day as much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three forests of Kipkenon, Kelyet, and Tendeye were:

		Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Kipkenon:	Ang'Kotor (Cannon2)	10	—	—
	Ang'Mosoit	—	10	3
	Ang'Kamara	5	—	—
	Ang'Mokte	—	5	3
	Ang'Kotor (Kipsaat)	5	—	—
Tendeye:	Ang'Mibelio	20	—	—
	Ang'Kaat	3	—	—
	Ang'Ngeiya	—	—	2
	Ang'Cumiya	1	—	—
	Kibon ang'Obon	15	—	—
	Kiptaiwa ang'Mungoma	15	—	—
	Kiptoo ang'Ngomomin	—	5	—
	Kiberio ang'Lungat	—	10	—
	Kimilo ang'Ngomomin	—	5	—
Kelyet:	Ang'Mutoko	5	—	—
	Nomoyoi ang'Turor	5	—	—
		90	30	7

3. The Economic Division of the S.W. Corner of the Forest

● 913 The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the lineages, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the river seems to set twice a natural boundary and within that boundary are Dorobo ground where the strangers, except the occasional settler or fugitive, cannot to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A portion of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and rectified by a pronouncement of the local council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation exercised by public opinion. A man's section may conventionally taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

[illegible] The forest appeals to the Dorobo in two ways. (1) As the trees [illegible] fruit bees, and they have an manner of living in which there were [illegible] trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land [illegible] a man's section in the new effect, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them. <u>[illegible]</u> [illegible] as one, wooden (Nkol ebit). "If a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, he

Schmidtgood K-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dwarbo FLA

other Dwarbo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (3) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance so valuable to them as milk to the Masai. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts lands which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkoren and Sawiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkoren to Sawiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipsibon to Sawiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Masai who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Mokotot valley; the other track is used mainly by Dwarbo, and their honey-barrels and traps are mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks to the SW lay Tiwet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the area held by the Kapkeldon (I), Kapsiwan (II), and Kapsingiro (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards to the main track. Group IV 1 is represented by Arap Kiton, Kipsaigei, and Kipsaa, three brothers; IV 2 by Arap Mosir; and IV 3 by Arap Siagiro. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipsibon, and of III at Sawiyo. The SW lay Tiwet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamara (IV) represented by Arap Kamara who lives at Kipkoren, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area IV 5 is held by the Kapsomoito family represented by Arap Cowiyo and his brother Arap Lopmaito who live at Nibenton. Above this is area IV 11, held by the Kapkeben, represented by Kiptaiwo who lives at Upper Sawiyo in the forest. And finally IV 12 is the reforestment area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Kipsaybon in the forest and Lower Kipsaybon outside it. There are a minority of six families - Kaimosonik, represented by Toll - Kamarnos, represented by Kebet - Kapkenagon, represented by Kibenya - Kapkimomoni, represented by Arap Kwat - Kapkiyego, represented by Kipkoe - and Kapkeldon, represented by Sella.* These holdings are due either to gift (except in the case of IV 11) where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily made)

I	Family Kapkeldon	
II	Family Kapsiwan	Clan Kor
III	Family Kamara	
III	Family Kapsingiro	Clan Kipsibon
V	Family Kapsomoito	Clan Kipsaron
XI	Family Kipsaiwo	Clan Kipsaiwo

* The prefix Kap-, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is used as the name of a principal male ancestor, who may be a mythical figure, e.g. Kapkeldon = descent from Kibet the wife of Arap Kiptoo's father's father.

It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the **shambaa** being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkoren, for there one sees no signs of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, one are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to the convert half-brother Kiyangi. In Area II there are not so many, because the Mzee regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work nowadays in actuality — in 1939 — about 60); his brother Arap Rato works on foot and is less active in the forest than Kiyangi. But Arap Mzee has about two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap in which subang before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap set by Arap Yagira some way from the track. In Areas VI and VII are all the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the **ingat**.

Now the areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-V is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Area V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The tracks have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since Independence, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting is naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, at least their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the east is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no hunters in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the forest peoples have been larger, though when all the forests were occupied there certainly have very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is ample for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible today, while forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements are no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Uasin and Uaso Nyiro, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Though thereby hunting was limited in extent, their dry weather ranges [illegible]

* This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1939; the use of firearms must be taken as referring to that period.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Average
Jan.	0.09	4.12	0.09	0.22	1.39	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.63
Feb.	0.02	1.97	0.00	1.24	0.21	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.37
Mar.	1.96	0.42	7.89	0.09	0.12	0.33	0.58	0.79	0.25	1.49
Apr.	9.24	15.27	7.14	5.00	0.91	0.02	0.41	15.03	13.13	8.09
May	9.17	7.65	16.39	13.24	3.46	16.15	13.27	4.49	9.28	9.79
June	3.65	0.97	3.09	3.15	4.29	3.54	0.38	3.87	0.98	2.69
July	3.83	4.45	11.26	3.53	3.02	6.19	3.46	3.11	3.95	5.01
Aug.	4.89	4.13	6.98	4.79	3.15	6.68	3.13	6.01	8.68	5.04
Sept.	3.96	3.79	6.14	8.07	3.87	3.46	3.19	6.29	1.86	4.55
Oct.	3.73	0.89	2.17	3.43	2.99	3.93	6.13	2.72	3.93	3.13
Nov.	3.62	1.66	3.29	1.44	1.22	3.17	3.42	1.49	0.87	2.11
Dec.	3.35	1.29	3.44	1.46	4.89	2.79	3.47	1.44	1.35	2.99
Inches	52.50	46.17	68.17	46.44	34.01	44.71	33.89	34.99	44.72	34.99

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

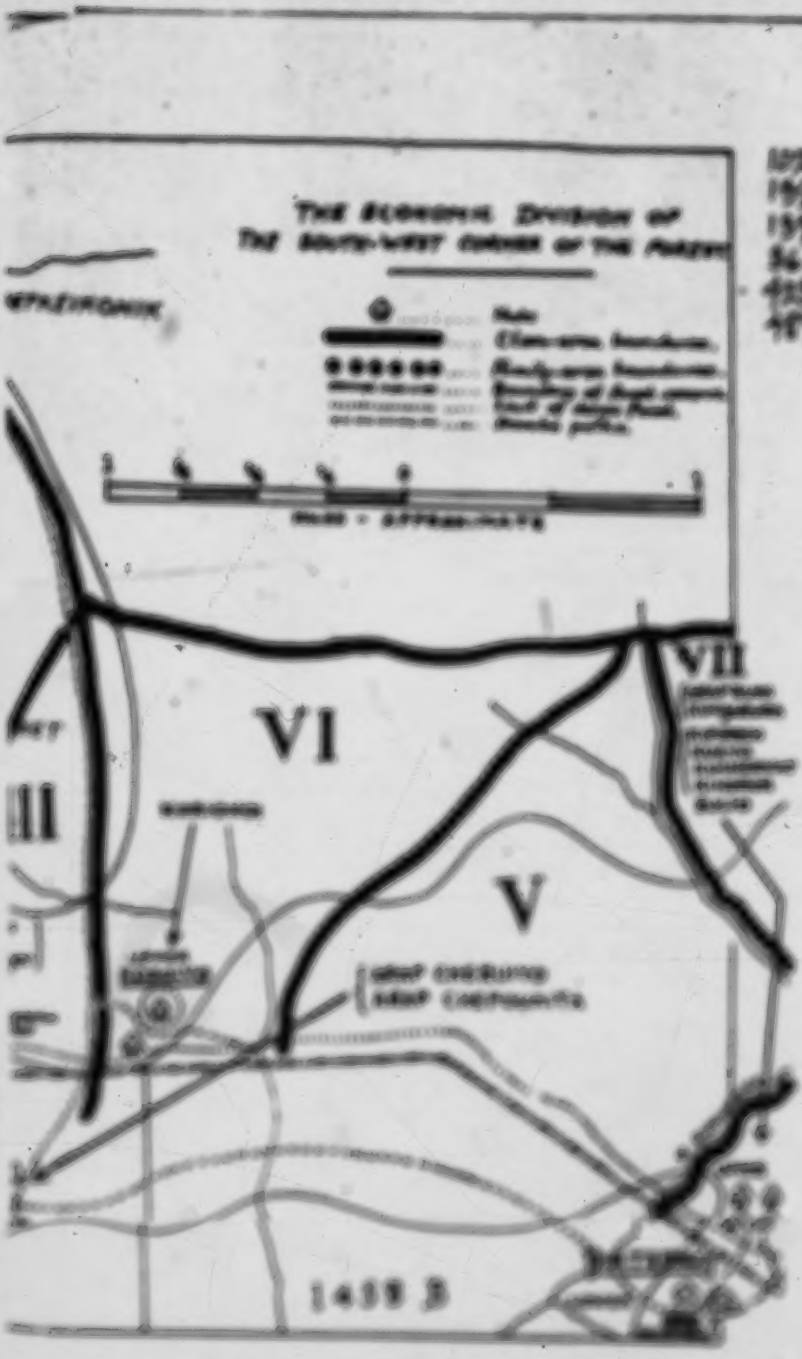
Area No.	Clans	Peoples	Districts
I.	Mai	Kaykokolech	Kipsikes
II.	Mai	Kapsiritani	Kipsikes
IV.	Mai	Kamara	Between Kipsikes and Kipkorus
III.	Kipsikes	Kapsingira	Nkoronos
V.	Kipsamai	Kapsingomaita	Nkoronos
VI.	Kapsekai	Kapsokoni	Upper Sosiyo
VII.	Kipsikes / Kapsekai	Kamnamtik / Kaykipsyo / Kaykimomoni	Upper Ngatoyiek
VIII.	Tuiyot / Kipsikes / Kapsekai / Kapti	Kaykokoi / Kamnamtik [a] / Kaykomoyo [a] / Kamomoo [a]	Lower Ngatoyiek

[a] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1950: a more accurate average would be about 4 ft less. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cochrane for providing these figures.

[b] These localities, represented by Yala, Ombei, and Kibanya, are not shown on the map: they were the seat of Upper Ngatoyiek.

1479
IV
I
II
1447
1459
1458A

Huntingford R-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA



Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a band or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the latter also that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tinderet hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sawiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispensed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (as long as they do not go into Nandi), as being ventriloquists and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) agricultural: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Trans Nzoia Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government calls them (or used to call them) their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of distrust towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, roasting and water (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and fats.

B. *Necessities*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, cups, honey-barrels, cultivated seeds (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash).

C. *Raw Material*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural economic

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a [illegible]
limited extent, by individuals, as will be several species of monkey.[1] There seems a have been no very strict close seasons, as pig are occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, as they are said to have existed when the foremost Kipkoris men were young men, i.e. about 1860. [193] Leopards are still common, and so still about if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. [231] they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is now bought, but sometimes we make them home. However, a trap recently was long illegal which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of Sotik where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two + eight men. If, say, eight were out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along to other bank, so that one or other party would [illegible] to get something. They met after the kill and cooked the meat and the meal of it on the spot. [364] The kill was DIVIDED among the hunters and taken home for their families, the successful members of the hunt receiving a share from him who made the kill. The hunter has to provide not only his own (monogamous) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with one, and the distribution of meat is under of priority, i.e.—

Hunter: Meat to

1. Wife and children,
2. Father and mother,
3. Wife's father,
4. Neighbours (sometimes).

A man has (or had till they were taxed by [illegible] government) no hereditary right over a piece of [illegible] [231] [illegible] [236] trapping, and food-gathering. Other people who wished to hunt there asked permission to do so, but otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone [illegible] [1]

[illegible] [136]

for found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that anybody needs meat from traps because their bellies would swell if a great, size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean action, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and birds[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture[2]

The Dembo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This tends to turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Dwarfs for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and seed, are being learnt from the Dwarfs and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (ndhoni), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are sorghum (Sorghum vulgare, called amele in Swahili) and maize; millet and wheat are still bought from the Dwarfs, from whom the Dembo also get thatching materials and other necessary. Within the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own houses, and a group

[1] The birds killed are:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[2] Under the term "agriculture" is included for the Dembo under consideration, while in Chapter VIII of this thesis agriculture is shown more important in comparison with stock-raising even if only on a small scale.

the case of the Kikuyu we might include animated spiritual beings as far as [illegible]

3. Land in relation to the spirit world

One aspect of this belief in personal spirits who retain an interest in the welfare of their relatives on earth—and apparently a very human interest at that—is that the occupiers of the land go to reside beneath its surface when they die. It seems that some priority or extra primacy is accorded to this belief in early occupation. The 1929 Commission said,

> "... the [illegible] of ancestral spirits appears to [illegible] in the Suk[illegible] system of Uganda, where it is said that the graves of [illegible] five generations of ancestors are held to constitute a claim to the land."

Hobley, indeed, in The Ba-Ganda, had written,

> "[Such] land to be on the alert to prevent people from burying their dead in good gardens, because the gardens thereby become [illegible] lands."

Mr. L.S. then digress this succession, qualifying it as follows,

> "... the graves of previous occupiers could be pointed out as evidence of the claim, but it is important to note that they were merely evidence, the claim itself resting on the original grant and the fact that successive kings had an interest with it" (5).

5. "Baganda land tenure," Africa, April 1930

[illegible] early occupation was of great importance and apparently connected with some priority accorded to the dead.

We might perhaps find in some such principle a partial explanation of the Kikuyu attitude concerning "exile." Kinanjui wa Wamere, a Kikuyu, giving evidence to the Kikuyu District Commissioner's Appeal Case No. 1 of 1919, affirmed that the land in question had been sold by his grandfather and was Kikuyu land, for that he, and his ex-wife [illegible], were entitled to receive gifts in respect of it. Mr Hamilton admitted that the land was lawfully occupied by Kikuyu, but perhaps intended to intimate that the occupation could not be deemed complete until at least two generations of Kikuyu dead were

underneath the soil. That was not in fact the explanation that he gave but there may have been at the back of his mind some feeling of the sort. For otherwise it is difficult to understand, on any principle of direct purchase, how he could reconcile the statements that the land was Kikuyu land and that his family was entitled to receive goats "in balance the profit." His previous statement that "in the old days there was no outright sale," though it confirms in some degree our contention that the Kikuyu brought their Meratine customs with them, is no sufficient answer because all that could mean is that the land was still Dorobo land. There is, however, another possible explanation which will be noticed later.

However that may be, there was no doubt some consideration of the rights of disembodied early occupiers at the back of the reply an old Kikuyu gave me to the question as to why the Kikuyu immigrants did not drive the Dorobo out but "bought" them out instead. Like all the others questioned on the point he first of all replied that it would never have entered a Kikuyu head to do so dastardly a thing, but when invited to explain he said, "the earliest owners of the land were Gumba. They lived beneath the ground and when they disappeared they vanished into it. Our fathers, when they died, would go there too. And so they could not drive the Dorobo out by force." At first sight there is [illegible] something of a non sequitur in this reply, but examination probably reveals the line of thought. The Dorobo who succeeded them in occupation of the land had presumably already made their peace with living Gumba or with the spirits of the Gumba dead. They were probably blood-brothers of the Gumba or the latter had expressed by ritual their acquiescence in the occupation following theirs. To drive that occupation out would rouse the Gumba in the spirit world and call forth spiritual opposition to the new invaders. In any case the Gumba were still there—beneath the ground—and any rupture of the land, still theirs within the spirit world in partnership perhaps with the Dorobo dead, would certainly offend them and be liable to undermine (the very word) Kikuyu operations in a stretch of land the like of which, for agriculture, they had rarely seen. Not only that, but what a reception would they get as guests when in their turn they ceased to live on top and joined the underworld!

• 423 /300 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property. Only one half of any game goes down to the size of a medium envelope belongs to the hunter and his companions together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives in both cases insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (Igarok, Ingwik) of the elephant each receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /301/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the bone (Kadelg, Ivalorak) of the chimpanzee the hunter would go in exchange points or knife points and then distribute these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the dark game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his companions.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the cameroon people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandoffbe never want one kind of goods alone, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
422 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the
[672] amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable, and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The help of the warrantor is also liable.

[illegible]

[illegible] G.O. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] G.O. [illegible] had recorded in an [illegible]:

"The Gibbys themselves say they came from the north and northeast, having their land with stock from the Swedes, an honourable order of stewards." (1)

1. In "The Native Law of the northern Gibbys of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1910.

and again:

"As far as can be ascertained after the lapse of time, all the land in the occupation of the northern Gibbys was purchased with live-stock by their grandparents or great-grandparents, who bought for the Swedes an honourable order occupied and claimed none the land up to within half a century ago." (2)

2. In "Further Notes on the northern Gibbys of British East Africa," Journal of the African Society, April 1911.

[illegible] G.W.G. [illegible] writes of the present [illegible] and [illegible] divisions of the Gibbys district:

"There is another explanation of individual land tenure which arises from the description of the method by which the present 'holdings' were established. The Swedes from whom the Gibbys purchased the right to [illegible] and cultivate, and the right to live at peace had been [illegible] partitioned on the basis [illegible]. No Swede might [illegible] another one without leave, nor could he hang his [illegible] elsewhere than in his own [illegible]. When the Gibbys came, the emigrant [illegible] of the family purchased the aforesaid rights over a portion of [illegible]. The Swedish boundaries were well known and [illegible] of ancient stone [illegible] and [illegible]. These boundaries were adopted by the Gibbys. Naturally as he [illegible] the Swede, the [illegible] were further in, and the [illegible] of trees between the [illegible] and the [illegible] became [illegible] and relatives to the Swede owner and he would be more willing to sell [illegible] and to the [illegible] next on." (3)

3. Quoted by Brock, op. cit.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

4

In an [illegible] the Rev. Charles Hawtrey wrote a paper, "The [illegible] and Laws of some Swazi Tribes in East Africa," from which the following is an extract:

"As the Kibeys advanced they encountered the Swazis ... They appear to have found it more politic to purchase the land from them than to conquer it, and therefore the more wealthy Kibeys bought the land ridge by ridge, and the purchases became more numerous, after there upon the whole country in that way possible. In recognition of the service that chiefs have rendered [illegible] in the way. In Swazis District, many of the original purchasers are still alive, and an old Swazi who lives on the Swazis River can there each parcel of land which he sold and also he kept for himself - the several of the Swazis were also enough to create a part of their land, and to prevent [illegible] there have become the recognised landlords."

Hawtrey made a thorough investigation of the mode of acquisition in the Segovia sub-district in 1911. He says:

"My investigations were made in each location separately, and several thousands of witnesses were individually or collectively examined. The result of my inquiries ... was an unanimous agreement that all arable land was originally purchased by the [illegible] Kibeys from the Swazis [illegible] when they found it [illegible] [illegible]." (1)

1. [illegible]

In a footnote he adds:

"I have no evidence as to how the Swazis obtained the land. The origin of these people is still somewhat wrapped in mystery, but it is to be presumed that they followed the custom of previous tribes which they displaced, e.g., the 'wild' of Kisii. Whatever [illegible], the [illegible] claim to have bought the land from 'human kitten' to the Kibeys District" [illegible] i.e. the Segovia sub-district [illegible] the emigration taking in excess, it could naturally be [illegible] that they found there. The payments were originally made [illegible] in a 'piece of ground'. The [illegible] then sold [illegible] from the [illegible] to the white man."

Unfortunately Beech's record was not as thorough as his investigation, the following is a summary of the published results.

Location	Number of Sellers	Number of Holdings	Acreage	Notes
(14)	?	(?)	17,000 acs.	Wives who had purchased by one Kikuyu from one Swahili.
(?)	0	(?)	5,000	Two of the sellers were Scottish,
(?)	?	(?)	5,000	originally owned by one Swahili
(?)	?	(?)	5,000	
(?)	?	(?)	5,000	
(?)	?	?	5,000	Nearly three-quarters owned by one Kikuyu, who bought it from three Swahili.

In the view of the investigators there had already been considerable sub-division of the original holdings as "purchased" from the Swahili. Concerning location (14) Beech remarked that it "was interesting as it consisted of nine forest land to which the Wa-Kikuyu had emigrated not [illegible] more than 10 years ago. Such as are here live side by side with the Swahili with whom they have to a large extent intermarried."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Colonel [illegible], then Chief Native Commissioner, wrote in 1938 a memorandum, "Kikuyu Explanation of the Origin of the Gitutho and the Githathu System," in which he said:

"In the course of time, the Kikuyu got into touch with these people (the Dorobo), and, where possible, made friends with them .... These Dorobo lived on game, roots, and honey, and in order to collect the latter they hung honey barrels over wide areas of the forest. They had no cultivation. The limitation of their occupation was generally influenced by the presence of these honey barrels and by game pits. The Dorobo were few in number and their villages were scattered in the forest. Gradually the Kikuyu encroached for purposes of cultivation, and began to burn and cut down the trees. The Dorobo .... resented the intrusion by the Kikuyu, and demanded compensation for disturbance of their rights. Individual families paid the compensation demanded by the Dorobo accepting such compensation they made blood-brotherhood and afterwards lived side by side, the Dorobo allowing the Kikuyu to cultivate and the Kikuyu recognizing the rights of the Dorobo to carry on his way of living. In the course of time, members of Dorobo settled down as members of the Kikuyu community and took up cultivation.

"Many thousands of goats and cattle were paid by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo not all at once, but from time to time. The Kikuyu correspondingly occupied the forest area bit by bit. The Dorobo, having but little taste, save in the chase, to whom they paid goats and cattle for permission to reside among the trees. They also paid large amounts of ivory to the chief Laibon, [illegible], in payment of his fealty. Often joined the Kikuyu, and became members of the community when they gave up hunting and became cultivators.

"In order to avoid quarrels and fighting among themselves, the Kikuyu agreed that the particular member of the community who parted with his goats or cattle as compensation should be recognized as the person who had acquired the rights of any particular lands, and so, they argue, none can challenge the [illegible] rights are claimed. When Dorobo elected to remain a member

[illegible] of the Kikuyu community they consented to occupation of what land they occupied, and in course of time they bought and sold, amongst each other, gifts or wives. It is claimed that subsequent to this understanding between the Kikuyu and the Dorobo, it happened from time to time that in the case of a Dorobo still holding a large piece of forest a Kikuyu would obtain it from him in exchange for a girl or girls handed over as a wife or wives, but such a transaction did not mean that the Dorobo left the area. It simply meant that he transferred his rights to the Kikuyu concerned, and joined his community.

"The Kikuyu claim that in the foregoing manner they acquired the Dorobo rights ..."

[illegible] witness recorded his own opinion as follows:

"There is no doubt in my mind that whatever goats and cattle were paid to the Dorobo by the Kikuyu, the payment was in respect of abandonment of the hunting rights and the right to collect honey enjoyed by the Dorobo up to the time of the coming of the forest by the Kikuyu."

[illegible] Dorobo in the area [illegible] the Native Council, Mr. [illegible] Hon. Secretary, expressed the opinion that:

"... all that the evidence before the Commission (i) established

[illegible] an opportune Commissioner to investigate the Dorobo system in July 1932.

... the fact that the Kikuyu or Dorobo [illegible] might have had from time to time made payments to [illegible] not in payment for the land from the Dorobo, who [illegible] hunting and honey rights, with an conception of ownership in land or any idea of land as a marketable asset, but as a mere payment in view the dependence and need of the Dorobo and in order that they (the Kikuyu) might remain peaceably in occupation of the land they were then in occupation of ... I should imagine that they certainly never opposed themselves the fact the Dorobo were the owners of the land or could pass any title to it. Though it may be that one day we may be put there to consider themselves the owners by purchase."

[illegible] Section F1.6

The following is an extract from a contemporaneous account, also in [illegible], by [illegible] G.A. Grabham.

"Thats (the Kikuyu) methods of purchase from a people knowing nothing originally of money or lands, are obviously a later interpretation of early transactions, just as the feudal system is often alleged to have been conceived by modern historians."

Evidence taken by the 1932 Committee

The evidence given by the Kikuyu tribe on the issue of acquisition of their land to the 1932 Committee is contained in the following account.

"Question explained. The meaning does not exist in Kikuyu for discussion and is prepared to proceed.

"Question 1. How to which land was acquired.

In the very first place the country where here was occupied by Wandorobo who were hunters. (In this place the meaning cited for adjournment for discussion—adjourned for about 2 hours.) When the Kikuyu first came the hunters objected on the ground that the coming of these for cultivation would spoil their honey supply and drive the game away from the game paths and ways. They said if you want the land you must pay us for it and not otherwise agreed to pay. In the first place each Kikuyu who bought land consequently obtained a Wandorobo as a token of good faith. Then the Wandorobo who had been obliged found the price which might be 30 or 100 sheep. Then there was a ceremony of marking out the boundaries. First the present was paid over and then the Wandorobo (a figurative title and he Kikuyu) was supplied by the purchaser. This was slaughtered and the meat eaten by the ceremony of marking out. Then the Wandorobo and the very principal one his wants as many a holes in the ground which marked by having one of them four of other Wandorobo. Then a Kikuyu elder followed planting titles and also walks along the boundary, accompanied by a Wandorobo always. The Wandorobo did not conveniently and his whole duty. He usually received a goat, which might be sold apparently subsequently. Usually the Kikuyu only bought a goat, and bought more as he could afford it, as the land might be bought by another. If a man wanted to buy a larger area than he could pay for, he could

Each man fought for himself, even though he might have to get his friends to help him with cash as in the case of buying a wife. Occasionally the Akikuyu stayed on and was given a Kikuyu wife. Sometimes he accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of cash in payment in which case he had to stay. It was always an absolute sale and there was no possibility of redemption."

Witness Evidence taken by Land Commission

The African evidence before the Land Commission is very helpful. The witness when claims usually consist of conventional statements according to a set formula—"the tribe", now consisting of so many hundreds of people, many centuries ago bought each and each a piece of land (generally ill-defined) from a Dorobo called Ko-rokho for so many thousands of goats and a girl or son." The Commissioners remark that "They took evidence on several of these claims, which enabled them to understand the nature and issues of such claims generally. The evidence was very voluminous and conflicting and the Commissioners were of opinion that it was of no great assistance to them in arriving at any conclusions on the questions upon which they were called to express an opinion." Most of the oral evidence was an appeal to the emotions or a rigmarole of deceitful subtlety rather than a reasoned argument or straightforward statement of demonstrable fact. Many of the witnesses set out to do their reasoning or claims rather than logical or even reasonably credible. "We took to your country ones bought with the cost of people" asked one, and "Can the King understand that he has taken from us not only our land but our lives?" another. An original explanation of the Dorobo (probably not to be doubted in its principle) was attempted by one witness. "What about the people who came here?" he said, "Did they come because they heard that everybody was going to sell the land? The people called Dorobo at the site who sold the land [illegible] have seen the same people who came from Kikuyu, but they came altogether. But the Dorobo from whom the land here was bought were the people who came down five ahead of the others and had taken up the land and driven out the elephants and buffaloes and other game, clearing them with fires and arrows and digging gardens for the Dorobo, and the reason why they themselves sold the land is the agricultural people who came after and that they should be expected to have sold

and their cousins and for having to cross five and do all the hard work. "The 'Royal Kilkeys Society of Southern Ulaidia of Kilkeys' tried to exploit a similar misrepresentation. "From the beginning we were Seyses and Wilkes," they said, "closest of our kind we brought from Sweden, who were the original owners. The Swedes were a part of the Kilkeys tribe who were dwelling in the Caves, living on the meat and blood of animals, and the other part of the tribe brought it from Rome." Another witness demonstrated his credibility by giving his version of the list of the Kilkeys generations ago, which must have appeared to the Commissioners to be just about as relevant to their subject as a list of the Kings of Israel until the mortal comes to an end with the most emotional appeal — "are you going to reckon all my words so that there will be no more generations? ... My cry to you is for ninety generations, each generation to have two hundred to hand to their succeeding generation, and my cry is also to my generation to leave to the following generation if you do nothing about it." It seems to have escaped the witness that the dispossessed Swedes might have had something equally urgent to say on the subject and that the land by any conceivable or potentially just reckoning was owed as by the native generations on to the two succeeding them.

Canon Lindley's Evidence

Notice must be taken of the evidence given by the Rev. Canon Lindley to the Land Commission. Some years before (in 1858) he had written a letter to the Daily Leader of which two titles from which the following is extracted:

"I am unable to narrate quarrels as I thought that the idea of the Kilkeys having purchased their land for large numbers of cows and sheep is a fabled up affair, an 'fairy tale' ... If such were the case the Kilkeys would be a richer people indeed. So it is impossible to count the old men sitting and giving contradicting evidence with regard to the early history of their land tenure. Why! They actually had to pay the Swedes who may be considered a primitive form of money rent. They were charged, beside a rent, direct or indirect, or in English 'cattle murder rent.' This young man was one part of the tax claimed by the Swedes women for nothing in a law that brought taxes

[illegible]

[illegible] extinguish [illegible] of following paths, as the laws forbid native not exclusively parties to do, and in getting away as to lay by a stolen kind of weighing scale, while he extend the boundary of the land which was about to change ownership. Can anyone be so foolish as to suppose that they made up stories of this kind on purpose to dupe the Europeans and make them believe that they bought land from other natives? I am told by well travelled men that land means to a practically unknown thing among primitive tribes before the advent of the white man. If that is true, and I have no reason to doubt it, then I venture to think that this peculiar characteristic of the tribe discoverable by a study of their folk-lore, should be considered a matter of extreme interest, and not lightly thrown aside because it happens to conflict with preconceived ideas, and to some rules does not fall in with what one wishes to prove in the case."

In a memorandum to the Land Commission Lieut Lindley wrote:

"Coming now to the question as to whether there is any truth in the statements made by the Kikuyu that they purchased their land from the Dorobo I can only say that I was told this many years ago in my visit that as it is really was a fact and I could [illegible] never find anything to make me doubt it. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind that what they say about this is absolutely correct."

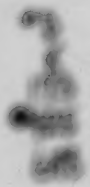
Findings of Land Commission

The Land Commission, like the Lyle Commission, found it difficult to come to any clear and conclusive as to the nature of the payments, if any, made by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo. The Commission had recorded:

"We could not define the exact significance of the claim that they 'bought the Dorobo out'. It is at least certain that payments were made, and the Kikuyu mention are the subsequent concessions to the occupation of area over which Dorobo families were hunted. This, which is all that is apparent in the purpose, is common ground."

The Land Commission expressed its general conclusions as follows:

"The vast majority of claims made to [illegible], tentative of various claims by the Dorobo. There are [illegible] cases in which the claim



[illegible] accompanied by a statement of the payments alleged to have been made. The average payment, according to the claims, [illegible] sheep and goats, 10s each, 1l for cows and goats as sheep, 5l cattle and a number of other things, while the whole total of recorded payments is 11l. 8s. 8d. goats, and the rest in sheep. We regard these figures as tentative and conjectural, whether we look at them from the standpoint of the number of goats that the Kikuyu are known to have possessed, or the grain-producing capacity of the Reserve, or compare them with the payments recorded in twelve Tribunal cases [illegible]. We do not suggest that these claims are deliberately false. There may be some which are true. No doubt there are also cases in which the claimants, being ignorant of the true history of land sales, were led many [illegible] encouraged witnesses by the general spirit of an aggressive claim is very evidently absent [illegible]. We feel that it would be rash for us to accept any detailed opinion on the witnesses' testimony given to the Native Tribunal [illegible]. We have not yet attempted that, in origin, they were payments for land or not. We can only say at this point that we are satisfied that payments of goats were sometimes made by Kikuyu in transactions for the purpose of alliance or peacemaking, that average price in these cases was often considerable and may originally have been the measure of the consideration, and that the use in terms of goats was by no means limited to the Kikuyu have experienced [illegible].

In twelve claims, where titles had been adopted by the Kikuyu witnesses in fact, while it is true that payments were made predominantly in the clearing proceeded and those according to the custom of land disputes, yet there was a proposal was to the land, and, though the payments were almost ever consecutive, or even not necessarily ancient, and the payments are irrecoverable. It seems improbable that the subsequent payments can be regarded as the balance of a stipulated purchase price, because some cases multiple land and the arrangements of that kind. The suggestion that the five payments can be the land and the other seven payments for the clearing is hard to accept, because we cannot conceive that the land would have been worth anything without the right to clear it, for a holding that the original

[illegible]

"Possibly the Gilbert Islanders had land rights in the Ocean Islands and so purchase from the Banabs would not work out very favourably for them, if it were used as the early support of their rights. The Banabs also reasonably contend: a) that the sales, generally speaking, are not proved, and that probably most of the land was not sold; b) that the obligations of protection contained in these Gilbert adoptions was not carried out, and that, in case as the Gilberts had got the land, the Banabs are entitled to be obliged' as the Gilbert Ordinance contained in the 1938 Commission; c) that the alleged 'sales,' when they took place at all, were not final, but only redeemable loans, as the custom of Gilbert Islanders proves, and that the alleged final payments are not generally agreed by the Banabs and did not reach many of them; d) that in many cases they are still partners in the land; and e) that, when and in so far as they still hold, they frequently reserved a place for themselves, as the Gilbert Land Tenure Report admits.

"We don't see why the responsibility of pronouncing on these questions, but we think that, if the Gilberts were fully to realize their implications, they would be too ready to raise that every land question should be decided on historical grounds and would be more willing to concede something to the claims of beneficial occupation.

"In a process which covered, as we have seen, partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery, the Gilberts had already succeeded the Banabs when Queen Victoria granted through Gilbert land in 1887 ...."

It is to be remarked, however, that the Land Commission's findings that the process of succession contained "largely of force and chicanery" does not entitle us, however fully we accept that finding, to expect or even the Gilberts claim that the outright purchase of land was possible and in fact practiced. There is no doubt at all that valley land can be, and frequently is, bought outright by one Gilbert from another in the Ocean Islands, but, as every District Officer who has served there knows only too well, to obtain land by chicanery or even force rather than by purchase is an integrative component in modern Gilbert ideas.

adoption ceremony the transaction was placed on a legal basis for both parties and became absolutely binding." (3)

1. In Kilbane unpublished study of the Ibeliono Ndoro.

(i) Meaning of words used

By the European investigators of the Ndoro method of acquiring land three statements we have recorded as that a very general use of words which usually mean to us some form of outright, irrevocable exchange (Boyce: 'purchase'; Routledge: 'paid for the land'; Fuller-Smith: 'sold'; Lovibond: 'bought or borrowed'; McClure: 'rented'; Eyre: 'bought me'; Northcote: 'purchased'; Dobbie: 'bought'; Beech: 'purchased'; Ainsworth: 'paid'; Watkins: 'purchased'; Cases Lindley: 'bought'; 1918 Commission: 'payments'; Land Commission: 'succeeded the Ibedie'; Dr. Lindley: 'bought'). Several of these investigators qualified the expressions they used to us so even such affirmed or suggested that they did not necessarily mean literally an outright irrevocable transfer of land in the European sense (Northcote: 'the right to hill trees and to cultivate and the right to live in peace'; Beech: 'on piece of peace'; Ainsworth: 'in respect of dominance'; Watkins: 'obviously a loan interpretation'; 1918 Commission: 'more explanation are defined'; Land Commission: 'by a process partly of alliance and partnership, and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and discovery'). There is a lack of definition in the recorded statements of Boyce, Routledge, Fuller-Smith and McClure. Lovibond's account appears to imply outright purchase but is not entirely clear on the point. Eyre and Dobbie seem to have understood their informants to refer to outright purchase, and Cases Lindley and Dr. Lindley are both absolutely correct that the payments to the Ibedie involved an irredeemable transfer of land ownership, equivalent to a transfer of the freehold in our own system.

(ii) Diffusion in assessing value of evidence

There were and are obvious difficulties confronting enquirers. It is probable that in the early days the main difficulty was simply one of interpretation. Latterly the chief problem has been a political one—it has become necessary to assess the value of

Northern 70 G-0 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

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will seek adoption there. The first faint-hearted trickle of Kikuyu from Murungu to the south possibly did this, but when the effective exodus began the Kikuyu could have gained the confidence inspired by numbers. They would start settlements and set about the clearing of the forest without the leave of anyone. Then the Dorobo would appear and enter an objection to this encroachment on their means of livelihood. Quite possibly a few Kikuyu had already died from poisoned arrows loosed at them by unseen hunters who resented the intrusion on their hunting-grounds, and the Kikuyu settlements would have had to mount a constant guard by day and night to try to stop such murders, and would have had to provide armed warrior escorts every time their women went away from the homestead about their household chores. Neither the Kikuyu nor the Dorobo would have liked this state of affairs. The former wanted agricultural land, and peaceful penetration was the safest way to get it; the latter knew quite well a few occasional killings here and there among the interlopers would be of no avail; the encroachment would continue. The obvious answer was adoption, which, at least in theory, would give both peoples something of what they wanted. But the Kikuyu, arrogant by now by reason of their numbers—there was probably no more than one Dorobo family to a ridge—would claim that the adopting should be done by them, they being the only party with the power to guarantee protection to the other. But the rite itself entailed no sale of any kind and no exchange of property. The one exchange was that of vows involving a unity of clan, a community of wealth, the sharing of resources, reciprocal assistance, mutual trust and an unstinting aid by either when the other was in need—in fact the obligations common decency and custom and the law recognized of close relations in the gens.

Acquisition by pledge

The second way was that of pawning cultivation rights in land against the temporary accommodation of loan of goats. This was the so-called redeemable sale of all the other tribes within the Unit, including the Kikuyu to the north. There can be little doubt that when the Kikuyu from Murungu crossed the Chania they brought their

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customs with them, and these did not include an outright sale—transfer in perpetuity—among Kikuyu. This in itself does not at once rule out the possibility of some tradition or of a tribal memory of outright purchase from Dorobo, nor are we justified, because the present outright sale in Kiambu is thought to have its origin in outright purchase from Dorobo, in arguing the other way round and finding that the lack of outright sale among the Kikuyu of Fort Hall means that there never was an outright purchase from Dorobo in that district.

K Implications of adoption

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None the less the way in which the Kiambu Kikuyu claim to have got their land—by outright purchase—can only mean they got it by outright purchase from Kikuyu, that is if we accept it as a fact that a pre-condition of such purchase was adoption. If, in such a case, there were outright purchase, then it was in law an outright purchase by a Kikuyu from a fellow-tribesman, and consequently was contrary to the custom the Kamba people brought with them across the Chania. I have been assured by many Kamba men, both young and old (mostly the latter), that the Metume custom was still their law until fairly recent years, and that the change was brought about after the intervention of the British—some say that the Government inaugurated it, others name the Government-appointed Chiefs who, they assert, forced the change on tribesmen none too certain what its implications were, still others link it with the [illegible] change of currency, money instead of goats, but all who hold the view that there was a change in custom on the point relate it directly or indirectly to the general change in outlook attendant on the European advent.

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J. Lonsdale — 40 C-1 (ms. 1955-1958) 1958 Kikuyu Folk
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The oath

It is not suggested that the Kikuyu deliberately set down and ob-
viously damning an adaptation of the rites of aggregation known to three
and hundred tribes with the express intention of discovering a formula
to suit their book, nor is it suggested that an astute Kikuyu brain would
be incapable of inventing some new system which would give them
at one transaction what they wanted. But the Kikuyu had to be
reckoned with, and they were a people certainly no less conservative
than the average tribe; any startling innovation or any pattern of be-
haviour not readily related to established custom would be rejected.
If the Kikuyu had in fact invented some new rite which gave them
absolute and unconditional ownership of land, and if the Dorobo had
in fact accepted it, we should certainly expect the detail of the rite
to make it clear that outright purchase was an essential part of it and
understood by both. But there is nothing in the wording of the oath
the parties swore (as recorded and translated by Dr. Leakey in his
study of the Southern Kikuyu) which clarifies this point. The Kikuyu
party swore as follows. —

"1. As for me, if any man draws blood of this my Mwathi and
kills him, and if I do not cause him pay me a full hundred (pure
and sheep understood) may I break this (1).

1. Presumably a misprint for "may I break
this," i.e. "may I be broken like this."
The K.kuyu is ndirorukie ugwo.

2. As for me, if I should ever call him a Mwathi, or suggest
that he is not a Kikuyu like myself, may I break this.
3. As for me, if I should fail to treat him as the son of my own
mother, may I break this.
4. As for me, if I should ever seek out someone and get them
to kill him in order that I may acquire his land from him without
paying for it to the full, may I break this.
5. As for me, if any other family should try to enter illegally
the land that I am going to buy from this Mwathi who is per-
forming this adoption ceremony with me, and if I fail to sue
him for so doing, may I break this.
6. As for me, if I should fail to give him a present of so many

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

would confer on right to land except perhaps a meagre one of cultivation only. The marriage of a Dundas to a Kikuyu girl, the 'bride-price' being paid in land, would in theory be impossible because it would mean a double share and that was obviously to both Kikuyu and Dundas custom, though marriage by exchange of girls between two groups is not a common [illegible] quite unknown in primitive society (1), and some of the Fan (sic) tribes say that many

> 1. Cf. Briggs's story, the Fiji tribe in case by one of its members transacted and answered by Dupon Law," 1908. "If the practice of exchange marriage Dr. Van remarks, "It is, of the form, an institution of permanent importance, and lies at the base of the whole present tribal organization." According to the Fiji theory of exchange, daughters bear children to their father's family by giving. Dr. Van says, "The most probable explanation ... is that it represents an unconscious attempt to reconcile the patrilineal and matrilineal principles." Cf. also C. G. Seligman in "Marriage by exchange in Nigeria," Africa, January 1928. "... it may be said generally that one of the main reasons for the abandonment of marriage by exchange is that women now claim the right to marry anyone they please."

years ago, land being plentiful and grass scarce, a girl was rarely handed over as the "purchase-price" of land among Kikuyu, others declare that this could not be done at all. But I doubt if we can rule this method, which would sometimes mean alliance with a family rich in grass, completely out, although it would entail an infringement of the strict Dundas law. We have seen that such a union would become a matrilocal marriage. It would serve to keep the husband close at hand and make him something of a drone, dependent, leading a lazy life and liable to degeneration. As a long-range method of absorption it would be of some effect.

Another method of acquiring land was that of compensation for a homicide—"blood-money." Theoretically the land would be

redeemable to grant to others. One of the elders, however, have at least a vague idea that land or kindred was sometimes always be redeemed, and the two full elders say that in the early days before debt land was fully accepted, when goats were hard to come by, blood money was sometimes paid to land, which land could never be redeemed after the formal handing over.

The only other method we have mentioned is the exchange of land in accordance with the rules governing exchanges of objects within the reciprocity-enabling class. This, in Gwoka law, was to all relevant aspects a similar transaction to the marriage of a girl, which is itself an exchange of objects within that class. This was the only regular and fully recognized method by which a piece of land could be transferred in perpetuity, and it involved conditions precisely similar to those involved in marriage. The medium of exchange was just the same in both, whether another object in the reciprocity-enabling class or a "spiritual currency" put inside that class by reason of its function. In the strict Gwoka law, as I have said, the payment of "bride-price" in land or "land-price" in brides would be impossible but we cannot altogether rule it out since the Gwoka had degenerated fully into pre-Kikuyu.

Incidentally, if we accept the theory that the regular method of land "purchase" from Gwoka by Kikuyu was a transaction in the reciprocity-enabling class analogous to marriage, we shall not be surprised that, in Canon Leakey's words, "it is impossible to catch the old men slipping." If one asks an old Kikuyu, "Did you really buy [your] Gwoka land?" he will answer, quite truthfully, "Yes." —"Was it redeemable, returnable or defined?" "No." —"Once it was bought it was bought for ever?" —"Yes". —"And it was your completely?" "Yes." If, knowing something of the African custom of "bride-price," one asks similar questions about marriage and gets precisely the same answers, one will not feel the least surprise. And if, in discussing land transactions, we always get these very answers [p. 145] and find ourselves surprised, the reason is that we have failed to disabuse our minds of preconceived ideas, we give a totally different meaning to the words the old men use and come to the conclusion that their story (as understood by us) must most surprisingly be true, or that the old Kikuyu are astonishingly adept at co-operative falsehood. Both conclusions, based solely on the conformation,

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would be wrong. We have failed to catch the old men tripping, but they unwittingly, have caught us tripping badly.

Functional irredeemability

If we exclude the payment of "blood-money" (and smaller compensations of that nature) none of the methods mentioned transferred perpetual exclusive rights in land except the last—the "marriage" of it. All the rest of them transferred was nothing but a temporary cultivation right or else a share in user of the family land. But possibly there were differences between the theory and the fact of function. Goats to the Dorobo in those early days were food; they were in the consumable, ephemeral class of objects. A Dorobo given goats did not thereby acquire a store of continuity-enabling objects which could be drawn on as required for continuity-enabling; he did not bank the goats as spiritual resources. If he got a Kikuyu relative to herd them for him—herding was to him and his an unattractive occupation not included in their culture—the flock was treated as a larder, not as an investment in eternity. So that when, if ever, the question of redemption of a piece of land arose the Dorobo could not possibly accomplish it except by raising yet a further loan of goats, which meant, in general, handing over still more land, which was the only object the Dorobo had for which the Kikuyu would exchange their goats. So that such a piece of land, although redeemable in theory, was rarely so in fact, and the gap between the two ideas of irredeemability and impossibility of redemption was not so wide as to remain unbridgeable by a native mind conditioned by a change of habit. And land subjected to Kikuyu agriculture was, in Dorobo eyes, scarcely worth redeeming. The factual irreversibility of land transactions was a functional phenomenon and would soon assume a potency in practice exceeding that of any legal sanction no longer functional. This would no doubt operate as a check on the "redeemable sale" of land, which was in any case a new idea to the Dorobo, and one which, if their elders nowadays can be believed, they never had, in fact, accepted.

Effect of cultural differences

As to land acquired by means of new relationships between Kikuyu and Dorobo families such as those of ritual brotherhood and

S:Lambert--127 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6
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quasi-marriage, it would not be long before a strain arose between the parties so united. One can imagine how the Kikuyu must have seen their continuity-enabling goats put to a base ephemeral use by their Dorobo relatives with anything but pleasure, how the never-ending need of sacrificial beasts for carnivoracious satisfaction, not for sacrifice, must have seemed to them outrageous. If the Dorobo diet had been much the same as theirs they would not have grumbled —much. Food to Kikuyu meant the products of their fields and gardens, for although a bit of mutton shared on rare occasions with their "gods" or relatives-in-law, and fairly frequently with brother judges of the local bench, was much appreciated, on the whole their diet was a vegetarian one. Once more the fundamental trouble was the clash of cultures—continuity-enabling and nutritional.

In the first relationship (brother-adoption) the Kikuyu elder brother (for the adoption was a unilateral one) would not be slow in pointing out that his Dorobo younger brother had become to all intents and purposes Kikuyu, and that Kikuyu customary law forbade the begging of a goat by one Kikuyu from his brother except for some sufficient [p.150] reasons such as sacrifice or continuity-enabling; when a brother killed a goat the other brother would be asked to help him eat it, but that was rare, not an every other day event such as his adopted brother seemed to think it. After all, no good Kikuyu (albeit an adopted one) would think of goats as food. Food was grain and roots and herbs, not goats.

And in the other (quasi-marriage) the Kikuyu would insist that if the "marriage" of a piece of land was similar in all respects to the marriage of a girl it must be similar in all respects. Payment for a bride did not go on forever—uthoni yes, but payment, no. Occasional gifts of meat, and even goats if the group-in-law required them for some continuity-enabling purpose—that was only right and proper, but constant goats to eat! Ridiculous! So he would make an end of payments, stop the unprofitable flow of goats, and see what happened. Nothing happened; a girl might leave her husband, taking her children with her, to satisfy a disappointed father. But the land could not do that. And as to "bride-price," the hungry carnivore could not return it to his son-in-land (1), for had he not

1. It is difficult to find a phrase in English to express succinctly the relationship set up

5:Lambert--128 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
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by a land uthoni. I use "son-in-land," etc., to illustrate the similarity with "son-in-law" etc., but to show at the same time that the relationship is based on land exchanged, not marriage.

consumed it long ago?

That something of this nature really happened is evidenced by the stories of old Kikuyu living near the Chania. Brother-adoption, so they told me, would provide Kikuyu immigrants with a right to cultivate, but the only way to "purchase" land in perpetuity was to "marry" it. This was the general method of acquiring land. A Kikuyu could not "marry" land belonging to a man whose daughter, if he had one, would be within the prohibited degrees of matrimony; so an adopted brother would either have to satisfy himself with the cultivation right and share in ownership he got by brotherhood, or "marry" land elsewhere. The Kikuyu went on handing over goats to their relatives-in-land for a lengthy period of time, but in the end got tired of it, and some of them insisted that a final payment should be made. According to one account this was, near the Chania, in the Maina generation-age (1875 A.D. or thereabouts).

In areas where the "purchases" were on the whole more recent (the south and west of Kiambu) a similar state of affairs was reached a good deal later, and probably brought to a head by Kinyanjui, afterwards Paramount Chief, who, according to the evidence of Senior Chief Koinange in an Appeal Case (quoted by the Land Commission) had "made a brotherhood-adoption ceremony with Waweru" —a Dorobo—"and made him a sort of chief of the Dorobo. Then Waweru told his people that the old sales of land which his people had made to the Kikuyu were not valid, and that there should be a second purchase ... this second purchase was final." It seems likely that Kinyanjui (Mr. Hall's "fidus Achates") (2) had had his ideas of

2. The late Frank Hall, who founded the station now named after him, Fort Hall, at Mbiri in Metume, referred to Kinyanjui thus in correspondence, copies of which are in the Fort Hall District office.

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finality strengthened by observation of the European system and was, somehow or other, in a position to enforce them with the assistance, whether willing or unwilling, of his Dorobo puppet chief, Waweru. The Land Commission comments that the Dorobo could reasonably contend, among other things, "that the alleged 'sales,' when they took place at all, were not final, but only redeemable loans, as the action of Chief Kinyanjui proves, and that the alleged final payment was not generally agreed by the Dorobo and did not reach many of them..." If for "not final, but only redeemable loans" we substitute "not outright, but, in a few cases, only redeemable loans, and, in the rest, [p. 15] uthoni transactions conditioned by the rules of marriage," we shall, I think, have a somewhat truer picture of the facts.

Conclusions regarding acquisition in Kiambu

We are now in a position to formulate conclusions with regard to acquisition in Karura. Our conclusions are:—

1) that the common method of acquiring land was by exchange within the continuity-enabling class, which exchange created a condition of uthoni so similar in effect to that created by marriage that, having full regard to the native understanding of the functional relationship set up, we shall not be using a misleading term if for convenience and the want of a better word in English we call it "marriage of the land";

2) that a share in ownership, as contemplated in the native law, was acquired in certain cases by a brotherhood-adoption;

3) that various other methods of acquiring land were rarely practiced and consisted theoretically in temporary transactions reversible at will, although in point of fact such rare transactions operated functionally as irreversible; and

4) the Kikuyu statement that an outright irreversible exclusive purchase was effected by a brotherhood-adoption and the payment of a stipulated price in goats or girls is not to be believed.

My answer to the question as to whether Kikuyu immigrants bought or could buy land in the Kiambu District from Dorobo in any sense approaching the transfer of a freehold as understood in English law is definitely "no."

561 /244 cont./
191 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

423 /260 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
224 421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadong, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
• 425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 426 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

DK 174

will seek adoption there. The first faint-hearted trickle of Kikuyu from Metume to the south possibly did this, but when the effective exodus began the Kikuyu would have gained the confidence inspired by numbers. They would start settlements and set about the clearing of the forest without the leave of anyone. Then the Dorobo would appear and enter an objection to this encroachment on their means of livelihood. Quite possibly a few Kikuyu had already died from poisoned arrows loosed at them by unseen hunters who resented the intrusion on their hunting-grounds, and the Kikuyu settlements would have had to mount a constant guard by day and night to try to stop such murders, and would have had to provide armed warrior escorts every time their women went away from the homestead about their household chores. Neither the Kikuyu nor the Dorobo would have liked this state of affairs. The former wanted agricultural land, and peaceful penetration was the safest way to get it; the latter knew quite well a few occasional killings here and there among the interlopers would be of no avail; the encroachment would continue. The obvious answer was adoption, which, at least in theory, would give both peoples something of what they wanted. But the Kikuyu, arrogant by now by reason of their numbers—there was probably no more than one Dorobo family to a ridge—would claim that the adopting should be done by them, they being the only party with the power to guarantee protection to the other. But the rite itself entailed no sale of any kind and no exchange of property. The one exchange was that of vows involving a unity of clan, a community of wealth, the sharing of resources, reciprocal assistance, mutual trust and an unstinting aid by either when the other was in need—in fact the obligations common decency and custom and the law required of close relations in the gens.

DK 174 425 426

Acquisition by pledge

The second way was that of pawning cultivation rights in land against the temporary accommodation of loan of goats. This was the so-called redeemable sale of all the other tribes within the Unit, including the Kikuyu to the north. There can be little doubt that when the Kikuyu from Metume crossed the Chania they brought their

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customs with them, and these did not include an outright sale—transfer in perpetuity—among Kikuyu. This in itself does not at once rule out the possibility of some tradition or of a tribal memory of outright purchase from Dorobo, nor are we justified, because the present outright sale in Kiambu is thought to have its raison d'être in outright purchase from Dorobo, in arguing the other way round and finding that the lack of outright sale among the Kikuyu of Fort Hall means that there never was an outright purchase from Dorobo in that district.

K Implications of adoption

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/261 cont./

000 D 431 D 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, D [197] [426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [197]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 628 [171] [672] As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably D [648] less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is D M 682 648 M [564] [326] regarded as puni-andgt, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *mbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

described as *cemeneneuwet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilise the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*bek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniat*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kutil kütit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uaruwet*).
Oldoiyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wanasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiriritiet = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

231 [422] [428] Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [322] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

281 missed in the count, but they are used even to-day so much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three *korossuk* of Kipkorom, Kelpui, and Sonoiyo were:

		Cattle:	Goats:	Dogs:
Kipkorom:	Arap Keter (Ceserdil)	10	—	—
	Arap Menati	—	10	2
	Arap Korucu	5	—	—
	Arap Minio	—	5	2
	Arap Keter (Kipsan)	5	—	—
Sonoiyo:	Arap Silimbo	20	—	—
	Arap Eusi	3	—	—
	Arap Singira	—	—	3
	Arap Ceruiyo	1	—	—
	Kikon arap Silena	15	—	—
	Koriomoi arap Munyenua	15	—	—
	Kiptoo arap Ngamaam	—	5	—
	Kisorio arap Lengei	—	10	—
	Kaola arap Ngamaam	—	4	—
Kelpui:	Arap Mateko	5	—	—
	Samupai arap Yator	6	—	—
		90	34	7

3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

423 The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the *korossuk*, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the trees come to an end forms a natural boundary and within that boundary was Dorobo ground where few strangers, except the occasional outlaw or fugitive, cared to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A section of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and ratified by a pronouncement of the *koret* council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation sanctioned by public opinion: a man's section was automatically taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

[428]

The forest appeals to the Dorobo in four ways: (1) In the trees they had their homes, and they knew no manner of living in which there were no trees; trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land, but as something which bears trees. The cutting down of one or two trees on a man's section is his own affair, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them: *ngut komac Okiot si kotil ketik ce caw, mecome Okied alak*, "if a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, the

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Mengati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkend[2] live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Sairet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus grisco-viridis;
Tiviet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Kemokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [171] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. [782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Ûût, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What 765 171 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1]

• 428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of [171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows 768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving [583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]

423 /260 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.

224 421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligitok, ligach) of the elephant each

[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadolg, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family

425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

•43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a

452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid

422 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens

[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife: in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,

[572] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first steps towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the cultivation.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated *or developed any* cattle *customs* of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Ceuum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, *chiefly* for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cowat*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minio became the friend of a Nandi at Ofleau called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Koruen in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *thirty* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has *five* head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkoeir arap Serem on Farm 1679: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Koruen being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

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Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oreyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mondeit*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

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FLS Dorobo FLS

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *shamba* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [462] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [244] 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Miniŋ, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [178] [648]

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp • 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/261 cont./

is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as puni-andgt, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

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805 [221] [224] [132] The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iuot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iuot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize [4]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriruo	*Kipsundet*	October	
Kipsundet	*Kipsundet oiew*	November	
Kipsundet ake	*Mulkul*	December	Muainonik
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwat kut*	March	
Iwat kut	*Waket*	April	
Waket	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iuot
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Pureto	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeset	*Mulkul oiew*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

821 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other [791] tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

● 433 [311] [325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools 439 Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 [4] Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign n, representing the "long-tailed n". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

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the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

		Past:	→	Past:	→	Most: (in most cases)
Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.				
		Some: working for wages				
	Women:	Preparing the results of trapping		Cultivation of shambas		
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.				
		Housework and food collecting				
	Children:	Weeding				
		Herding				
		Housework				
Men Living Alone:		Trapping		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Making things				
		Preparing the results of trapping				
		Cooking, housework				

Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minin said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

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is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible [20]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kiniet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[20] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

[P. 192, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Miniŋ acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, ***mwainonik***, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, ***iwot***, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Toraet*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinuet* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 Fl6 Dorobo Fl6

wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly layed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *motoket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] 283 [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.

1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.

2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
439 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

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Fig. 8. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

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241 The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late.
[221] Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *poisk*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *chemdek*, maize. Millet had not been
[435] adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *rujowsik*, are grown to a small extent.

[412] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mukombet*), axe (*ndolet*), and ordinary knife (*rembolnet* or *rutwet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass
[439] is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is
[434] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous
• [435] squatters on the nearby farms[19]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[417] Each shamba is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some
[197] Dorobo at Kipukua, noticing the European practice of stooking maize in rows before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[19] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

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[341]

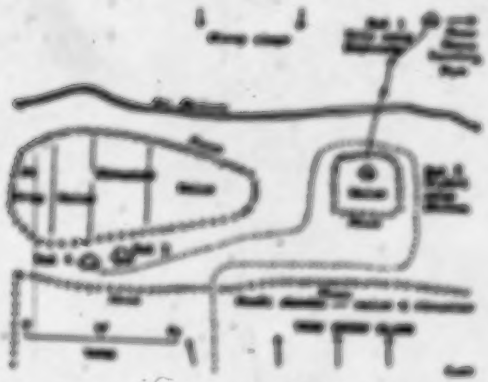

Fig. 4. Plan of a Dorobo shamba at Kolpot alongside a Nandi shamba.

at Kipsikus in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kowoiet*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 4).

[448]
317

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tembaroa*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ondoit*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cassava oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *emeriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

[462]
[423]
439
435
302
789

(b) Cattle

231
177
181

If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[552]

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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo[9], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[9] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 278.

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barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Kelich aṗ tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinot, puuu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniu, a ma miniu miniu, tinye lakuennyi kitchin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecok cuto tiowik, mii samakiannyon; acoma*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things)
cepo samak.
which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingeeuwen ulinio timin, apdre mii tiond ake. Ne*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What
ni ne kuikuioti orii?
(is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Apdre tumia.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, asuweni matit. Ingoatinye kuyanda apdre no. A mamii*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-
kuyanda.
not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingeeuwen ole mwe.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, ~~*umainonik*~~, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torsot*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

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862 [273] true," *rotiaust* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

439 [648] [177] [582] [181] [186] The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to [437] the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[435]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 [177] [648] The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

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435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
439 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

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they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *coruet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

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C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *owainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

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[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torset*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence which all help to make. Each is therefore a family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an independent labour unit. 241 423 [351] [614]

The grain crops are stored either in granaries of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapot*) of the hut; but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large owing to the small areas planted, storage problems are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging 251 261 [937] [735]

[P. 197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

/233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned
294 412 283 hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog)
and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of
439 hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own
• 437 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden
with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where
the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it
permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held
markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they
[805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning,
they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers,
since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist
principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he
can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil
contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for
hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even
today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After
protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the
Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables.
If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant
or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the
always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example,
the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals
from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in
trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for
[887] game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp
especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82),
a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are
wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30
centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimetem.
231 322 412 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree
trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After
the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-sec-
tion and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a
knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1, [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

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224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba [8].	Cultivation — all stages.

[857] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such [438] men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Minin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to do

[8] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porowet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees": the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

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AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *roluet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *sinot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[262] [273] true," *rotinust* (*higelia athiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

● 439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were [648] almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, [177] the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, [582] for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with [181] the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [186] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and [437] honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[935]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 [177] [648] The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyeyda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiet* tree (*Acokanthera* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *iset*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyet*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kelket* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kevepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepengwet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 in. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arawa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiinik*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *masambaanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokumek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeywot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuyeet* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford K-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOI (KERUTA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kaditu on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Lumbwa, is first classed as Kidoi in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mkondoi (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food, bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo lost completely lost their land by 1902 when Tribal reserves through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

[839]

648

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Mwenkindet, as among the Kipkoreek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-ghotet*, derived from the Masai *ol-gotet*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gotin*, which means not " clan," but " side path."

614

Religion

NK 969 113 A so-called supreme being called *Torrorit*[4] is recognized, and the elements describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

Source: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 47, 48.

[1] 51.91, p. 6.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 393.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1934, p. 46.
[4] = Nandi *ngor*, " storm ".

2: Maguire G-5 (n.s. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstances.

A small supply of *kombi* poison (*ngwana*) is sometimes carried in the keel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriakyat*) and a fire-block (*ensemia*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kwaiiwandet*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *ensata nitiit*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a pea-shooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endaire*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endaire* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blast or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five cows. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "Small knife."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kenkenyot*, pl. *kenkenyotik*; N. *kwiq*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the *sleeping-place* (*ilkito*, N.) and the [353] *fire-place*, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muteik*; N. *muiwik*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurbat*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the *sleeping-place* is the hearth (*mik*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*saiwat*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the whole [illegible] beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 3 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [378] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and *olmisiu* grain (Text-figs. 30-32). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sellutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a hook-bark's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*soiget*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. long; a grindstone (*lolto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding *olmisiu* grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the [439] Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pilmet*; 372 N. *pilmet*) (Text-figs. 11a, 11b). A thin stick of the *olmorut* tree (N.),[1] about 12 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of *ondoi* (*nut*)[2] about 20 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pilmet*, the *ondoi* stick *tasumet*. The *pilmet* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pilmet* and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the *pilmet* drills a hole in the *tasumet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of *tinder* (*soiget* (dry grass) or fibre of the *pesiwet*[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The women
prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. 264
At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed [462]
on grindstones (*lóito*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they 251
obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and 262
is called *kípketinik* (N.). Tobacco (*tomotet*, N.; or *chepkuchóiz*,[1] N.) is bought 273
from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either 276
chewed (*wit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*sotbuik-ap-tomotet*, or *kwotinik*, N.), [434]
which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical
boxes called *kípsomoi* (N. *kípsot*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *sosiyot* (bamboo), [415]
with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by
which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During 231
the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have 241
taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbwet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine 178
grain (*ulhuiyét*, or *paiot*; N. *pili*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or
two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head.
The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

671
Warriors wear skin garments of dulker (*sapmwogo*,[3] N.) called *akwiet*; they wear
leg-bells attached to a leather band (*sapiitha*,[4] pl. *sapiitháinik*) on the ankles.
Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.[5] Old men
wear bush-buck skins (*akwiet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ingwenit*?) are worn, of
blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors.
Belts (*ontenit*?) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors.
Necklaces of chains (*siriondo*, N.) or iron-wire (*aniegwit*, N.) are worn; also various [301]
kinds of iron ear-rings (*ndeimeriat*? and *kiwa-tinik* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimá-*
tetiat) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of
Nandi women. They wear skirts (*ákeptinjuit*; N. *chepkunit*) and upper garments
(*kaldiet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the
Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*mukwenhuk*
and *kwrik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*aniegwit*, pl. *aniegwáinik*, N.). Married women wear [301]

[1] Chepkuchóit means "smell" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably [111]
borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

291
301 large discs of brass wire (*tost*, pl. *tuk*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muilto*; N. *muito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekerick*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*aluriet*) or cloth (*anget*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*udapalwet*; N. *tapalwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*asingait*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*engeberit*; Kony *ingeberit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorôbo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap iitik*, N.), as among the Nandi.
[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorôbo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kororon-it piik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngarset*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 The Dorôbo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-
[439] lurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(c) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*bogulgulo*), arrows (*ldeiek*, *kipurtuik*, *kipukdpuuik*, N.; and *ndwantit*); spears (*almurundoit* or *murundoit*?); swords (*susulto*; or *ratuet*, N.); shields (*ledget*, N.); and knives (*skambulwat*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kuriot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*inet*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig [237] (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

Arrows.—The iron heads (*kipchápet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually [439] of the Nandi shapes called chepilofigiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the sosoiyat (bamboo), masaita, and koromandet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kororik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*saita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mboilgit*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, *see* H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*shokit*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*tapsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motok[illegible]
415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the f[illegible] removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kips*[illegible] blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a [480] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereyet*, pl. *kereyonik* (N.)).

285 [469] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

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together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*litîto*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *korosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kámellio-Kápchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogat ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

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in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandorobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [3], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[3] Vocabulary of the Enguțuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text Continues on P. 126--Analyst]

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terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

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805 [221] [224] [132] The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iuot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iuot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize [4]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriruo	*Kipsundet*	October	
Kipsundet	*Kipsundet oiew*	November	
Kipsundet ake	*Mulkul*	December	Muainonik
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwat kut*	March	
Iwat kut	*Waket*	April	
Waket	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iuot
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Pureto	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeset	*Mulkul oiew*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

821 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other [791] tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

433 [311] [325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. ●439 Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 [4] Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign ŋ, representing the "long-tailed n". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

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eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *silotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siuot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokerer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ce somisec kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si konuanit, kiinde eŋgaret
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

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it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyuwet: traps.
Kimolnet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipsepuet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Marorta: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

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313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasieh: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Silotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[241] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
Pig-gut : bow-strings.
[411] Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci hereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

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wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *motoket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] [283] [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

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435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

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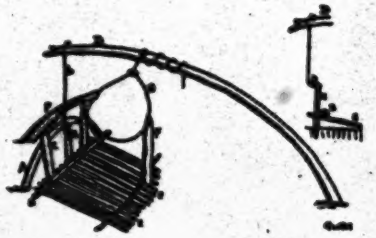

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pêk* or *paiek*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *ipandek*, maize. Millet had not been [439] adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are grown to a small extent.

[412] [439] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mokombet*), axe (*ndolut*), and ordinary knife (*cambolucl* or *rotuet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [439] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [435] squatters on the nearby farms [19]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[417] Each shamba is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some [177] Dorobo at Kipukua, noticing the European practice of stooking maize in rows before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[19] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible [89]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*ingunek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[89] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[361]

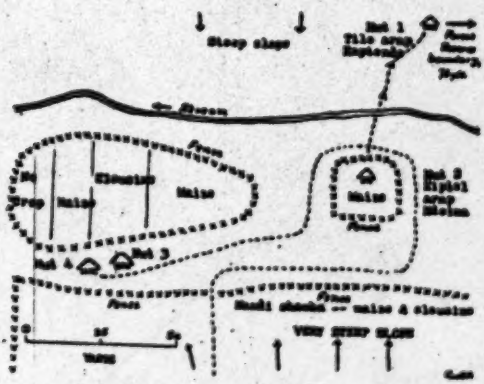

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kesenïat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be 439 verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *euoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cornet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minis became the friend of a Nandi at Ofieson called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkurir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

beer called *mo* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemeru*, a time of rain; and *Leishatte*, a time of much rain.

The Calendar.—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for any informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lebrupe.	*Lembweng.*	*Lebrupe.*	*Lebrupe.*	*Lembweng.*
Lemeku.	*Lebrupe.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lemeru.*
Lemeru.	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*
	Lemeru.	*Lemeru.*	*Lemeru.*	

Food.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodoths say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and locusts are not far and wide in the town.

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is weed cutting and circulation on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

Recreations.—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

Manufactures.—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodoths in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (*kwee*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiri*) come from the Dodoth cemetery, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only trophy spears I saw in Kavirondo. They are headmarks (*ankidokong*) of Dodothic origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

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58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo have so stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-okeeboo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes...[illegible] in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where these animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwindo or the peasant some Mwaki signifies a Mwindo who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwindo, while Dorobo signifies a Mwindo (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

B.Lambert--2 C-5 (ca. 1930-1949) 1950 FLS Dorobo FLS

/34 cont'd/

to the dense forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the forest-clad escarpments of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marsabit, Chibcharagua-ni, Baro, Dondera etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /35/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders: usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Masai-ni, a very large village of [illegible] gives up hunting, and almost entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Eastern Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means arrow fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ari and the Kikuyu call them Aciri. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Aciri."

/58 cont'd/

intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both.

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu .... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Karura repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

Gdambwi--13 G-S (ca. 1935-1969) 1950 F16 Dorobo F16

/50 cont'd/

from the north and east which forced the Bantu /51/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organized for war and raptue. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

1. So one hears of Nandi Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Commission" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Giriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Giriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Commission remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Giriama in exchange for beer, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for hunting and service. The institution of "Sheger" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inverse status and dependence of the Sheger section, who none the less retain a theoretical freedom in the body politic.

/83 cont'd/

"There are nine groups of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi had a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mweiko or both than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be indicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi with the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes call Mukuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbi who went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in open baraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to the Mwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was named Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the north with most of his people.

[494]

/84/ 72. Dorobo and Chuka, etc.

There is very little evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Mothambi, Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contact in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the minor tribes knew of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, that there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lasting impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. Since the ice there is credible evidence (put advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement near Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of the present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mwea, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gachugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

[P. 192, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *kwet* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sowiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Uasin Gishu Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, *chemisio* and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Misiq acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, **ssssiosuik**, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *ilmit*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kaptherpkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*korogut*) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumdo*, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and *Tirgut*, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

4133 439 [325] [135] [276] 436 439 648 [231] 221 411 [231] 224 [415] [136]

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipuchet, blue duiker (cephalophus sequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. ignu-lanuci.)
Kerrenuit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyalet, oribi
Kipenuwet, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murúa*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
251 usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
• 439 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
231 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
262 for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
[439] Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
[272] only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired [356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and [462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, [281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy 439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

294 412 283 /233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own • 439 437 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they [805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 [889] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters. 231 322 412 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out:

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

/235 cont./
411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirie, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsettosong ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast correspond- ing to the ol geteñ l ol bɛ, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even [439] before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/240 cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[601] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteñ, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the ramainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/
[583] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[171] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 Among the Asa the same marriage obstacles hold as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

561 171 224 555 /244 cont./ elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these [425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 [561] [224] For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madíet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya). [439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411
• [439]

rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijerá, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called mucháa. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

Fig. 85. (1/10)

[439]

[224]

422
[411]
[224]

Fig. 86. (1/10)

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Über Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heat Ailments" By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the
• [439] Wakabe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha technical and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.
278 572 834 [444] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The
[415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madi) or in a leather bag /341/ (ambia), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, [439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes [825] melanocis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it [777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 224 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among [276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirigi, in which one recognizes the present Masai word en sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirigi spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

• 439 648 179 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade: the Masai buy [wa ngovo] with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 191 [511] One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, mpanga, mpandoi), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and maids' capes, called e mpiti and en jorika by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvenient because of its length. The dahonay otherwise do not generally wear the e mpiti, rather more often an en jorika made of calf hides, which they buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-backed antelope. The caracara of the women is here called [561] [237] [439] ppa (pl. ppá), as is the upper part of it (ol ogiriaibo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogemana gemána (pl. gemanáe). The ol gela i ol murrah is here called ppa o dahona and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en jorika. Sandals (mpika) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment 301 561 832 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dahonay, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/304 cont./

[302] [301] The Wandoobbo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /222/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey '8' -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers (bees that we become familiar with above for the bimet, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As Ca people stated, all Ané and also the other Wandoobbo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also assumed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among the Ané a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Tsonga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

[120] [192]

[339] [192]

[192]

1 = kinâ.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = kêm.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = ximâ or xinâ.	Index finger, middle finger, and ring finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = lê or lêy.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = nîh.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = lo.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = loxîn.	
8 = lelî.	
9 = nukwalî.	
10 = ngwîgwî.	
11 = ngwîgwî kinâ.	
12 = ngwîgwî kêm.	
13 = ngwîgwî a nxwe	(or ngwîgwî a xwe).
20 = zîlîn.	

1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
3 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (bengat).
5/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of bengat, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 5 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 15 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bullock, the small one a duiker.

There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the ladies save up to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his kind. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building. 2. Hunting. 3. Digging earth. 4. Cultivation. (1) Building huts is a woman's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and for which he will get help from a relative or classificatory. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unaccompanied skyward demands combine to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

2: Magoire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Durabo FLA

duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Mossi are good to the *Mbaire* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mbaire* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Mossi as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mbaire* helped the Mossi on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great cimbergent epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Mossi to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mbaire* at the request of the Mossi. Lekito told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mbaire* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mbaire* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mbaire* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Mossi. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mbaire* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mbaire* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious subsistence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mbaire*. Elephant is reported as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mbaire* has at his command an extensive

[illegible] Bwendat (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-hamula.
Bhwat : honey-hamula.
Chwanjwat or Tchwalat (aloe, also chrysophyllum) : fire-wood.
Dzyamlak : fire-wood.
Cwrwat (fibre sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tlat (palm, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

(B) Plant materials. The following trees and plants provide materials for food, salt, medicines, and utensils*:

[illegible] Gwalat (dry grass) : binder for making fire with fire-sticks.
† Fajiwarwat : fibre for baskets.
Gwalat (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† Fitwat : medicine.
† Gjwalo : medicine.
Bwendat : medicine.
Lajwajwat : medicine.
Gbalwat : medicine.
Gdalwat : medicine.
Fiwat (anthaia sp.) : medicine.
Fajwajwat (cynotis lanigrifolia) : salt.
Gwajwat : salt.
Bwinwat or Bwina (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

(C) Horse and animal products. These include :

† Bwalwa : food, clothing.
† Lwalwajo : food, clothing, bags, quivers.
Fajwat : bow-strings.
Fwalbwa : gourds.
† Bwanu : food, wine ; ritual purposes.
Bwat's fat : ritual purposes.
Fwalo : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cwtlo : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bwak-bwak : bells for bwanu.

The basket most commonly made by the Dwoho is the small bowl-shape, about 4 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a great deal by the Fwoho themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Fwoli. Unlike Bwajwanli Fwoli, "we make baskets for the Fwoli", as an old woman said, Dwoho women make baskets when they have nothing preferable to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the outside of the wood palm, which is split into thin strips, and bark from a plant called kajwanwat which is good for making the weft of splitting the wood fibre, preparing a certain length and tying it off as the

* Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Fwoli in exchange for their products.

[illegible]

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (1)

1. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

232 knows as ol mafu. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 65) [illegible] of hornwood already [illegible] of these sticks, and their completed counterparts. After it has been rubbed

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is then paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1938) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *murokor* (see below, p. 63). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *murokor*, or to a circumcisor. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *murokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *murokor*. The proportions is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men	Women
Making bee-hives	Building houses
Hunting	Collecting vegetable food
Trapping	Cooking food and beverages
Fetching honey up to work	Looking after small children
Making honey-beer	Looking after girls
Collecting honey	Looking after cows and calves
Making weapons	Making baskets
Looking after the flocks	Preparing skins
Looking after cattle	Making clothing, etc.
Looking after girls	Care of the children
Looking after calves	Circumcision (for women)

Children of both sexes help in tending and herding stock; girls help with the house work and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. The division is inherently arbitrary with regard to the first nine such activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping, and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

412 411 [437] 378 and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyogda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwisel* tree (*Grewia* sp.); it is about 3 ft. long, and the bowstring, *tuet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *bomdo*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenandet* and *mamsis* trees, or from bamboo, *amniyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi pattern. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow-poison is made from the *Acokanthera* (*arrowtoxicum*) *Schimperi*.

Baskets

415 [462] [524] 385 Making baskets, *kwoyet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sisiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *tapwanet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually spreading coil, of the simple over-seven type and bee-stop variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

[317] [462] [524] [385] 415 [415] Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tapwanet* (*acalia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1938, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *ewokwai*, is mixed with fat or ointment and for rubbing on the body; white earth, *ewoiniet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *kibanket* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 2 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of lions stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of lawn-tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

196 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ejejyon pomyek*, "Asis, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Set*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *emanito*, a word which includes the *mik* (ancestral spirits) and *emamelumik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *kibosiet* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

195 *Divination*

[367] [524] [385] [385] The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sotonet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

[364] Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes and their arms and legs tied. Children about a month or *mokwanet* (*Sterculia* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, their arms on the right side with

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating cleaning grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*lotto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipkelinik* (N.). Tobacco (*nemutet*, N.; or *chepkwekitit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*wit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*sotheik-ap-nemutet*, or *kwaloik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical leaves called *kipyemut* (N. *kipyut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *semiyot* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow cleaning grain (*ellocich*[3], or *punich*; N. *pilli*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*aburiat*; N. *tapuriat*). Warriors wear skin garments of dukker (*ngomuengo*,[4] N.) called *almotiot*; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*kapitilio*,[4] pl. *mpitilokinik*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.[4] Old men wear hush-hush skins (*aburiat*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ngoroiot*[3]) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*nakwoit*[3]) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of *chainin* (*pirimdo*, N.) or iron wire (*poingoi*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*akimwariot*) and *kwenkwein* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kwenkwiniot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkenyeit*; N. *chepkenyit*) and upper garments (*kaldoi*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron wire armlets and leglets (*mulkwenkwik* and *kurok*, N.), and wire necklaces (*poingoi*, pl. *ampoingoiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkwekitit* means "small" in Nandi.

[2] Pieces are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As in the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

3:Huntingord E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kwiet (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string(laat, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (nemda, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[331] [334] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipukdyat*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chapilichgiet (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a shimade in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (simde). The shafts are made of the sawiyat (bamboo), mamita, and kwemamiet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (kwerik, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin simdin; the cock (sesin) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin simdin. The nock of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10)*sawiet* N.; *sebulgiet*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cord a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobos shooting with the bow, see H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins and are about 1½ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spirals cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*chokut*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*ngoiwet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(b) Leather.

201 Skins are dried and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, clothe and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called *sumbuet*.

415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipandet*, blue duiker) with a fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a

[210] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 10). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Smallbags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(c) Baskets (*kwogut*, pl. *kwogunik* (N.)).

[205] There are mainly the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright sticks the baskets are called *tegerik*; the cross straws, *sosik* (N. = *Plectronia rudis* gat). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Sometimes a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 8 ins., width at top 1 ins. (Text-fig. 11).

(d) Miscellaneous.

410 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called *kiswaiet* (N.) is used (Text-fig. 12). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis rackets fastened

262 [206] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

[222] [462] Fruit of the *sinik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mumoyat*, *ximenia rigidia*.
Fruit of the *lemiyat*, *ximenia americana*.
Fruit of the *sesewiet*, *Musa ensete*, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinet*, *girardinia condensata*, nettle.
Nap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana nap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the nap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very 252 poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*meiut*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

222 192 Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made 263 a substitute from the leaves of the *sapungat* bush (*zanthia integrifolia*), or [257] of the *sesungat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a [71] suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

273 Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little *chemtoo* beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkwonik ne kwonik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *ratenet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), [124] which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kimyor [illegible] *kokpale* [illegible] *ne* [illegible];
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I		II		III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Kamâ.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba*.	Cultivation — all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and looking livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows, boys with (if) they are circumcised.

So far [illegible] the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the four nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of nature; men [illegible] Stone-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away. [illegible] Mista, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to d[illegible]

* Applied to a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkomoron was at that time about 30).

While the areas within the hords are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Gradually, however, witchcraft is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepenkes, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepenkes himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkoreon, sharing her hut, and growing a little elevusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. Malinowski called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensible, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(a) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(b) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and timber.
(c) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, rools, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(d) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(e) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kaisut (*ndiva* sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Waasis: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwonsosiit: arrow-shafts.
Asaiyat (*kaatiwa*): arrow-shafts; intermediate used as water jars.
Kitoyonot: traps.
Kimaliwat (*cangiwita olidia*): traps.
Kolot (*senecio kilimanjari*): arrow-poison.
Lopolwat (*Ficus* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Mipsiyoyot (*ficus* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Olarabis: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasaroit (*wild banana, musa ensete*): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tinetiwat: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Tirwet (*Ficus*): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

Huntingford R-S (1938-1939) 1953 PLA Dorobo PLA

waste it, i.e. as the bone and gets thin, a new end is shaved under the binding; the best is kept handy in a bag. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type, and two-way variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is then, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an iron blade held at an angle of about 30°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, satchels, etc. are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. Thin dikdik), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a strap for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins., but I have seen them as big as 19 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The system of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Kisuaili. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork, other things are pottery, finely tobacco, cured cattle and cattle and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were:

1 axe for 1 kaglet of honey
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey
3 knives for 1 day's weeding in the Government's shamba.

436 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 light of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large pregnant antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small pregnant antelope skin.
3 bushels of cereal seed for 1 basket (large).
5/- worth of trade beads for 1 gazed tidal honey.

The hog used as a measure for hony is the smaller size of hoops, measuring 7 or 8 ins. for 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gazed is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 30 ins. high, the well, about 18 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the well ever a duiker.

There are no special market places : places of exchange. The Dendo go to the nearest smith or pastor and rear a bargain, returning later with the exchange equivalent to collect the goos. There is no language difficulty in these transactions, for the Dendo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Kwafi. Getting loose pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or food they need only go to the nearest friendly Kwafi who has what they want or is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant materials of medicinal value, i. e. what they think is medicinal value, is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. Who Dendo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Naughton to the south, or else at Arowa to the Kwafi Reserve, where there is a subsidiated Indian shops. The men do not like both successfully to go to these places concerned, but occasionally some of the ladies were try to slip away unobserved to Arowa ; they seldom go to Naughton, as it is to the Europeans area.

No human group can exist without any form of co-operation, and even what a man lives alone, as he may farm among the Dendo, he is not because of that not all them or unable to see to the activities of his kith. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which gods normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building. 2. Planting 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation. (1) Building here is women's work, which case will do if he has no wife, and for which he will get help from a relative or classificon. (2) When people harvest gums they usually work out in pairs, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where [illegible] are strangers, as people [illegible] for fear of being attacked. Here also [illegible] to get in parties, for though they are in the danger of being attacked, their encompassible anyone [illegible] to give assistance. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own duties, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules, and among the Dendo animals other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his fellows, so his wife's

455 the absence of pastoral and agricultural habitations and implements, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. Today it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

		Men:	Trapping game in the forest		
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Some: working for wages		
	Family	Women:	Preparing the results of trapping		Both
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Housework and food collecting		
		Children:	Washing		
			Hunting		
			Housework		
	Men Living Alone:		Trapping	Cultivation of shambas	Both
			Making things		
			Preparing the results of trapping		
			Cooking, housework		

Dundee life therefore converges on subsistence, with a hunting background, and seeks to view as the ultimate achievement. Even though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dundee (as OGH or Iraqi) had a fundamental unanimity in their beliefs as the ultimate goal.

5. Economic Activities

a) Hunting [1]

Honey is to the Dundee what milk is to the Fiadi. It is sold [illegible] and has a high retail value, in consequence of which certain rules exist to [illegible] honey. Enough for an elder may not touch on the same day that he has eaten honey. Enough for an elder may not smoke. After eating honey, one of the youth must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Amos White said, somewhat metaphorically, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so find or [illegible] honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect for the honey, both a food that it involves disagreeability the supply with fat, or else fear of a witch grabbing a spirit on the trees in honey

barrel, so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. We then take [B5.]
and what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and downside,
carefully extinguishing the fire where he has cracked the ground. Though
sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very
often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no
help but the extremely ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, the milk is the food [79]
it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the
people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels
and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really
no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees
provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some
importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey [84]
Dweller life would be poor and empty.

6. Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dweller men, and [B3.4
though they have had little men, confining their activities to trapping, they [B5.]
have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dweller walking through [B5.]
the forest centers on later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have [B5.]
already noted, they have what the French call *coutin*, which one might almost [B]
render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on
in the forest is something like this example, which I took down after hearing it

A. *Kalak ad Gnark.*
The bear of the mountain.

B. *Ina, ni [blank], [blank] in, [blank] in*
Look, there-is (a) the-hedgehog, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there
Wiwa, a [blank] [blank], [blank]
Good, but not much very, it-has-the-child small

A. *Cook [blank] Gnark, ad [blank]*
(They are) now there animals they-are-in our-forest, I-like (the things)
[blank] [blank]
which-are-of forest

B. *Tagamaana ahiak [blank], [blank] ad [blank] ak Ka*
Let-us-look over-there (on) their-tracks, perhaps there-is the-animal comfort, What
at ne [blank]
do this their-congregation-place?

A. *Ighlu [blank]*
Perhaps the-place-pig

B. *[blank], [blank] [blank], Tagamaana [blank] [blank] ak [blank]*
Yes, I-am there-(at) (it-has) there I-will there-is I-will there-are the-tracks
Ka [blank]
of-the-animals
and-then the-bone

A. *Tagamaana ak [blank]*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-me

...

...

...

[P 141.6]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 6,200 ft. to 6,400 ft., through the main river, the Kipanzo, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kipalanza farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 50.24 inches over 5 years from 1920 to 1925: the maximum was 76.22 inches in 1927, the minimum 29.41 inches in 1922. In the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dondo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of fever trees (*acacia albida*), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwakiandi*, the dry season from October to March, and *Awa*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the new shadowcane hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dondo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1920 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and basketry; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and getting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

he found hunting on his own, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and hyrax[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*tukuny*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own houses, and a group

[1] The hyrax killed are:
Kiguekut, blue duiker (*cephalophus monticola*)
Mokoiot, red duiker (*c. ignita chapini*)
Kwemosit, bush buck (*tragelaphus scriptus*)
Sochotet, reed buck
Kimyakit, oribi
Kipsongorit, water-buck (*cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[illegible]

[redacted]

a blowpipe, but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cyphonoonoo was at that time about 30).

While the sexes within the family are interdependent, the family as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Kisoiti. Not only do some Dorobo men actively live with Kisoiti, but they depend as a community for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot exist. Axes, knives, spokeshaves for bowmaking, hatchets and even the long spears, which was about 10 at the time of my visit, have to have originated by Kisoiti. Arap Cyperibo himself may then living with an old woman at Kiptarakwa, sharing her hut, and growing a little tobacco at one end of her plantation, but mainly as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. By he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. Malinowski called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Kisoiti to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Kisoiti, the Dorobo depend on the Kisoiti for certain necessities, and the Kisoiti look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get more easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Kisoiti, in the stage of the Kisoiti development, is quite essential, and the good will of the Kisoiti people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for hut-building and hunting (except those made of iron), every woman learns to make baskets and pinpoint dishes. The raw materials come also at hand, and may be grouped under 3 heads:

(1) Wood: used for many implements, heavy-barrels, traps, hut.
(2) Plant material: used for food, medicine, soft, baskets, and cloths.
(3) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, mats, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(4) Earth and stone: unburnt earth for pointing, granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(1) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kararit (*Aloe* sp.): bows, heavy-hatchets, heavy-barrels.
Kiwanda: arrow-shafts, skewers.
Kimwaindet: arrow-shafts.
Kwoiyan (*Sterculia*): arrow-shafts, snuff-boxes used as water jars.
Kimoiyoni: traps.
Kimoiben (*Juniperus*): traps.
Kiptai (*Leonotis*): arrow-poison.
Kipkelion (*Maesopsis* sp.): bows, hatchets, heavy-barrels.
Kipkenyet (*Olea* sp.): bows, hatchets, heavy-barrels.
Kimondo: bows, hatchets, heavy-barrels, skin-scraper.
Kwoiyo (*Ficus*): bows, heavy-barrels, bows, hatchets, heavy-barrels.
Kwoiben: heavy-barrels, skin-scraper.
Kwoi (*Ficus*): traps, heavy-barrels, bows, hatchets, any purpose for which rope is required.

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts to some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a belt of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Tribal Reserve. No less strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dondo save live, and it is on these farms that some of them work.[1]

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of exotic trees (exotic refuses, the Eucalyptus rhombifolia), so as allow the men to eastern Kenya. Between the trees and the forest are glades (areas affording open spaces concealed from the outside world). The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. All ground over the open between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent. In the dry months there is occasional heat-haze in open ground. In a month of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry months some exotic drops before the damp disappears.

From any commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of very exciting value, but it is that dense natural cover and an ideal home for the Dondo who do not judge trees by their value as merchantable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been described:

Cassia, Kiswa sp.	Brachylaena rugosa, mukinduri
Podocarpus usambarensis, kihingaro	Aphloia theiformis sp.
Ekebergia, Kiha sp.	Teclea, mwau nyeusi
Cedrela odorata, mukuruwe	Croton, mpira kibiyumbiyu
Strombosia, pelgopetala, mwageleza	Croton, mpira mbaya
Podocarpus, Kihiyo sp.	Ficus, Kiwa sp.
Albizzia, Kiha sp.	Ficus, mnukwa, mkuyu
Cassia, Kiswa sp.	Ficus, mkuyu
Podocarpus, Kihiyo sp.	

When the Dondo lived in the forest, their homesteads were modified to survive and hardly discernible paths through the undergrowth, remnants some of these paths are still used as approaches to forest beasts and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two roads only, one running from Rabai to Kaloleni, the other parallel to it from Mazeras to Kaloleni. From today the only through routes people going to Kaloleni have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The forest was extensively used and, from some years ago, occupied and [illegible] as land is scarce and land values high. Many of the farmers are [illegible] of Mijikenda origin.

[illegible] Kilbeachaglaird region that Secretive P1As obtained as part of Secretive survival. Kilbeachaglaird did not originate Kilbeachaglaird economies that began many Secretive P1A generations ago. Kilbeachaglaird economies developed. (Figure xx shows Kilbeachaglaird.)

Secretive small-scale are fooled on their they use for spite: they are enabled to the river to preserve very their stitching to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are each put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it thicker, i.e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the hot to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and use for breads. There are always [illegible] called kibeach, or honey and water, is also a favourite of the Secretive. It is not intoxicating and is made simpler to prepare than honey wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of dried fruits, and drunk the same day without any fermentation.

In the old days, the Secretive way they were seldom absolutely without food, for there would generally be got with either bee or hog and either a deer or [illegible] whose presence would help the family until food to could usually get enough to live there. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is normally not allowed in this area they have trapping. There is an uncertainty about the food supply which was the introduction of agriculture and the increase of Europeans living there and altogether unless. It was easy to get subsidy with the trapping. Europeans followers, as "harmful wages". In Kilbeach for this, and the only way to a small one, or much damaged by weevils. Kilbeach although are member of a family they were for a single member on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 5 lbs. of maize meal where he works, he has to find one who himself for his own family and garbage others. For instance, a man of the Kilbeachaglaird Kilbeach Kilbeach Kilbeach but to look his wife, his child, his sisters and his mother, as well as himself. Kilbeach Kilbeach, one of the neighbours who also worked as a boy, had a house to look his mother Kilbeach Kilbeach, his wife, his four children, and his mother. They possess of land 1 day to so go to in his use a small crop and his produce of his crops and Kilbeach Kilbeach other Kilbeach among right people to a bad season. Kilbeachaglaird considered as for a possible by the principle of Kilbeach, and a man who has built his own other Kilbeach his own family work, and then Kilbeach to look various others a visit to Kilbeach Kilbeach as we have just seen, the hut to look given people Kilbeach himself in trees, but in his use his normal use of Kilbeach Kilbeach may find a new provided more for his wife and children for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents also his old people as Kilbeach Kilbeach as also Kilbeach and used to him was give Kilbeach. If successful Kilbeach also should his old wife Kilbeach who never with him and more seriously. The distribution of meat may Kilbeach as follows:

Chief — 1/4 Kilbeach family
1/4 Kilbeach parents
1/4 Kilbeach parents
1/4 Kilbeach followers

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible]

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any wine, to his neighbours in the settlement – so that a man who gets a present of wine or of French tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not as much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used to welcome neighbour performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a slightly larger crowd, honey-wine is drunk; and when even still more men turn up a wedding or a wedding they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Swahili social life. When a man wants to relax, he has done and gone to sleep, but the amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting ceremonials, and also events in fact provide him with the entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called bawadi by the Swahili, which is played with seeds or pits, like to ludo to the ground or to a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Swahili or other one singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payments. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Swahili now wages, but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average is little over 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Swahili have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as apprentice for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what they think were luxuries. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, we find at present it does little or nothing to them, and they have not yet attained the enough into the investment stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The investment stage which the Swahili had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Swahili are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their real callings as pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some tribes, such as the Kipsigis Dorobo (a party of Kipsigis who are mainly cultivators and fugitives from various tribes; this is quite clearly not true of the real Swahili[1], who have only been the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] In my opinion is [illegible] p. 204.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] In a settlement or dwelling inhabited by several people, their wealth is shared in a definite way:

I	II	III	IV	V
9 a cloth	9 a cloth	9 a cloth	9 a cloth	9 a cloth
9 big bellies	9 big bellies	9 big bellies	9 chestnuts	9 chestnuts
1 big brother	1 a chestnut	1 a chestnut	1 a chestnut	1 a chestnut

A supplies 9 cloth, then I, II I has no food, but before anybody else is given food, V must give some to his father or father-in-law (I may be either male or female food, being available to all, is not shared).

[illegible] There is a clear division of expertise and between the sexes. Everything connected with building, fires, and weapons is done by men, women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important domestic occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1) Building (in	Building houses
2) Planning	Collecting vegetable food
3) Trapping	Looking after and dressed
4) Hunting (and as a result	Looking after clean clothing
5) Making hunting implements	Collecting other foods
6) Collecting fuel(s)	Making (in part) as a result
7) Building weapons	Making fuel(s)
8) Exchange with the French	Preparing skins
9) Looking (observed work	Making clothes (as
10) Looking (what he does when there	Care of the children
received and fulfilling	
11) Making (more)	Managing fuels (to
12) Performing heavy work (to the	Cultivation — all stages
disable)[1]	

[illegible] Children of both sexes help to worship and tending livestock, girls help [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers and family. If there is any area, to his relatives in the settlement, or that a man who gets a present or an act of friendly relations does not keep wealth at it for himself.

Stock, mainly in the form of beasts-sheep, is prepared not as wealth for private consumption as the stock gatherings. It is used to various religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or kin, he gives them beasts-sheep, when there is a dance (meet) beasts-sheep is killed, and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they shall beasts-sheep. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he has beer and goes to sleep, but his contentment is composed of social gatherings. Trading, commodity, and also wealth to him provide him with the entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and liquor. I see no sign whatever of the game called bao by the Kipsigis, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and none found is mentioned. I omitted one one board of a dance, and I never saw board a Dorobo of other any display.

The principal drawback of wealth is really a man's debt as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this debt are perishable, and certainly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Even that the old bi-string necklaces have gone. It is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth in a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo own wages, but enough for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average is now only 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little achievement to work for wages, except that by agreeing on an appointed for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on other way there were land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, one like of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the investment stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves for stock accumulation reserves or surplus wealth.

The investment stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'Ogiek Dorobo' (a name of Kenya who are mainly cultivators and hunters from various tribes, that is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo.[1] The tribe who form the subject of this paper, who are economically non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI for 1939, p. 335.

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Fig. 3. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has an "trigger peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright S, to which bone B is attached, thus releasing the bone and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the bone to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably two or three was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the lean days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Kisii for cereals and millet. A stock of dried meat (purchased about 3 ft. square, was sold for about 20 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (or, whenever evidenced) which are laid out on the drying tray or left over the fire to be smoke-cured, after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c. Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are* not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Kisii. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year they (very soon, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April	preparation of the land.
April-May	planting.
September	reaping.

* This refers to the years 1936-39.

and lying about on the floors. The only weapon is the bow, invariably called the Dondos make themselves from the hunter tree (*Dondos sp.*); it is about 5 ft. long and the bowstring, too, is made from part of the plant (fig. details). Arrow-shafts are made from the *Acrocomia* and *Astrocaryum* trees, or from bamboo, whereas arrow-heads are bought from the Ouaili, and are of the Ouaili patterns. Arrows are worked in extreme cases of need. Arrow guards are made from the outer bark (*Acrocomia*) (fig. details).

Basketry

Making baskets, hunglet, is a common occupation of Dondos women. They are made from fibre of the palmate monkeep palm, *Astrot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *Apparendo*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat fibre gradually overlying rod, of the simple over-and-under type and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *Apparendo* (vanilla aeroptiloba). Red and white earth is found near Tambarma on the east of the Dondos country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large basket bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Ouaili tribe, to 1936, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *arotuat*, is mixed with fat or grease oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *arootat*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *bibaddo* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 2 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of bark stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of tennis-racket rackets. These are sometimes used by the Ouaili.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Adeito, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Ado, ajaiyo jamyeh*, "*Ado*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arawa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Ado*, it is believed that there is a being called *Idri*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dondos also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *mwandos*, a word which includes the *mili* (ancestral spirits) and *mwandwandi* (evil spirits) of the Ouaili. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Ouaili, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, according to the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *bikwarb* (honey and sweet); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dondos appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Ouaili diviners of the type called *adeyaut*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *arbaiyat* (pl. *arbaidi*) among the Dondos are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dondos have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mahajirat* (*Dracaena sp.*) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

[illegible]

differ little from that used by the Maasi and many Bantu tribes. This one is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Maasi club, which they call *rungu*.* This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is an uncommon sight to see a Dorobo devoutly swinging the bow-string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Maasi pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Maasi fashion.

The *Maasai* and *Dorobo* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Maasi and Dorobi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Maasi and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ng* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diæresis has its usual grammatical significance.

' denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

" denotes a long open vowel. *ai* has been used in some words to denote an intimable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dolo*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ' appears over a vowel, it means that the letter has a

* This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Maasi *O-rorua*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *O-rorua* only also means the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ●

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

d. Cattle

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] and what can be avoided from it—would be the love and sorrow, horror for his wife and children and for horror, the birth of the Ch-ambakam [illegible] son, then for plotting into his hut, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things formed the business of the Dondo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dondo of the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Bushman is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales are been told to-day are, to all probability, but a few of the more widely-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the Bi'ukwe themselves and admitted by the Bushmen to be Dondo in origin.

The Jackal and the Elephant.—The Jackal, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "How am I inconvenienced by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in the manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of the place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich trader. The latter had cattle and

* "I am listening to something in the bush." (1) the Bushman's bush.

* *Ekwaxa ambakwaxa*, according to the authority quoted in Bushman. It is said as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Bushmen and is scarce in the Kalahari bushveld.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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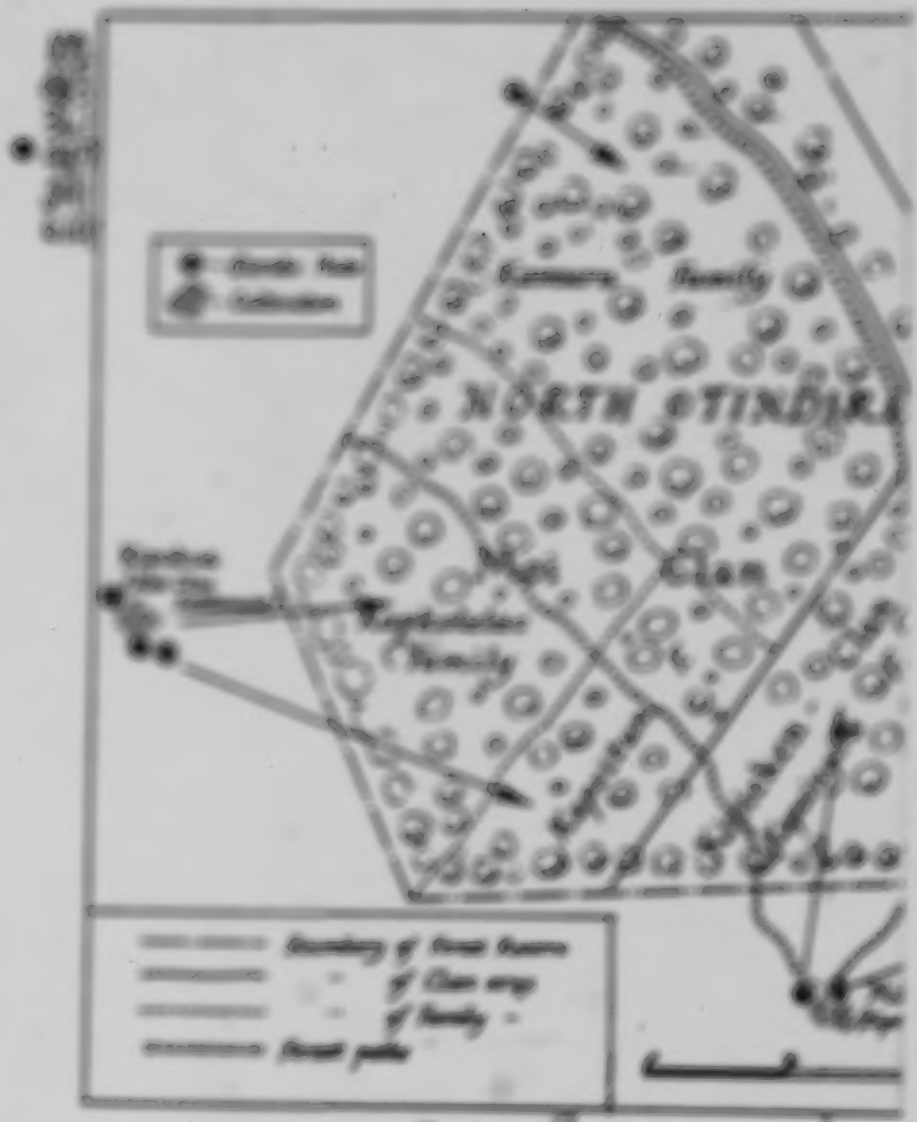

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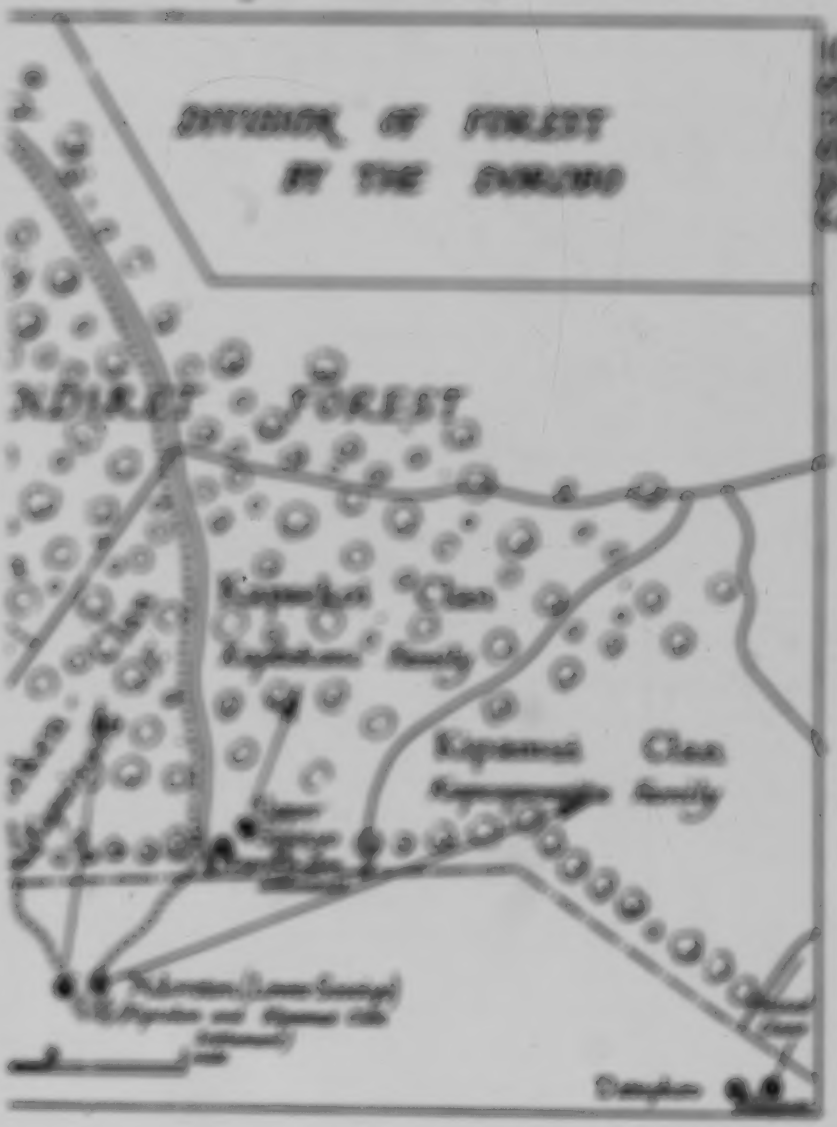
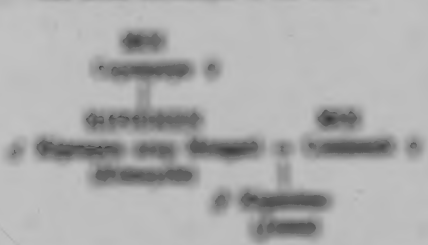
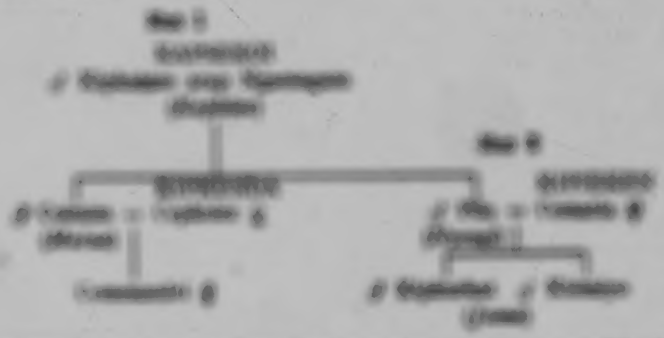

DIVISION OF FORESTS
BY THE ENGLISH
NDIRE FOREST
Kipsamut Clan
Kipsamut Clan

[p.57]





[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, new posts between existing the actual area of trees. This boundary has a high value for the Forest Department, but it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a belt of European forest which occupy the land between the forest and the Duala Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the forest most of the Duala now live, and it is on these farms that some of these were.[1]

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of woody Raso bracts volcanic, the Nkongsamba Basin-rock, as it does the case in eastern Europe. Between the trees and the forest are glades (prairie) shrubby open spaces separated from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. In ground level the open between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and [illegible] on frequent. In the dry months there is occasional frost even in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry months some moisture stays below the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of very exciting value, but it is from these several acres and we shall have to the Cameroons after its last judge more by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Canarium, three sp.	Bonnetia, euphorbia scandalosum.
Bubinga, acuminatissima Gilletiagum.	Anglea, gedunculata sp.
Eriospermum, nitida sp.	Asteranthi, mossa majora.
Lasiantheri, silvestris amaniensis.	Cynodium, mostra dictyoneuroides.
Khaldenyum, polygamum lomaglobosa.	Kostrum, arcuata mollusca.
Khaldenyum, discolorata sp.	Eglandia, three sp.
Alberticyum, dicu dicyanophylla.	Asterigum, ornatifolia stylosa.
Cleomeli, three sp.	Fort, jussiperma grossa.
Ficum, Dracaena sp.	

Where the Dendre forest in the forest, main homesteads were marked by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth, somethyin some of these paths are still used as approaches to heavy-laoded and game traps. The forest was far traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkorom to Isangire, the other parallel to it from Kipkorom to Isangire. These being the only through tracks, people going to Tinkonne have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The forest are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dendre and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sosoiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Meteitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tiset, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkulelac (I), Kapsituni (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group N° I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipungri, and Kipasa, three brothers; N° II by Arap Minia; and N° III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sosoiyo. The Ain ap Tiset is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Korucu who lives at Kipkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area N° V is held by the Kaporpousita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepousita who live at Ndoroton. Above this is area N° VI, held by the Kaptokoni, represented by Koriomoi who lives at Upper Sosoiyo in the forest. And finally N° VII is the easternmost area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkoo in the forest and Lower Ngatepkoo outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamnasutik, represented by Totê; Kamereua, represented by Nekui; Kapkorongua, represented by Kilanya; Kapkimanoari, represented by Arap Euni; Kapkipopo, represented by Kipirec; and Kapkuikoi, represented by Sulio[1]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of N° VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkulelac II. Family Kapsituni IV. Family Kamuru	Clan Moi.
III. Family Kapsingira	Clan Kipiekem.
V. Family Kaporpousita	Clan Kipamui.
VI. Family Kaptokoni	Clan Kapuekoi.

[1] The prefix *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e.g. *Kapsituni* is named from *Situni* the wife of Arap Minia's father's father.

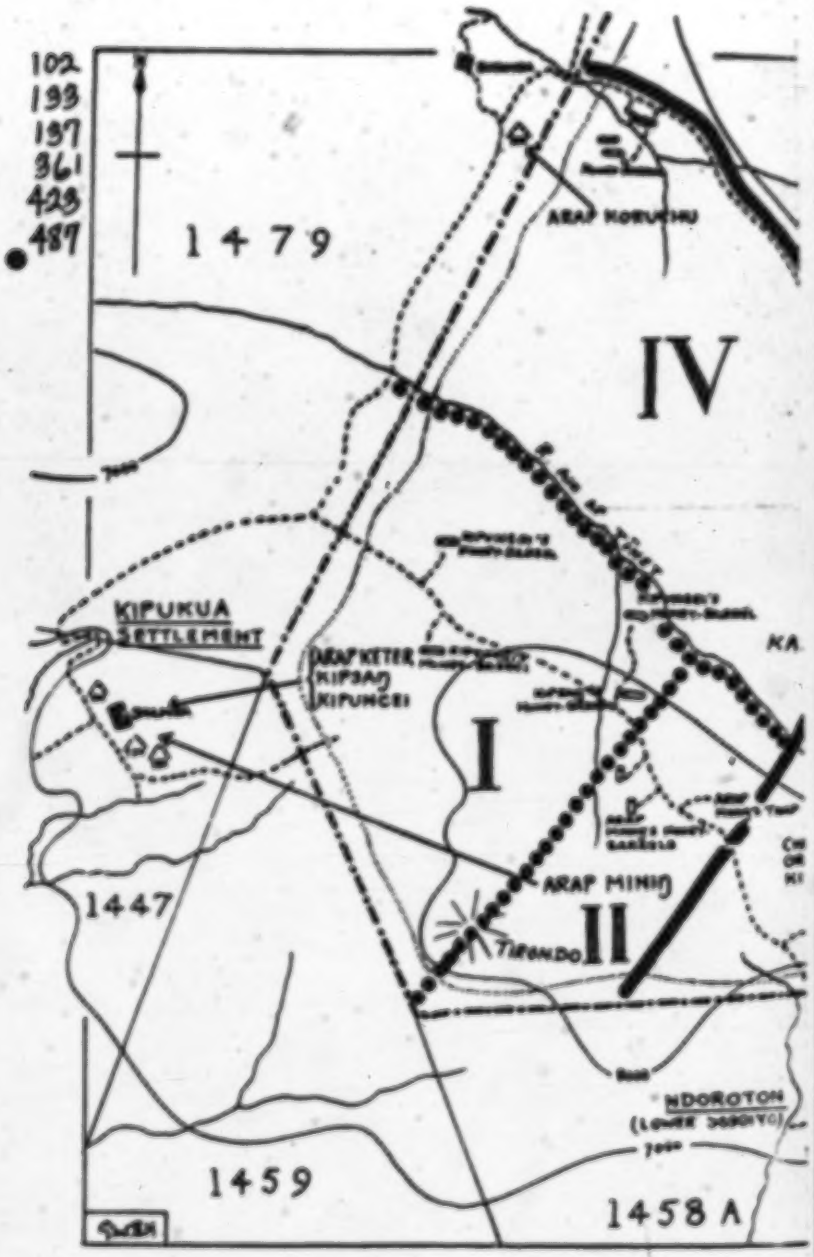
6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungri. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[186] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungri. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
● [487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *kesoget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *kesoget* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be
[224] remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

114 [1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.


102
193
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SETTLEMENT
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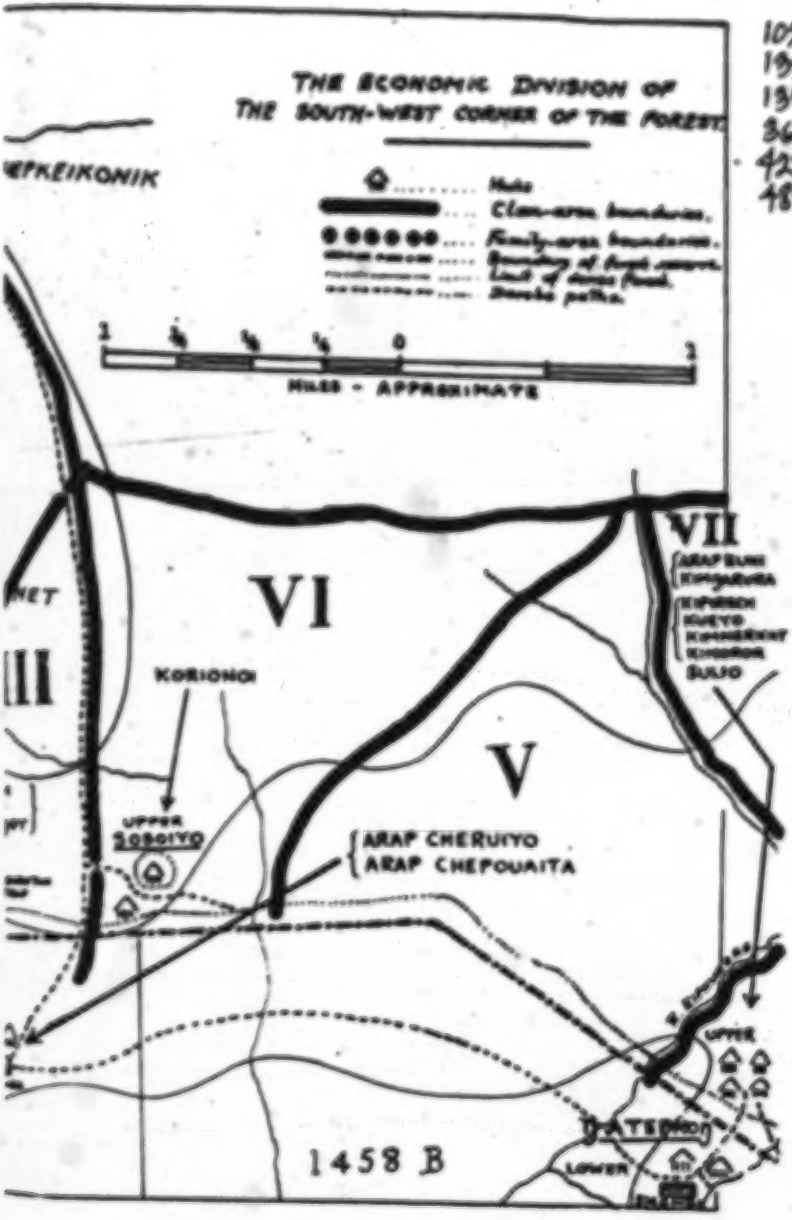
THE ECONOMIC DIVISION OF
THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE FOREST
MILES - APPROXIMATE
VI
V
VII
KORIONDI
ARAP CHERUIYO
ARAP CHEPOUAITA
1458 B

633

[P.191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oryon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monôsis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morog) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[489] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[191] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

Sketch-Map of the Kipkurerek Dorobo Country.

S:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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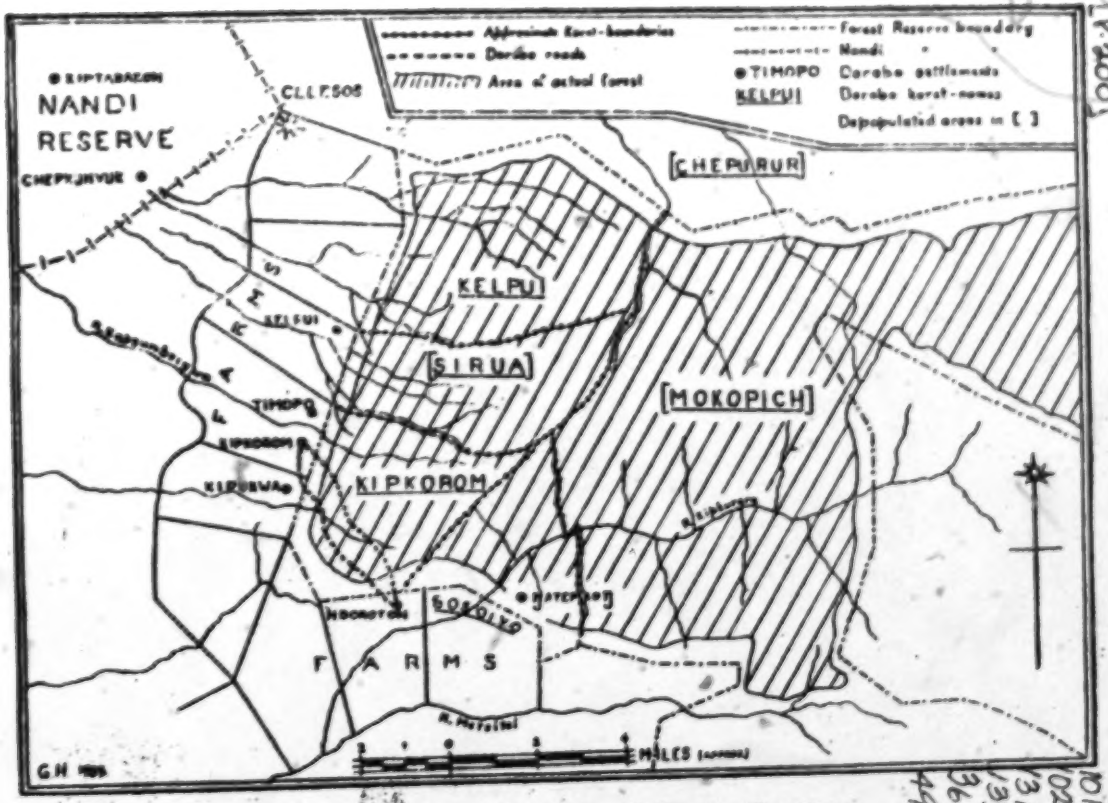

Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

P. 200
Mt. Elgon Kenya-Uganda
Mt. Elgon Forest Reserve
Mt. Elgon Game Reserve
Mt. Elgon National Park
Mt. Elgon Game Sanctuary

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6.

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

/64 cont'd/

"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Aboni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

648
101

Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being the common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

101

1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Honi. Aboni in Kikuyu means "the Honi people", and honi may be related to an original Nyika stem foni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by n, would give mboni in Ndia and honi in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

[492 231]

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
192 alja to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
071 find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
257 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndarerañg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (halo, hauerag) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
• 492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribót) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mat, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
824 set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
264 meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
825 grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
251 the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

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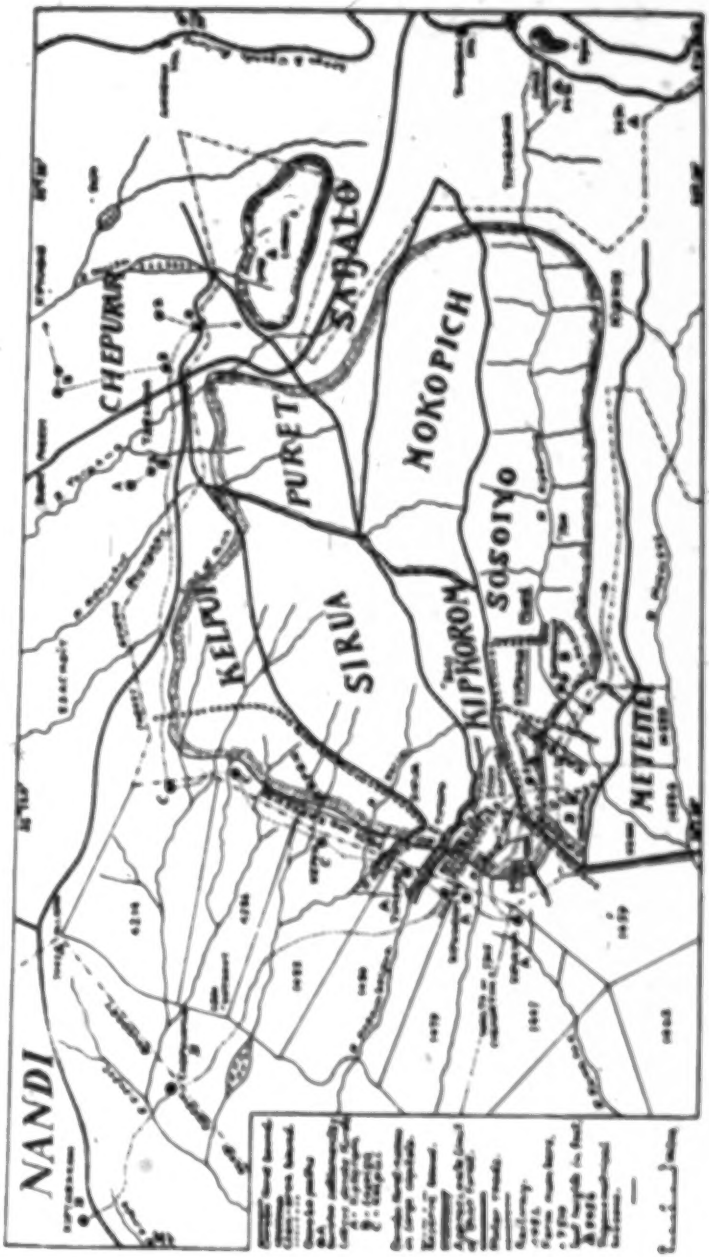

Sketch-Map of the Kipkoromek Dorobo Country.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

439 648 177 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 191 One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for [511] the boys' and mens' capes, called e megiti and en joriba by the Masai, which the Wandorobbo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvient because of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e megiti, rather more often an en joriba made of calf hides, which they [561] [237] buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of [439] the female black-heeled antelope. The costume of the women is here called ñik (pl. tik), as is the upper part of it (ol egichobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogemana gemána (pl. gemanán). The ol gela i ol morusk is here called ngk o dalima and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en joriba. Sandals (ichiba) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment 301 561 832 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [171] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. [782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Ulit, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What 765 171 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning. 3/A

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428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of [171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doreboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows 768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving [583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1/A. [See Masai FL12, 18 Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[071] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjë, mädjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndiro, ndareraŋg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriago), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (hallo, hauergg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (lelewgg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribé) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
• 512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[225] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes; as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired [356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and [462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, [281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy 439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

/235 cont./
411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirigẽ, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] [136] [283] [824] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 [273] [535] [533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

512 /237 cont./
517 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
[535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[533] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
127 each time by song.
[321]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

• 512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogesch.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorôbo live in little shelters or huts (*kochonget*, pl. *kochongesiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*itôkto*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muênik*; N. *muiuek*), upon which the occupants [513] eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mât*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [302] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sdtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*soiyet*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litêto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, [439] and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the Nandi; the Dorôbo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; N. *piônet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (N.),[1] about 15 ins. 372 long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*teet*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*sasyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porôwet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad oiik (*oiik* che *gach*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oiindet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad oiik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oiik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pondindet*, pl. *ponik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoinotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tiinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "opeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sukut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyuwet tree (N. *lapuonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakunyet*, or *koroiito* (*koroitu*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the rërendet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*ilgetik*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*poiisiek*, or *apaiisiek*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*ilpik*, N.) and women (*korusiek*, or *chepiosik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the sigiroinet (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*sureriat*; N. *sureret*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [731] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [241] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *ureriet*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

l:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngurei*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porousi*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

9:Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Ahamanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ng* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diæresis has its usual grammatical significance.

' denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

" denotes a long open vowel. *a* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dale*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the letter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

4:)Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his classmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1938 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo*, like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

* Cf. my remarks in *JRAI* 59. 1929. p. 378.

?: Weyland M-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6

24/ [171] [132] have called one is termed *kuse ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemeu*, a time of rain; and *Lelokwin*, a time of much rain. A form of

The Calendar.—The Wandorobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 5 and 6, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty. 105

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lelokwe, *Lemeku,* *Lekwe,* *Lemeu,*	*Lembweng,* *Lelokwe,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lelokwe,* *Lembweng,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lelokwe,* *Lembweng,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lembweng,* *Lemeu,* *Lelokwin,* *Lembweng.*

Food.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wandorobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chickens (the Dorobo say that this is because they—the Wandorobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and lion-traps are set for and with in the town. 262 [222]

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the harvests are cut, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community. 462

Recreations.—The Wandorobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

● 517

Manufactures.—The Wandorobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dorobo in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (*kwan*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kin*) come from the Dorlogo country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only barbed spears I saw in Kavirondo. They are handmade (*sotchokwog*) of Dorobo origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs. 430 [195] [213] [419] [411] [363] [531]

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the new finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 94) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [324] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- one of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [283] [324] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [191] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 820 191 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] [533] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night. From

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/337 cont./
which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied each time by song.

533 In a falsetto (1)

[24]

1. Recorded by Hans Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer than the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octaves; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /334/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each one heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[7] *Cf.* my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Keliek ap tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinet, punu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniu, a ma miniu misiu, tinye lakuennyi kitekin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecok cuto tiomik, mii samaktannyon; acome cepo samak.*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things) which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingeswoen ulinto timin, apēre mii tiond ake. Ne ni ne kuikuioti orūl?*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What (is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Apēre tumta.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, asuweni metit. Inguatinye kuyanda apēre no. A mamii kuyanda.*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingeswoen ole mwe.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6
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D 539

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [522]

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539 829

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

M 539

D 171 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupekei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamat', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement ; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine ; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk ; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages ; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

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[7] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

/235 cont./

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[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ñg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*[t]) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *powik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 39), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Soeoiyo, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *sakeyuot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to oil the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the African to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *comiet*, "affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca, 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-hâria*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inet*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootisi*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*hâtik*; sing. *hâte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandoi*). The arrow-head (*sipalda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunôno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Mâisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*itî*) obtained from the *Ñgoisiandoi*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Arat'chot*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikôitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mitian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 251.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngoswa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

difficult matter to explain how the *Méoiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Méoiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Méoiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Méoiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Méoiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaidga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Méoiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-ḳal* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipukander* (Nandi); *Hamshi* (*Méoiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-ḳal*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Méoiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

294 [371] [132] have called one is termed *Inap rope*. Planting is done in a season called *Lenkoiong*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemeu*, a time of rain; and *Lenkatu*, a time of much rain. A form of

305 *The Calendar.*—The Wandorobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lenkoiye,	*Lenkoiong,*	*Lenkoiye,*	*Lenkoiye,*	*Lenkoiong*
Lemeiki,	*Lenkoiye,*	*Lenkoiong*	*Lenkoiong*	*Lemeu,*
Lekwe,	*Lemeiki,*	*Lemeiki,*	*Lemeiki,*	*Lenkatu,*
Lemeu,	*Lenkatu,*	*Lenkatu,*	*Lenkatu,*	*Lenkoiye.*
?	*Lemeu,*	*Lemeu,*	*Lemeu,*	*?*
?	*?*			

262 [722] *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wandorobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chickens (the Dorobo say that this is because they—the Wandorobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and locusts are eat raw and wild in the bush.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

577 *Recreations.*—The Wandorobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

639 [787] [913] [619] [411] [852] *Manufactures.*—The Wandorobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dorobo in exchange for tobacco. Their skirts (*kanu*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiti*) come from the Dorobo country, just over the border in the Sotek. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Kenyasia. They use headrests (*orkidokuap*) of Dorobo origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

[531]

/Plate xxxv./

302 371 412 304 [284] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former owners.

Fig. 87.

The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol gorio), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (ngai) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

302 531 [286]

[291]

Fig. 88. Fig. 89. Fig. 90.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they call kewilirik, the latter they designate with the Masai word ol gilalgwet. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder of sengelgera - ochre, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre figure /Fig/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women the ochred-in of hipper design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

[292]

304 [285]

/310 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /781/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mendeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a money box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, supernatural spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled: they are called mbonono, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol emonotoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

600 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Blur test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble
171 those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

672 There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and
(614) persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by
both parties. If plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe.
(615) litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FLI2 Masai, 18Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

4:Huntingford E-S (1930-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

512 /237 cont./
512 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[223] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
[535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[533] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
121 each time by song.
[32 1]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /Staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /226/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: ɛ̈jo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogeach.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre [1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokandet* (Nandi); *Hoombi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littio*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *korosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parîgetuny[3] arap Ñgamûgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "îgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the *form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs*. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo[7], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[7] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as diriss, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

18: Merker--313 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

512 /237 cont./
512 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
[535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[538] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
121 each time by song.
[321]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Some *Mósiro* Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epilte dimda hitiò*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mósiroi* Dorobo whom I rallied on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutan* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mósiro* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I incommoded by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *En-dim*, bush.

[2] *Albizzia anthelmintica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kittito localities.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL 12

D 539

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [539]

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539 829

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M 539

R 171 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

2;Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitêto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balaâga* and no *Kisyalaâgai* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balaâga* or *Kisya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Masai*, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

• 538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 298 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F'LA Dorobo F'LA

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2: Magutu G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Durabo FLA

• 539 donkeys. The tortoise was selected, after much discussion, as the one to kill the snake, because the snake did not fear him (for his homes were outside his body) and would be likely to be off his guard in consequence. Neither did the tortoise (whose homes were outside his body) fear the snake. While the tortoise and the snake were fighting, the hyæna made off with the cattle and the hare took the donkeys. The hyæna, being greedy, ate all the cattle and then stuck their tails upright in a muddy place. He then ran to the hare, crying: "See! all my cattle have fallen into this swamp and only their tails can now be seen! Woe is me!" The hare, however, refused to allow himself to be deceived by the hyæna or to part with any of his donkeys, and went off to live with them. [illegible] them, and they have become the striped donkeys[1] one sees on the plains. The tortoise at length succeeded in killing the snake after a long battle, and looked round only to discover that he had been cheated and deserted by his companions. To this day he has been unable to catch them, as he is such a slow walker, but he has not given up the pursuit and still goes through the bush, calling to them always: "Kwe! Kwe!" (the distinctive and bell-like note of the tortoise that natives say is so often heard).

The Sun and the Moon.[2]—The sun and the moon quarrelled. The reason for this was because the moon wanted to appear in the daytime. The sun refused to agree, and they fought. The moon was wounded and was also badly wounded, a big piece being knocked out of it. This is why it is not round like the sun and why it goes low down in the sky nearly always and is only seen at night. It wishes to avoid the sun, of which it is afraid. When the sun disappears from view at night, it awaits a favourable opportunity and then, when it is cloudy, rushes across the sky to the east again (so fast that no man can see it). It then rests until it is time to begin work on the following morning.

The Dikdik and the Eland.—Of those whose meat is tender, the eland is the largest animal and the dikdik is the smallest.

[1] Zebra.

[2] No use for the moon is here given. See Hollis: *Nandi Language and Folklore*, pp. 113, 114. Orde-Browne: *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, pp. 111, 112.

Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dik-dik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (4 yrs. to point, 4 yrs. 3 ins., or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to eat. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out sometimes in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but on examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lend one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. H. P. Dutton&Co.), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to accelerate on the left of him on the crown of the head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aerials, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] Cf. *Hoey, Stable-, Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 238-238.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1924) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA
WASA: FL 12

D 539 supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: "You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up." The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

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D [539] M 239 859

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[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

The Sanye and Aringalo have been in subjection to the Gale, and speak dialects (370)
of Gale; the Bori hunt for the Sanuk. They call themselves Watta or Waiwa
(the Gale call the Sanye, Wanye, pl. Waiwa), which is also the name of a hunting
people in Abyssinia who speak Gale but have also a language of their own.[1] They
must themselves be the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta,
the Sanye, Bori, Aringalo, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dorze S.W. of
Lake Stephanie, and the Wagaro of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Shantil[2] to
be connected with the Dwellers. And it is not impossible to identify the people
called Gaiwi in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with
these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly wa-, and the g a plural suffix.
If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes
is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history :— 193

Ka-ki-manye ali-tuk kwanne-sha shikinye-tukul, kiwi
We-dwell here mountain-there at-the-stream, there-from

Shuli kwanne-i kwanne-i ah kyikwayuk kwanne-ta [194]
the-Sanuk side-the open-country-the and the-Gale-Galla-Masai side-the-from

shpiwi. Shikinye kiwi Khyakyaqwane shinye kwanne-sha tukul
he-plain. Gale-the there-from the-Galla-s there-of (or) mountain-there at

sha kwal ga Sukuf kwayuk-ga kwayu. Sha-ki-wane kiki'-sha.
there-from of Galla they-are-not language. Not-we-know thing-that.

("We have always lived in this country; the Shuli were on one side, in the
open country, the Gale-Galla Masai on the other side in the plain. Of old, the
"Sukuf" lived in the plain of Galla below. We do not know anything else.")

At the present day the Khwalla-Khyakyakwah Dwellers do not seem to be very 101
numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and
live on the edge (accepted up around). They assign as their reason for leaving the [4.]
forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (variola, ?), which must [4.4]
probably recall pox; the oldest of the Khyakyak age say this happened when they
were children, i.e. somewhere about 1880, when the Masai suffered heavily from
this disease. When we visited Dwellers here in the forest, we were told that there
were very few here in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dwellers like to make
it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] R. Cavalli, "The Folk-literature of the Gala of Southern Abyssinia" (Harvard African
Studies, III) p. 300; Shantip, "I and twenty stages west of mountain call also Shuqin."

[2] Bull. Soc. Geogr. Ital., Roma, s. 3, vol. 11, p. 170.

[3] Gale was one of the Shuli subdivisions, or "countries" which was not all also the Shuli
Province Expedition of 1900. It included the Dwellers country, and also the plain on the East
of the Shuli mountains from Mukenzi to Kibre, whose people were the Shuli with whom he
fight.

[123] [124] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their ethics in the following terms :—

Ko'nech kpâkh ol kwâch ake ngwach ak ake
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-go children good and children

[125] nech, ol kwâne pâk tukul, kpanâk ekâk'
bad this they-may-understand (-they) the-people ak. Ki'ne-ndiene the-men

ake tukul, kwâne, ol kwe enet ake,
other way, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and know what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

[111] The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Kwafi.
[116] They believe in a god Asista (K.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a
[113] sister Aruwa* (K.), the moon.† No offerings are made to either, but the men pray
[114] to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form :—

Asista* kpâp'-ech emâk,
God, Ill-he-will the-food,

[115] or,

Aruwa,* kpâp'-ech emâk,
Moon, Ill-he-will the-food,

[116] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (mindet, pl. mik, K.) which are good and
[117] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good ones (with the subjunct) to obtain food and
[118] health, e.g. :—

Ole, kpâp'-ech emâk,
Thou-spirit, Ill-he-will the-food,

[119] Ole, kpâp'-ech ngwet,
Thou-spirit, Ill-he-will the-health,

[120] Libations of honey and water (ngwenâk)‡ and of honey-wine (kipkelach, K.) are
offered to the good ones, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are
made from gourds (kwesta), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[121] kpâp'-ech emâk ol kilpâpo ngwet,
Ill-he-will the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[111] * I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamite group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (See Nandi, The Sun, for the views of the Suk, Kipsigis, Turkana, etc.)

† The Nandi also ask.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

Note.—In the foregoing vocabulary the letter (K.) does not necessarily mean that the equivalent Kenili word has exactly the same meaning or the same form as the Dorobo word. In several cases the Kenili words have quite different meanings, though referring to the same sort of thing as the Dorobo word, e.g. "moonshine," the Dorobo for "night," means in Kenili, "darkness when there is no moon." And where, e.g., "goat" is marked (K.) it does not necessarily follow that the Kenili is "goat" (in this case the Kenili is "gat"). The object of the indication is to show what words are to be considered Kenili, what words are to be considered dialect, and what words Masai.

Examples of Dorobo. (Free Dorobo in Italics.)

Kenili Child of brown bushpig(sic)
They are walking down looking at the Dorobo that they may know the hole
shape pith up annulus.
which are of the people of the forest.

Kenili sunshine moonshine heavens-the.
Sun and heaven are the same (as) the heaven (as) moonshine-there.

Hill Kimnel in large flocks.
There is the bridge which between the stars.

Kenili Kimnel dig (gift).
Wage that we may have with the dogs.

Kenili shoot-rabbit A month's rainbow-bird hyrax of brown
And he says the rainbow I went thought that the women that she may shoot
cripple.
the rain.

Kenili small Kimnel hunt in many's pit rail
Wage hunt we have the bushpig which hillside when the
chimpanzee.
the forest.

VII.—Law or Dorobo and Plains.

Dorobo.	Kenili.	Dorobo and Kenili Names.
chebenchet	[illegible]	
chepkolyot		
chemkolyot	chemkolyot	
chemet	chemet	*Same as.*
kolil-ap-Kenili		
kipsomek	somogonet	
kipsot-kolil	kipkolilion	

[illegible] In Mr. Hobley's vocabulary of Kenia Dorobo (Man, 1903, 37), the phrase "[illegible] sweet," lit. "we go to Kenia," is given for "Kenili."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makiewpe papa ne kwoiyo a kupiro lakwat; makiewpe kokwey papa; makimwoci korkut ak siyo nolok ee ormis, anwa ya, agwi nolok ap kwonisiat; kiorwenichiki tukul.* ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything so drastic as *Amin ololai* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go so far as *Iaw piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Most double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimion and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

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539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

525 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: ñjo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku apoggech.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

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695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

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539 224 278 411 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol doroboni shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol doroboni found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again stalked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch fire-wood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.

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• 539 When he returned with a load of wood, he called out: "Father, come quickly, some game animals have appeared." The old man came running, saw two large antelopes, and killed them. Then he started to cry and said: "My dear child, sit down and eat." He himself, however, ate nothing. When the boy had eaten his fill, dawn had come, and the father sent him to the camp to call the people and they, too, would come to eat. When they came, the old man asked: "Is this one here, is that one here?" and so on until he had mentioned the names of all his campmates. When he was convinced that all were present and were eating, he said: "Hear me, I am evil, I am not a human being, but a monster. Before I shot these antelopes, I intended to kill and eat my son. I am too evil to live with you any longer and deserve death." With these words he slit open his belly, tore out his intestines, and cut them up.

A man had killed an antelope; another man stole the game from him. The injured one now plotted revenge. One day he took a child of the thief with him into the steppe and told it that it was to creep into the earth hole of a wild pig. After it had done this, he called its father and said to him: "There in those holes is a wild pig, it will come out soon, shoot it." Then he knocked on the ground as a signal that the child was to come out of the hole. When it dashed out, its own father, who took it for a wild pig, shot it with his poisoned arrow.

An ol doroboni shot a buffalo and sold a piece of its skin to a Masai warrior, who wanted to make a shield out of it and remained in debt for the payment. One day the two met in the bush. The warrior had just come from plundering livestock and was leading a large head of cattle. He requested the ol doroboni to watch it a moment while he wanted to go to a nearby brook in order /266/ to drink water. When the warrior had gone off, the ol doroboni struck dry wood together and shouted as though he were being threatened. The ol murani thought that the owner of the head of cattle had come with his friends in order to take it back again and therefore stayed

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• 539 away. The ol doroboni intended this to happen. He then killed the animal at once, caught its blood in a leather bag, and carried the meat home. The next day the ol morani though that the ol doroboni had deceived him and went to his camp. He asked the wife: "When did your husband last bring meat home?" She replied: "Last month." To his further question, "Where is your husband?" she said: "He is lying in the hut and is very sick." The warrior did not believe this and wanted to see the man himself. The old ol doroboni quickly put some cattle blood in his mouth and then came creeping out slowly and groaning. Then he started to cough and spat out the blood. The warrior thought that the sick man was about to die and quickly ran away. That is how the ol doroboni managed to have himself repaid generously for his piece of buffalo skin.

Two Wandorobo, an industrious one and a lazy one, went hunting. The former killed an antelope, some of which the two ate immediately. Then the industrious one grew thirsty and told the other one to fetch water. But he refused and said that he would watch over the meat while the other one went to drink. After he had gone, the lazy one set to work to tie up the meat and carried it off. On the way he met the other one. The latter said: "Why did you take my meat away?" The former replied: "This is my meat, yours is still lying at the spot where you left it." Then the industrious one set out in the direction of the spot, but turned around after a few steps and, making a detour, ran quickly to the camp. There he said to the wife of the lazy one: "Go to the hut of my wife, I am expecting your husband in your hut, we have something to talk over." The wife went, and the industrious one waited for the lazy one in the latter's hut. When he arrived, he called out: "Wife, here is meat, take it." The industrious one said: "Hm!" and took the meat. "I'm going now," said the lazy one, "and fetch the skin of the game." With that he departed, and then the other one at once carried the meat to his hut, where it was immediately roasted and already eaten when the other one returned. He had no longer found the skin: a hyena had dragged it off or devoured it.

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• 539 Two Wandorobo killed a buffalo and decided to eat it all immediately, in order not to have to give any of it to an old man following them. They ate such quantities that even their ears became quite fat and the ear lobes so swollen that they burst the ol gissoi ornaments. Then they saw /267/ the old man coming from afar and wanted to consume the rest of the meat quickly. But then both of their stomachs burst, and, when the old man appeared, he found them already dead.

An ol doroboni set out to hunt and shot a large antelope. Immediately thereafter he noticed how, high above him, vultures were circling around the slain animal. He was afraid that other Wandorobo, alerted by the birds, would come hurrying up to eat with him. So he shot at the birds and, since they were soaring high above, stretched his bow with all his might. The arrow flew so high that he lost sight of it. Then he bent down to drink the fresh blood of the antelope. The next moment the arrow came back and struck him in the neck so that he died. The men approaching found animal and hunter lying dead side by side; they dragged the latter to one side and consumed the game.

An ol dorobooni shot an antelope cow, and, since he did not want to give anyone any of the meat, he ate it immediately on the spot. Then, in order to quench his thirst, he lay down at the only small pool of water that was to be found far and wide, and drank it to the last drop. When he now wanted to stand up in order to go home, he was unable to move. A lion came and devoured him. That was the punishment for his greed, which granted nothing to the others.

An ol dorobooni had two sons whom he loved very much and for whom he provided as best he could. Every day he brought home meat from hunting and gave them large pieces of it, so that they would become big and strong. When they had grown up, the two went hunting together and agreed that they intended to eat the slain

/267 cont./

• 539 game immediately and not take any of it back to camp for their parents. They stalked the whole day without being able to kill one animal, and in the evening they returned home tired and hungry and were given food by their father. The next day they set out again with the same agreement, and, when they saw no game, one of them climbed a tree in order to look around. Then there suddenly came a giraffe that wanted to drink some of the raindrops hanging on the leaves of that tree. The one sitting in the tree quickly clung to its neck and at the same time cut it in two with his knife. The collapsing animal partially buried him under it, so that he lay there unconscious. Then his brother came and sprinkled him with water, but in vain. Then he cut a piece of fat out of the giraffe and held it under his nose. When the sick man smelled the fat, he woke up; his greed for it had awakened him. The other one now gave expression to his joy over the fact that the sick one could not yet eat, and that he /268/ would be able to consume the huge animal alone and undisturbed, by such excessive laughter that he, too, fell unconscious. Then his brother brought him back to consciousness, just as he had for him before, by the smell of a piece of fat. But he, too, remained so weak that he could not think of eating. Soon the men of their camp came, carried home the sick ones, who were unable to eat anything for several more days, and consumed the meat of the giraffe.

An ol dorobosi shot a big antelope, sat down to it immediately, and ate as much as he was able to gulp down. He hid the rest of the meat for later. Through so much food he had become thirsty and therefore went to look for water. During this he met another man, who led him to the only pool in the whole vicinity. When the latter now asked the former for a piece of meat as a reward, he gave him only a small, poor piece. Then he again returned to the place where he had hidden the meat, in order to eat some more. But with the first bite he choked; he had to cough so hard that something ripped in his stuffed belly. With difficulty he dragged himself home, where he lay still for a long time. This illness was God's punishment for

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• 539 his stinginess. He was very stingy even toward his own children. One day he shot a wild pig. Again he sat down immediately and ate more than half the animal at once and hid the other meat in a tree. He lay down under it to sleep, when the branch on which he had hung the meat broke and crushed his spine.

A lion was friendly with a hyena. The lion killed a game animal every day and left only the bones of it for the hyena. So one day the latter said to the lion: "Do not eat the hearts of the game animals, for otherwise you will fall ill, you have already eaten so many of them in your life." From then on the lion no longer ate the heart, but when it had finished its meal, the hyena came and ate the heart or took it to its young. Now, once when the hyena's children were playing with those of the lion, the latter saw that the former had a piece of heart and mentioned it later to their father. The old lion told them to cry and tell the hyena that it had died. The latter soon came along, sobbing, and wailed over and over: "Who will now hunt game and leave me the heart of the game?" The lion heard this. It saw that the hyena had deceived it, it pounced on it and killed it.

An old blind ol dorobonj whose wife had died lived alone with a small son. The other people of the camp had traveled on, /289/ and the two had been unable to follow them. They nourished themselves mostly on roots and berries, but the child was still too small to be able to search out enough food for both of them. So the old man often had to go hunting, whereby his son led him and directed the bow for him. After the father had shot, the little one always thought he had not hit anything, because the game would run away. But the old man heard it whenever the arrow struck and then sent the child ahead to look for the slain animal.

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[598]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Ekrunion is made into beer as well as eaten; honey provides both food and intoxicant (hydromel), and salt is made by burning the leaves of *Asperugoni* (*acrolis integrifolia*). 273 262 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division of the enbowt among the four households which form it. 261 619

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

A¹, A² [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- hushpit]

3:Huntingford E-3 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] An elevenclan, a man becomes *Arap* (*asoon*), "Son of (Bo-and-so)," e.g. a boy named Kipon, whose father's name is Kimirilig, becomes Kipon arap (K)imirilig, and is known as *Arap* (K)imirilig. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,[a] K.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and a preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father so much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father rope (*sambut*, pl. *sambutsiek*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Colobus ellipsodactylus*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarokik*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," K. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*chemlit*, K.).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopoi*"; answer, "*Chem-le*" (double). To girls and women, "*Tilimongo*"; answer, "*Eji*."

(b) Of farewell:—"*Saisoo*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisoo ak ingo*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisoo ak ahool*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chem-le*" as the answer to "*Sopoi*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*kemet ap ailit*, which, however, are seldom used. Vide infra.

4/Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) [illegible] (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *kotut ap ceweekit* (or, *ceik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name; when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Maiing's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

Father's father:	Kipee	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimapa	Kipee
His son:	Tiongol	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet (still in the womb)	Kimapa
		Tiongol

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*kimat* are research). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relations, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kibaria Nowa*, "we call you [such and such a name]", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nicknames. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like *Kipkurum*, "left-handed", *Kimoroket*, "he cook", *Foregonay*, "bowlder".

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(6) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's personal name preceded by the word *kimāt*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the personal name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's personal name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Maiyo's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of he made a journey". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always circumcised) belonging to the father of Ole, who was generally known as Arap Ngetuegem, was Pudiaria Sitiki Kipkurere arap Ngetuegem, the first being his spirit-name, the second his personal name, the third his nickname, and *Arap Ngetuegem* his patronymic.

On the subject of naming children, Arap Maiyo said in 1935, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Kirui (Lumbwa) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkosi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkosi because the father was working on a farm". (Kosi from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, conversely as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figure for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 38 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
3 were of Dorobo men with Kipsigis and Terik women;
30 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Kipsigis man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women rarely get married to men more inferior to Nandi.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

95.

C46 Name-giving or adoption of names boys, girls, human, married women, parents.

553 The Wandandéi are not so extravagant with names as the Ilmeni. As soon as the upper incisors of the child — boys and girls — come through, it receives from the mother or a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Aré nor among other Wandandéi did the author find names peculiar to these nations, the people here them that we were familiar with among the Ilmeni. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered: "An ancestor and wealthy Ilmeni was called that." If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the same fetish.

The girl, at her marriage, is given a second name by her husband, outside of whom, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave deed performed in hunting his companions give the deliverer a name corresponding to the one that the at present deceive also killing an enemy in war. The occasion is often the slaying of an elephant, by which the names of other girl or friends refer. The heroes refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (= silver) fat, looks speckled (gol). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the passive rest called ye mele. Another name is ol ehy dole (blame) word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a greater hunting expedition is called ol dolet upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Ilmeni for a period of time also receives.

551 After the birth of the first child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Bolodgon, the father is designated as ang Bolodgon (father of B.), the mother ene B. (mother of B.). After the death of the first child, the parents, in like manner, are [illegible]

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• 55 [first sent.] named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

— [Tone] VII.

600 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

61 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (kopolendo, kopolelli) form an age class (olbilodigi), which however is quite distinct from that of the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called kerorig (sing. kererondigi), corresponding to the el kerret of the Masai. When the latter become el moran, the former correspondingly become ildoonyo (sing. ildoonyoni), and later, with their marriages, ildilos (sing. ildilosi), corresponding to the el moruak of the Masai. The kopolendo dress exactly like the el dialio, and, like them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (el kerr) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobbo have no terms of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the el oibonot, whom the Asá also call ollaroq, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The olbilodigi also choose their head -- the el ayeyoi of the Masai -- who here is called olig or laiboloja or also oyeyoi. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges either. Then the olpiro bilgi, whose rank is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the el oiyeyoni of the Masai. The bilgi corresponds to the el oibonot of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobbo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1. [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Berber, also chief of the Asa--Amalyet]

Engi is said to have instructed the Dambo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Shami to bring him a bell, the thing of which was pure white, and the Dikoyo an animal called Baka (a hamstring ox or antelope).

The Dambo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them to the required sandals before Engi; the Shami brought a bell that no sells only; and the Dikoyo the animal called Baka.

Engi then told each tribe to take its respective share and to search the enemy separately and at different points.

The Shami, searching into Dikoyo from Fatmaka, fell upon the smaggers first, and taking all their cash there them as to the Dikoyo, who in their turn drove them on to the Dambo, by whom they were finally caught.

The Shami or Cafe men then disposed of, and sold by the same Engi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of that tribe, while prisoners by the Dambo, are no consisted of their descendants in Dikoyo. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bambiu, who is still alive and resides in one of Bongi's villages. She was formerly Chief Queen's name.

Previous to my the Shami kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dambo and Dikoyo, who joined forces and fought war on them. After a time had been made the Dambo and Dikoyo fought amongst themselves.

If the Dikoyo were in fire and between they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dambo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which ultimate of no consequence and could have but one end.[1]

In an incredibly short time the grass prevented forests, the home of the Dambo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Engi-nat of the nature of living many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Bongo, Fatmaka, Bertoa, Kijoto, on Lukigia and Mau, at Tororo, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kimanyo.—(We also had news to this last place from the Agandian). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dambo living in widely different localities speak the same language.[2] The Bongo, Fatmaka, Kijoto, and Bertoa Dambo, and those of similar colonies still, if questioned as to whom they come from, readily mention Kavirondo and Kisumu[3] as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we have little or nothing. They appear to have been one branches, the Agandia and the Dambo; the former formed the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these give way to day for the more permanent to the Dikoyo country, though of course they formerly built somewhere the same as opposition the forest. They are also said to have lived their

[1] The fact Dikoyo is some how the enemy appear to have been almost entirely congenial persons and they accordingly did not interfere in all with the Dambo. The two entirely into seem to have possessed the whole continent from Victoria Nyanza the right to some place of land or other. The same reason is often put down for their no friend as Dambo were doing as a settled and growing concern to some persons in the same manner as Negro [illegible] the Jews [illegible] they have been put on the map a settled tribe of agricultural people.

[2] Query. Do natives use to speak with Kavirondo tribe the enough generation to signify [illegible] this language?

[3] The country lying between the Nyanza Gulf and Kisumu is Dikoyo.

that one thing he said for both the female and female, and if they are as wife in the kindergarten's settlement it were be promised from respective also. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Fault

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dundee and Fault as members of the Fault group:

Dundee and Fault women: 8	Dundee and Fault men: 10
Dundee and Rose women: 5	Dundee and Rose men: 7
Dundee and Folk women: 5	

Marriage of Dundee women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dundee, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have considered an insult, such marriages also mean the cessation of work to the Dundee.

Polygamy

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Dundee settlers have the custom of acquiring wives from one wife or a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. No one genealogy a women had as few lives with successive husbands, none of these her husband's brothers, and her only three was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Fault, the Dundee recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives, it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only, permanent. The husband may claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any reason whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, experienced, and the mother in presence of possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body meal for that period for several months, while the father living allowed to eat only fat fish. The mother must be purified by her husband, who fetch a good reward for most exquisite ceremony if he has none of the worst and who for the most intelligent grass which from the stomach of her fish, tongues, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's chief performance consist by they both must be separated by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her nearest friends. The Dundee and that if a man has an x may

Children receive their first names, the right-name, soon after birth, on naming the Fault, the name is not used, but they the child and, a preceding spirit. The parent or principal name is given before the child was born, or the day after birth if it has given solid food, and is called "grandpa name" in imitation of the Fault animals. Children may also be given nicknames which allow refer to some physical peculiarity, other circumstance, their favorite things can do, about who calling them

b Huntingford B-4,1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

patronymic from their father's prestige name. Younger men generally take their patronymic from the father's distinction, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1938-39. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save in detail) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same six names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mot* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Lapkitalik*, the senior; *Tapsiret* or *Kipkilionyoch*, the middle; and *Kwondamet* or *Kipkendich*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own kinds, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Previous Generation

Local Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in their settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiek* (*koronet*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1906 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest, after that they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kwal ap oret*, the *kwond* of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the names, three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal. Though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of this, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exemption before the possibility to the influence of the Nandi, among whom this marriage are common between people of different totems. (See p. 31.) There exist to be no restrictions either on marriage between [illegible] or on eating or using the [illegible] animals, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were totemistic, and that their present constitution is a relic borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which enough [illegible] of the reported clans are all Nandi.

[illegible] Nandi occasionally are spared to this end. [illegible] Nandi word meaning "the name."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *koinet ap ceweriké* (or, *ceik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relations on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, passing after each name; when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Maiyo's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipus	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimnyo	Kipus
His son:	Tiongui	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet (will be) born	Kimnyo
		Tiongui

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*koinet ane mosorok*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relations, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kibwris kimwa*, "we call you forth and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkenon, "left-handed", Kimoroket, "fat neck", Parapkuny, "bandylegs".

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

551 (6) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Bleing'a younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngumuguo, was Paulikio Ndoki Kipkotuno arap Ngumuguo, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngumuguo his patronymic.

553 On the subject of naming children, Arap Bleing said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Kotet (Cromwell) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkosi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkosi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kosi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

583 1951 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, conceivable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
3 were of Dorobo men with Kipsigis and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Kipsigis man.

Of the Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their consequent inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

9:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Oi si nyon koo ingoti kokwet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*sesut*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cowwokik, okkwe kiony ne kiyan,
Apoto, give-us animal which we may kill,
okkwe kwesik ni kiyaiyo.
Give-us honey enough to satisfy us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokwesik*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowwokik, apiiyan emalit,
Apoto, fill-us-with food,
ni kiyaiyo sogiet.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realises that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kimyon ni kwelyo, koro ne koree ole ne aciset, ni kosagh*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn right across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realises that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1937 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timaya, with

/340 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names boys, girls, hunter, married woman, parents.

• 553 The Wandorobo are not so extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother or a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Asá nor among other Wandorobo did the author find names peculiar to these tribes, the people here there that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered "An esteemed and wealthy Masai was called thus" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Kulúk.

The girl, at her marriage, is given a second name by her husband, outside of whom, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave [171] deed performed in hunting his companions give the deliverer a name corresponding to the one that the el murani receives after killing an enemy in war. The occasion is often the slaying of an elephant, to [551] which the names el ollon gîl or kimûjo refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (el ollon) fat, looks speckled (gîl). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called en mûjo. Another name is el ollo olûl (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a greater hunting expedition is called el dorpi upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

[55] After the birth of the first child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Salalgon, the father is designated as ang Salalgon (father of S.), the mother enor S. (mother of S.). After the death of the first child, the parents, in the manner, are [i.e., a Masai word--Kaulpak]

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Table of Clans

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, and clan by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kipsaket *	Kipsaket Bird	Nandi clan	ancient name
Mai *	Mai	Nandi clan	ancient name; Dorobo ancestor had two
Kipsiker *	Kipsiker	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipsomet *	Kipsomet	Nandi clan	duiker
Kipsiz *	Kipsiker	Nandi clan	bush pig
Tuiyot *	Tuiyot	Nandi clan	rats
Kimnyo *	Tuiyo	Nandi clan	hyrax
Tuiy *	Tuiy	Nandi clan	lion

The clans omitted here are: "Kipsongol," corresponding to the Nandi Kamoiboi, name particular Kipsiker," corresponding to the Nandi Kipsiker, totem the sun; and Kimpo, apparently Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of Nandi origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. The council consists of all the old men of the clan. Legal cases are heard by a chairman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a pot of honey-wine as it is over a social gathering, which it is more or less. Disputes is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between members, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, Kimnyikindet, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires the position to which the name may go down the Nandi pattern (p. 58).

The Ward

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (kororosik, sing. koro) governed, due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council made up largely of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it, the council who order a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space has which the Nandi has been shaved. The function of the koro council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as kimnyikindet, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he succeeds his office in the same way. There was no chief of the Dorobo.

The koro is divided into nine territorial wards (from north to south), Cheptuiy, Kaiyet, Kony, Kipkoren, Tuiyoo, Kimnyo, Kipsigis, Pure, and Tuiyo. In 1938 only three of these were occupied: Kaiyet, Kipkoren, and Tuiyo (which had by that time encroached into Nandi).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, bush-

4:Huntingford K-S (1938-1939) 195: PLA Dorobo PLA

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the last to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Mukiosyo gaqua ne kwisa a kajisa kakwai*; *mukiosyo kakony gaqua*; *mukiomuni kachai ak aiya mukik ar ewosi, amma ga, ngai mukik ap kamwisi*; *kiwomwechini kakwai*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i.e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'shun fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever saw his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps to the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a male or unchivalrous child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Awos ekidet* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iwo gwi* (get out), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Semi-deaf, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped to and fro, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Komoiso and his wife, to whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

6:Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Kavirondo tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a morning they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep, but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, conversation, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerandi* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average is little more than 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'Okiek Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo.[1] The Dorobo who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in *JRAI* 69 (1939) p. 69.

[2nd corr.]
951 earned after the eldest living child. Among the Ad-am Ikwerre took the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

[New] VII.

600 Circumcision of the boys. — Age classes. — Organization of the circumcised young men. — Circumcision of the girls.

[illegible] The circumcision of the boys and girls is nearly the same as among the Ibibio and takes place at the same time as that of the Ibibio boys. The newly circumcised boys (ngwobenge, ngwobofig) form an age class (ebibenge), which hereafter is named from that of the Ibibio. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called henneng (dog, henneneng), corresponding to the ei henek of the Ibibio. When the latter become ei ndiong, the former correspondingly become ndiong (dog, ndiongng), and later, with their marriages ndiong (dog, ndiong), corresponding to the ei nnenek of the Ibibio. The ngwobenge live exactly like the ei ebibio, and, like them, they go out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ei henek) of the Ibibio get a new name, that of the Ad-ampis is also. They cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The names the Wandoffos have as names of their men for the age classes is — also according to their own explanation — that the ei ebibio, whom the Ad-am call ndiong, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely unbecoming if some poor, impious people came to him with such a request. The ekpukpog, who chases furs [illegible] — the ei nnenek of the Ibibio — who have to collect nuts or bananas as also nnenek. As among the Ibibio, this is an honorary position without duties, but have without any privileges either. Here the group ikpap, whose task is chiefly to assist digging, corresponds to the ei ngwobenge of the Ibibio. The ikpap corresponds to the ei ndiong of the Ibibio. He is the leader in hunting, especially the large expeditions, which often lead the young Wandoffos in pursuit of elephants for [illegible] their camp. Only one who, in hunting

* [Chief of the Ibibio people, and according to Barker, also chief of the Ad-am-Ikwerre.]

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a present or an ox of Kondi, whoever does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used to cement neighbourly relations, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep, but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, conversation, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerenik* by the Kondi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

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[1] Cf. my remarks in *JRAI*, 69, 1939, p. 172.

4.3.2 the absence of pastoral and agricultural habitations and cultivations, for both myths, and in fact for everything about them. Today it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

[4.3.2] [3.1.4]					
	Men:	Trapping game in the forest Making weapons, tools/tools, etc. Both: working for wages		Cultivation of shambas	
Family	Women:	Preparing the meals of trapping Making baskets, mats, clothes, etc. Household and food collecting		Cultivation of shambas	Both
[3.1.1]	Children:	Weeding Hunting Housework			
[3.1.2]	Men Living Alone:	Trapping Making things Preparing the meals of trapping Cooking housework		Cultivation of shambas	Both

● [3.1.4] Therefore this Canadian anthropologist, with a hunting background, and much to view as the ultimate achievement, that though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Chenchu (in 1939 at least) had a consistent economy in their pursuit of the ultimate goal.

3. Economic Activities

a. Purchasing

[3.1.1] [3.1.2] [3.1.3] [3.1.4] Money is to the Chenchu what milk is to the Dumb. It is sent-sacred [illegible] has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules exist to [illegible] but the majority fall. A person dead and are true as blood as the sons they that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, like of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Every Monk will, [illegible] unconsciously, that the reason for this law "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-hunt". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be other simply respect to the honey, finds a law that if married disrespectfully the majority will fall; or else fear of a which pointing a spell on the bees or honey

[3.1.4]

Fig. 9. Plan of a Dundee dhumba or hulpa showing a Fresh dhumba.

or Kipsikay in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called dreemal, that the original dhumba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dundee has a dhumba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a hoop, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dundee share part of a brand dhumba with Fresh (Fig. 9).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. But not white earth to boast over Thirteens (or Fourteens, as the Dundee call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, dawot, made of a sharpened ender, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags, by turned days, when other Dundee tend to the earth-producing ones, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the ones who owned over that tract of land, and though we for some to have been part, it is said that if a man should refuse the request, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dundee ever live there, this could not be verified. Today the Dundee sell coloured earth to the Fresh, who pay them at the rate of 3 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, ordeet, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cassava oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, cooroh, is used as a magical remedy in cases of toothache.

4. Cattle

If the Dundee had ever been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest is the soil as it is possible that they would have commenced themselves with agriculture and active trade. But their relations with the Fresh have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

Cunningham R-5 (1936-1939) 1953 FLA Durobe FLA

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payments, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Kotet acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kipsetkoony, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cosom and Tegwando were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Tegwando to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Kotet.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *ormat*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Mitin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollessos called Kapkilo, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korsera in his youth hunted at Kaptyet in Nandi, and shot over monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Sowen on Farm 1079: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korsera being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi were willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, [illegible] in 1929 were preserved any.

At the time of their move in 1917 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some [illegible] head in fact. But in 1929 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a true idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the elder or relationship [except F. Sis. D. D.], that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enyam.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be erotic.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., B.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the clan is forbidden; but with a classificatory enokwond, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kokoo* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kokoo* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mendeki*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Elgon Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Ndarawet in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *M.M.*, 1935, 181.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

60.

Interment of the corpse. — Hereditary succession.

The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Ibeni only insofar as the poverty of the Ifuli affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., those rich with numerous progeny, are here buried by women, and, to be sure, in the bush near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the hut and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, there is reality these canine scavengers roam about the wealthy but unwilling corpse every night. *Then* does one have at his offering the centre of the heavy beer, consisting of rice porridge, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a twenty-fallen can have [illegible] approximately the [illegible] was and above about the Ibeni beside for the mourning.

In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Ibeni. The independence of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those entitled to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son of the principal wife receives the entire inheritance consisting of farms, women, and livestock. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Ibeni. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the *ni ibeshwa* leaves each of his wives a part of his livestock, which the one of the wife is sometimes then (Ibeni). Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[illegible]

THE MAKERS OF KINGS (ABRIDGED)

Theory

The group described by Lambert as living at Endlu on top of the mountain on the edge of the Great Desert of white earth at Lipsony, is that shown at Endlu in Andersen 1911.[1] It was seen by Thompson in 1909 at the place known to the Endlu as Mwanga ("place of hailstones"), which, he says, is Endlu village now established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu in the Mount and the natives.[2] The group is part of the Kikuyu Endlu, who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The groups to which the Endlu had completely lost their land by 1909 were taken granted through a covenant set by the Kikuyu Land Commission as one "purity of alliance and partnership and purity of adoption and absorption, purity of population, and height of trees and christianity."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Mundumbiri, or among the Kikuyuyumbi. Marriage is prohibited, and blood prohibited. Polygamy is prohibited. There are circumcision, and girls are prepared in circumcision. Their appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

"There are said to be nine clans, with Kikuyu-sounding names beginning with the prefix Mo-, which does not apply exclusively, but usually means "people of". These clans are sometimes referred to by Kikuyu clan names, as Kikuyu also appear. The word for clan is mo-bumi, derived from the Kikuyu mo-ruguru, "clan", and mu, as Lambert suggests, from mo-ndeko, which means not "people of" but "side group".

Religion

A so-called supreme being called Ngai[4] is recognized, and the elements describing ancestral spirits as "active members" of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

Sources: G. G. Lambert, The customs of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit, Part II. History of the tribal occupation of the land, pp. 41, 46.

[1] Op.cit., p. 2.
[2] Journal Royal Anth. Inst., p. 395.
[3] Ngai, Lord, Commissioner, Kikuyu Tribe, p. 42.
[4] i.e. Kikuyu word, "divine".

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad milk (with the gods, P.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good minister has saved him. Its offerings are made to the bad milk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the lower sky and (P.), on hand of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendiatin*, pl. *pendi*, P.) who can heal, and who prevent people from getting hurt by means of their spells. There are also thieves (*ubiagan*, pl. *ubiadi*, P.).[1] There is an equivalent of the modern Dutch custom of "asking water" on sale by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—The medicine, the gods of the forest love to smell, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "*kwesuyen*" (P.), and man's fat. This medicine is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. The magic, a ghost called "*ogolin*" is charmed; this is used for all these complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*adire*, P.), which is similar to that worn by Dutch children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the *kpeyeyeni* tree (*O. kpeyeni*), strung on a cord, the ends being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 9A). Old men wear a charm to keep away thunderbolts (*kwadiagan*, or *kwedin* (*kwedin*), P.). It is made of two small pieces of the shoulder bone[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the left (Text-fig. 9B).

V.—Social Conventions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kpedi*, P.), members (*wenendi*, P.), and old men (*gwinedi*, or *ogwinedi*, P.). the female sex into girls (*kpe*), and women (*kwenedi*, or *dogwadi*, P.). An unmarried boy becomes a member and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *ogbodoni* (P.), or "men's hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though this form is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Dutch, and although girls sleep with members, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Members frequently marry their sweethearts' guardian. If women, charms to Dutch men usually marry unmarried girls.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Dutch, that is, they rank as the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] The word is not used with the same sense in Dutch, originally it seems to have meant "medicine-man" (Dutch *agrigan*).

[2] *Angularis scapulæ*.

[illegible] G. W. S. Dharmasiri—Mahara Pradesh / Home Assessor of

Class.

6.14 The Deaths have eight close pairs (8 sentinels, 8), which correspond to eight of the Fourth class :—

Name.	Name.	Meaning.	Corresponding Fourth Class
1. Mar	5. Kapiya-ra (Pr.)	Crystal stone	Mar.
2. Kalagani	6. Kumbi-liya	Mahara	Kalagani.
3. Kumbara	7. Kaara (Pr.)	Mahara (M)	Kumbara.
4. Kalamalla	8. Kaamara (Pr.)	Mar	Kalamalla.
5. Kaal	9. Kumbi	Cattle	Kaala.
6. Kalkara	10. Kalamalla	Kumbi	Kalara.
7. Kumbaali	11. Kaara-yaka	Kumbiliya	Kumbaliya.
8. Kalamba	12. Kaara (Pr.)	Pig and	Kalamba.

The 3rd class is the most numerous.

Consonantic Ages.

● 6.15 There are some consonantic ages (Kalalu, pl. Kalanagalu), which have the same names as in Fourth ; the intervals between the ages are eleven (11) years, and they succeed one another in a recurring cycle of eleven 11 years, as in Fourth, except that the Fourth intervals are 10 years (formerly 12 years). The present value of the ages, and their names, are as follows[1] :—

1. Mara (very old man)								
2. Kalamalla								
3. Kalgalkaali								
4. Kalanajiba								
5. Kumaaja (mankind)								
6. Mahar (boys)								
7. Kalara (small children)								

The 4th most ignoble of an eighth age, Kalanajiba or Kalanaliy, which has fallen out of use.

Each age is divided into three divisions (mar, pl. manimaali (M.)), or less, which are called :—

1. Kalara—Kumaaja (pl. (M.) Kalajanaa, or Kalajan-aja).
2. Kalalu—Kalanaliy (pl. (M.) Kalanaliy)[2].
3. Kalara—Kumaaja (pl. (M.) Kalanaliy)[3].

[1] In Fourth, Kumaaja is a "woman's name" for the Kumaaliy class. It would have all its class-days for both class-group.

[2] In the Kalalu division of Fourth, these names are called also "Kalanaliya" and "Kalanaliya."

[3] See 6.13 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) Kumaaja-Kalara is 1-2-3-4-5, only 4 divisions.

(0)

A. M. N. Florentinus

, veteran in the

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(0) s. o. G. [redacted], [redacted]		[redacted]	—	[redacted]	—
(0) s. o. Hj. [redacted]	[redacted]	—	—	—	—
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]	[redacted]	—	—	—	—
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]	[redacted]	—	—	—	—
(0) s. o. Hj. [redacted]	[redacted]	—	—	—	—
(0) s. o. Hj. [redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	—	[redacted]	—
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

(0) [redacted] grandchildren:

(0) s. o. [redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. [redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. Hj. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) s. o. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]
(0) Mm. d. H. [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

601
618

[redacted]

[redacted]

...ange Basin. There were also two still younger, matrilineal sections of Asaa [5.3]
...Mining and Cephalosi section of Cassandra. With these lived Cassandra's young ...
...ngaso Cephalosi, aged about 10, who helped her brother's wife to look after [5.4]
...the new children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of ...
...Cephalosi, acting with her mother or with Cassandra and his wife. The three ...
...sons Bakaboro, Kipsang, and Kimosi lived together, acting with either of ...
...the old women (constituting their share of the hut), while Kipsaagat lived ...
...alone, acting with his mother. Cephalosi could marry none of these young [5.5]
...men, since they were all her classmates. Such an arrangement allows to [5.6]
...quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circum- [5.7]
...cised. At Sosiyon a seventeen-year-old girl named Cheptoy lived in a small ...
...hut (afterwards) with her youngest brother Kiptoo (p. 2.444). When she ...
...went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Kibaaroo she stayed with ...
...women there also, when they came to Sosiyon, slept in Cheptoy's hut, the ...
...boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour pattern [5.8]
...tend to replace those of kinship, and even where people are related and within ...
...the taboo they are the practical purposes little more regarded than fellow- ...
...Kalenjin. Indeed, in a few settlements, such people have more influence ...
...and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at [5.9]
...a distance.

In a primitive people like the Nandis there is little formality in the [5.10]
...educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behav- ...
...iour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with ...
...whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to ...
...the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relations ...
...with whom a child is primarily concerned are few. This narrow range ...
...of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the ...
...absence of books through the lack, the restricting of initiative, and the ...
...abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Nandis.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both [5.11]
...boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business ...
...of eating and living in a hut. She corrects children but rarely and makes ...
...them familiar with the ordinary customs and proprieties of every day life [5.12]
...that have to be observed in Nandis surroundings. The father corrects ...
...improper behaviour towards himself and his wives.

Then at the age of seventeen, which varies a little before the exact [5.13]
...puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a ...
...division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach the son ...
...the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood and to ...
...skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrows, to shoot, how to follow ...
...the a man and his man's mark. The mother teaches her daughter how to ...
...manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the ...
...menial tasks of a Nandis woman. At this stage both boys and girls are ...
...to the support general servants of the family. They have to look after [5.14]
...their father may possess and make themselves useful about his homestead

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young married male may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodwork and hunting. And although the father and mother train their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and look to fathers to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a great deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by relatives or strangers is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no strangers immediately at hand, and it is only in the settlements that their influence can be at all effective. An Eulgai there may be 1000 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and five unrelated characters, but at Kitavetava a widow with two small children would have to find other characters for help in bringing up her children, as well as to have other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with characters than with relatives. This differs from the Fijian, who do not live in close settlements and among whom characters are much less important than relatives in their relations.

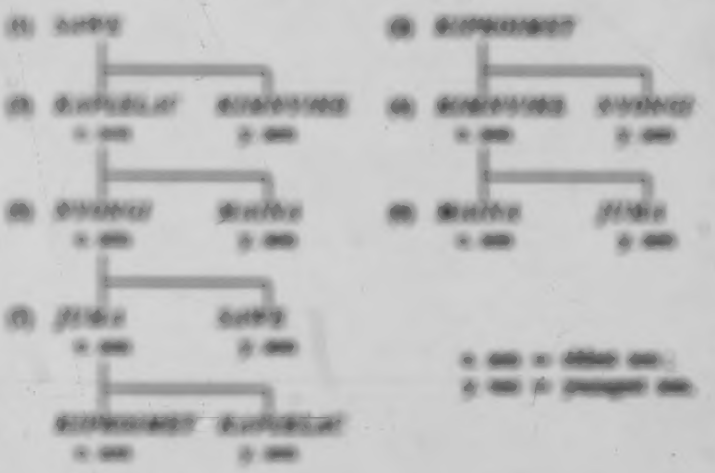
3. The age-set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is imposed upon, training without due attention to this, no attempt at duo or family is possible, and hence there can be no bonds solidarity. Theoretical law of kinship favours that if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully governed and strictly regulated, and as behaviour in the business of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-set and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Trobs.

Age-sets, grade, plan, dimensions, are an Eastern institution adopted by the Trobs and Dobu, and borrowed from the Dobu by the Dawada. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or locality are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are set progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Trobs man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains for all the irrespective of the age in years, women, moreover, are not have age-sets, but as marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

The Dwarka have borrowed this system from the Kwoki, and have taken over both the Kwoki system for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which mark a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1938 was: Kiphomet, Kiptilim, Kimoyotik, Kyungi, Kiptala, Jiawo, Kaino.

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one before that of his father, so that the son of a Jiaw will be Kiptilim. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of his eldest and the birth of his youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but one before that of his father, so that while his eldest son of a Jiaw will be Kiptilim, his youngest will probably be Kimoyotik, and that of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



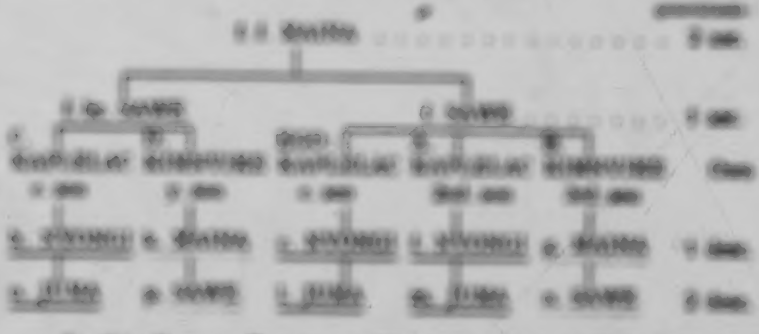
Age-sets work in the following way: the men who complete the present Jiaw set began their circumcision period in 1903, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1910, they became the active and responsible members of Dwarka society, and took predominance the Kyungi retired from public life. In this year, in 1910, the next batch of youths, the Jiawo, entered up into the positions occupied by the Kwoki from 1903 to 1910 in order to be circumcised, becoming brothers with the Kiptala became officially men. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a carrier wheel running one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

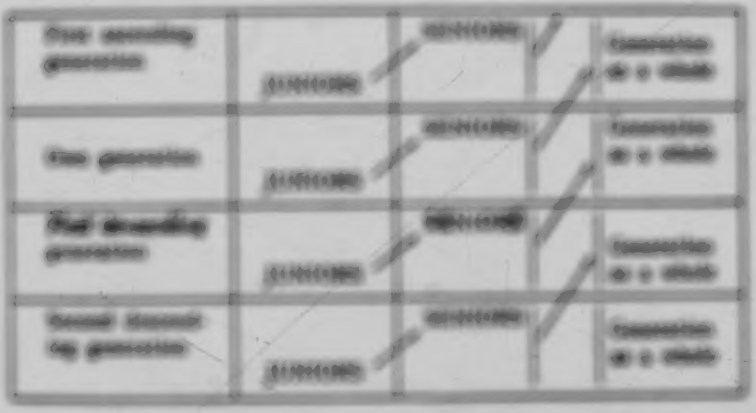
[illegible]



[illegible]

are brothers to each other and equally living of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also Ergates and Kinnaird, who are equivalent to Ego. And Ego's wife is circumstanced as the same time as the brother's and the daughter's, since the other brothers's and daughter's are too young to be circumstanced. 5 and 11 will therefore belong to junior agnatic and affinal Ego's, 6, and 7 have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits; 8 and 9 will still have the inferior status of earth on knee and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be modified in two layers corresponding two age-sets which run across the relationship system, and where the kinship behaviour patterns overlap with those of the age-sets, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but 5 and 9 cannot behave to Ego as 6 behaves to Ego, because they are merely born after his and cannot be equals, while Ego and 6 are twins. Similarly, in the two descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, that is and 11 mean give to 5, 6, and 7 the respect that 5, 6, and 7 do not give to each other or to 8 and 9. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.



The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional role of behaviour by emphasizing the respects between patient and partner.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while an Hundsi would normally refuse to receive one of his own kinds, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as the host (or marries other host supportive equipment may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, brought his wife out to groom the host's wife to sleep with and among the friends. But if he belongs to a different age-set, his wife will

a man by classificatory all the children on his father's side are brothers, while those on the mother's side are both cousins and brothers, and a man's own children are sons, while those of his sister are nieces. When the children are small these differences are scarcely marked and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to grow between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between brothers and sisters, and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his brother's sister's daughter's daughter, even if he seldom if ever does so in fact.

Between a man and his second descending generation there is a rule of avoidance, but consanguineally his grandchildren are regarded with the greatest love. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as the

[illegible] terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture patterns and were then voluntarily adopted. The Fuedi, not being fire-experts, were the best fitted hunters; not being hunters, they made fans; the Tswidis being both fire-keepers and hunters can supply the Fuedi with what they want, and in return get from the Fuedi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped to the assimilation of Fuedi culture in the Tswidis, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Tswidis in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Fuedi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Fuedi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralists and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the Tswidis is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the town council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the town organization. The Tswidis are not a "tribe" like the Fuedi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain family unity by bringing together elements from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the town council is more political and less domestic, regarding the Canton as a whole irrespective of clan.

Of influence and binding are the facts of social life. The clan is the basis of family-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Tswidis social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Fuedi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Tswidis the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the strong bias on the group-aspect rather than on the kinship-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity evades the town boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the bands together under conditions which would easily overthrow any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. Enough that to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the adult men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the youngest who are recognized to be fighting men of the Fuedi. Though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Analogue to Afr. xx, 3[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Social Organization.—The Yoko-Yoko Woodworkers are very few in number, and are divided among three exogamous moieties, each of which has its own totemic animal (the Rhino, who has no subspecies on this planet).—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Each moiety lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The moieties are not intimate, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The [illegible] who has told me most, who lives at Kokonga (north of Kuwaroa), Ochtoloshka's hereditary, and he relates it not unconnected to which the powers of a chief. The Chiefs and the Lawmen [illegible] are each presided over by a headman (panchayatdhar).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is isolated by female relatives. There are no [illegible] taboos, as among the Ipkhara. The Woodworkers allege that there are no special [illegible] connected with birth. Should a child cross but forward into the world by cell to belly throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the soiled. After creating, a child accepts the father's hair, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those existing among the Ipkhara, except that the propositions (betrothal gave to the girl's people direct, without representation to the Sub-Lawmen. The consent of the girl and of the parents or both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified, as it is among the Ipkhara.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast to which the people of the two moieties to which the [illegible] belong take part. There is no taboo practice to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which the woman [illegible] with him to his own village. Here to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married [illegible] by the male parties, after he has established the relation with regard to the Ipkhara does [illegible] the wedding is.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug [illegible] and in the bush,[1] well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who sends the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Ipkhara practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] The statement was subsequently contradicted, & so far as it was correct that the corpse remains at all events.

/top cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practiced. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the iruiko of the Kikuyu and the emuoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is [illegible]. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as omet ap-tai (the right hand) and omet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. iruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one supreme being, called Tururo (compare the Sun Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururo, are, for rain the kaitibon (a solitary clump), for honey the muswa, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mukarangara.

7b. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Commission" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Commission met this group was living as forest squatters in the

611 591 595 613 969 [775]

771 561 [777]

622 623 [771] 611

776 771 778 [881]

101 [825] [826]

14.Huntingford E-4 (1939-1939)[36]
FLA Dorobo File

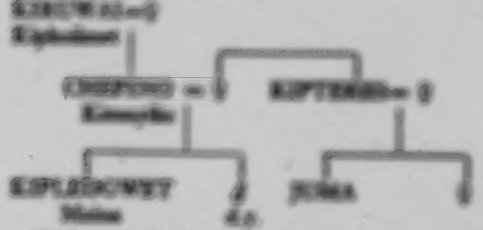
[P.184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert, and as primary collection are to be included: 0., M., F.Br., F.Br.W., F.Z., F.M; as secondary collection, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis.H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and eldermith (relations) to the parents of elsewhere living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kalenjin genealogy,



Kipkoyeyet had hardly ever seen Kipsoro, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOEGAB*.

(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KEIENDA*.

(3) Children of age and his Br. are classed as *APAA*.

(4) Children of M.Br. and age's Sis. are classed as *MAMA*.

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI*.

(6) The F.Sr. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinde*, pl. *ipinguik*, with three age-grades in each set. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

The age-grades through which a person passes [illegible] in turn are:

♂	♀
gaidi: uncircumcised boys.	*Ngadi*: girls.
Mwendi: circumcised men.	*Mwendi*: married women.
Kpadondi: elders.	*Ngadingadondi*: old women.

Boys are *gaidi* till circumcised, when they become *mwendi* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *kpadondi* when the change over occurs. The sub-divisions, *mwendi*, of the Dondo age-sets—each set has the same—sub-divisions are called:

Senior: *Chepondi*.
Middle: *Ngandi* or *Kpadingadi*.
Junior: *Mwendi* or *Kpandondi*.

A man belongs normally to the age-set but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Sisters are usually born to:	Younger women may belong to:
Kpadondi	*Kpandondi*	*Ngandi*
Kpadondi	*Ngandi*	*Mwendi*
Kpandondi	*Mwendi*	*Gaidi*
Ngandi	*Gaidi*	*Gaidi*
Mwendi	*Gaidi*	*Kpadondi*
Gaidi	*Kpadondi*	*Kpadondi*
Gaidi	*Kpadondi*	*Kpandondi*

It may happen, as in Mendi, that a man will be [illegible] classed with an age-set but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to.

With these terminological features, the classificatory elements of the Dondo age-sets to the Mendi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their [illegible] sole significance is behavioristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the [illegible] formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not [illegible] wholly reflected in the kinship system; where the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently:

* See J.R.A.I. lxii. 491, for further details of the Mendi age-set.

(The bottom line shows the age-sets to which the sons of the 3rd Son would normally belong.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

Although by relationship all these kinsfolk are theoretically equals, or living brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all these families, with the result that Eldests and Eighths are usually kinsfolk to their kinsfolk Eighths, Sixths, and Eighths, Eighths; while Lasts, Eighths, and Eighths are all kinsfolk to Lasts. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as invitations from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that "it is not so to only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation.

The general principles of Dravidic kinsfolk may be summarized thus (from the standpoint of "ego"):

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no knowledge of bad language.

To the own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the own generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become vile. The idea of mutual help and support, which is extended by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasized in the interrelations of those of the own generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of ego's own generation, e.g. younger brothers, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both before and not, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] marital relations. — Polygyny. — Betrothal. — Date of being betrothed. — Conveyance of the young man to the town of the maternal. — Bride price. — Paying the respect of the father of the bride. — Exchange of wives. — Obstacles to marriage. — Favoring own marriage. — Dissolution of the marriage.

[illegible] The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three or more he is a rarity. Betrothal to mature children seem to be more frequent here than among the Ibeno, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has prepared for him to live parents. As among the Ibeno, the [illegible] betrothed parents live apart and only see one another. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ibeno, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Here, just as among the Ibeno, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and their fellow companions receive the invitation by a boat consisting in the [illegible] of [illegible], to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served palm and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to eat the meat for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five bundles, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the rest that belongs to its fellowmen, two head of cattle, which

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] clothing and adornment. — Cloth materials. — The ordinary articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Ibibio. — Head and body hair. — Nails. — Painting. — Tattooing.

[illegible] cloth materials, such as are the needs of the coarser people in the Ibibio country, have been adapted only to an extremely slight extent among the Ibo. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into [illegible] contact with the coarse cotton, quite possess from the Ibibio. [illegible] they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and loads of Malagasy bryonia for a small [illegible] compensation. There is no question of a legal barter under the latter [illegible] they agree [illegible] with them, as the coastal people so aptly designate the [illegible] type of trade.

The Ibo have [illegible] the Ibi shown solely in their original native clothing [illegible] carried into fashion, mapanding, mapanding, which, in its last necessity of wear, is identical with that of the Ibibi, but [illegible] passes out often [illegible] appear. This poverty is particularly noticeable in the boys and [illegible] girls, called [illegible] and [illegible] by the Ibibi, which the [illegible] [illegible] wear the mbo, and which here are also worn by older men [illegible] because in leaving the [illegible] of girls is not [illegible] because [illegible] of its length. The following observe do not generally wear the [illegible] mbo, [illegible] mbo also as [illegible] made of cast bales, which they buy from the [illegible] older men often have it made out of the bale of the female [illegible] to [illegible] envelope. The [illegible] of the women is here called [illegible] [illegible], or in the upper part of it [illegible] of the Ibibi by [illegible], while the lower one is worn after the Ibibi fashion [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that he left [illegible] goats, [illegible] sheep, [illegible] cattle, and [illegible] donkeys. The dwellings are made to the left side.

There is also a regular belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go underground to the home of [illegible], a land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a fine place.

Origin.

There are [illegible] [illegible] of gods, [illegible] who are [illegible], and who govern people from getting food by means of their gifts. There are also [illegible] [illegible] of animals, [illegible]. There is an institution of the medicine [illegible] system of "white water" or milk by a multitude.

Architecture and Houses.

(a) *Architecture.*—The native [illegible], the [illegible] of the [illegible] has to work, almost only the [illegible] of a species of [illegible], called "[illegible]" ([illegible]), and [illegible]. This [illegible] is utilized as the [illegible] post, and is [illegible] to [illegible]. The [illegible], a [illegible] called "[illegible]" is burned; this is used for all their [illegible].

(b) *Houses.*—Children [illegible] a house to [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible], which is similar to that [illegible] by [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and the wife are directed largely towards intervention in behaviour and morality, though a young married pair may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and love to behave in their relations, the grandparents in particular have a great deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by ancestors or strangers is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no ancestors immediately at hand, and it is only in the settlements that their influence can be at all effective. In Kikuyu there was in 1939 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and two unmarried elementary; and at Tokaanu a widow with two small children might have to live which elsewhere for help in bringing up her children, as well as to have other children and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with elements than with relatives. This is very different from the Kikuyu, who do not live in the settlements and among whom elements are much less important than relatives in their matters.

5. The age-set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without the attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no basic solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot bind the behaviour of members towards each other to any carefully prescribed and strictly regulated, and as behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with regard to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Kikuyu.

Age-sets, grade, plus ceremonial, are an African institution adopted by the Kikuyu and Masai, and borrowed from the Kikuyu by the Kikuyu. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or locality are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are set progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Kikuyu man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, however, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagial of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kevpat*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[404] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kevpat*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people
[317] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.
[241]

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stallmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [479] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of • 562 the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman 834 who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within [784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /347/ (amóta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/247 cont./

278 562 834 [888] arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, crampllke muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 10 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Aasá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [230] [281]

278 752

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the ol mgg[1]a whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol lononi is also completely without rights before the ol donyoni. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs alja matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

000 Africa, East. Hobley.

Notes concerning the Elderobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17
By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

10 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
[294] a tribe of so-called Elderobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
[233] by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
[241]
648 By the Nandi they are called the Ogginik, and they call themselves the Omotik.
[191] They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
[663] language: in fact, members of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and
probably marry Ogginik women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
142 aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact
had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar
eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged
5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

583 Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkindo," or wild date palm, and a
few monkey-skin cloaks, or "kwenon," and takes away his bride.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FLA Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Fis swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongiboro who lives near Nyuri Sto. She is married to one Silkirui, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hope that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek words may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamilio or Tindwit	Elposegtian.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kiptuwosk.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pikshem.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldama Ravine	Kshimengirin.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Fis swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Shiiwek.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of Enasa Nyiro	Lalarick.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chitcharwasek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Mariko, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongiboro who is said to live near Nyuri or Kakuyu in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

K
425 used the word uthoni to express the principle of the bond, and still
196 so use it, but with a narrowed application, at least among the young,
571 who generally apply it to the marriage bond between two families and to nothing else. Thoni is a very widespread stem in Bantu languages and has the essential meaning "shyness," usually rendered "shame" (1). Thoni itself means shame or shyness in Kikuyu. In

1. Cf. Johnston, op. cit.: "this, which is one of the most widespread and universal of the Bantu word-roots, seems to be connected with a root meaning "eye," "face," coupled with the -ni locative—'in the eyes', "in the face'

the form uthon it implies the attitude to be adopted to one's relatives-in-law, that is, the people of other groups to whom one is bound by a spiritual bond. This attitude is an aspect of the common custom of "avoidance," which implies a regulation of behavior to suit the circumstances, rather than evasion. The relationship involves an intinate acquaintance, but requires reciprocal respect as well—a proper balance must be struck between the two. Formerly exchanges in the continuity-enabling class always entailed uthoni; mutuality of function was imperative. Co-operation was the essence of uthoni, a co-operation based on an actual [p. 137] need of continuity in which both parties played their part. The "seller" of a girl expected her to become a wife and mother, not just a
K cultivator or a plaything; it was her prospective children who were
425 really "sold" and their begetting meant co-operation. Even a cow
571 could not be sold outright; when she had borne a heifer sired in the
D buyer's herd and borne it "in the buyer's hand" she had to be re-
425 turned. (1) When a Dorobo "bought" a piece of land he could not
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1. This does not apply to all the tribes. There are two forms of uthoni cattle-exchange in the Unit. But in neither could a cow be sold outright.

"buy" it just for speculation or accumulation of a form of wealth

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he fancied; on the contrary he had to use it, put up honey-barrels, set his traps and dig his game-pits, occupy it beneficially and send a share of all its produce to the group-in-law who "sold" it to him.

In theory an uthoni never ceases unless for any reason it is found to be unworkable. (2) If there remains some continuity-enabling

> 2. As when a marriage is dissolved through incompatibility or barrenness, for instance.

object in the "buyer's" hands—the children of a marriage or a heifer calf or land—the uthoni still remains intact, although it weakens with the memory of the link which first conjoined the parties, and finally, of course, fades out entirely with that memory. (3) As an

> 3. The function of memory (individual or group or tribal—"traditional") is of importance in the formulation of beliefs and customs in primitive illiterate peoples. There is a relationship between the remembrance of a thing and its existence. We have already noticed this relationship in its effect on spiritual ideas. It has a similar effect on the idea of reincarnation—the rebirth of a deceased grandfather as a child, for instance, is much more real when its parents see a likeness; a general theory is less impressive. In this paragraph we see the effect of the relationship on the duration of continuity-enabling bonds. A similar effect can be perceived in the rules pertaining to exogamy in many tribes; if the pooled memory of the groups concerned reveals no common blood the marriage can proceed.

active principle it tends to vanish when the formal payments have been made in full and the object in the continuity-enabling class first "purchased" is no longer there. When the uthoni cow has been returned the uthoni might be deemed to cease, because the link between the parties is too slight a one to last; when a woman

/261 cont./

000 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver
D is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approxi-
431 mately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the
8 gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into
• 572 blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure,
very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed
D for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a
[177] stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price,
[426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him
because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay
the debt as quickly as possible (1).

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[177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

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As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably
D less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On
[648] the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is
D regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai.
M If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished
682 because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would
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1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tiem*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cegimich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipilkonyek*, the middle; and *Rorokenik* or *Kipimimik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koroneik*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are *kesendo* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kaplalac* and *Kimanyiki*, who are *macokor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *macokor* C, when his other brother B and *macokor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *natik* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.

First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective *mostinuek* may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakwat*; *makicupe kokwey papa*; *makimuuci korkat ak siyo nalek ce somis, amu ya, ngut nalek ap kumisiat*; *kiarrerecinkei lakwat*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celulei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go so far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwiak* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI for 1939, p. 378.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *shamet* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *shamet* and livestock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, classmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and classmen, if it will go so far. [342] [241] [224] [344] 574 273 276 [231]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kuberget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 312 [171]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiq, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this [224] [78] [45]
[illegible]

/339 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 191 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /340/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and (836) in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes (948) pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not (845) always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 974 their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gonó i ol ké, in which friends and neighbors participate. (273) They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the (224) feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be (439) paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the rank that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/251 cont./
224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 224 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorok, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among [276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirigi, in which one recognizes the present Masai word en sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirigi spends the night in [574] a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/230 cont./

782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
UÑA, which they call kurodjig or kurugg. For a kurugg a kawa, a
feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves
in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other
supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting
chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While
an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present
with honey beer, they sing: UÑÑ ngo kawa! After this has gone on for a
quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words.
[824] [873] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are con-
sumed. At a kurugg e ngo they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire
782 796 224 they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the
twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show
God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station them-
selves around the fire and sing: UÑÑ ngeri' magat (magat = game). The
next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat,
a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again
all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: UÑÑ urag kaing ara,
which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate
another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the
middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand
[824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti
tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left,
they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: UÑÑ ngeri'
magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in
vain, but that after a kurugg e ngo they always returned from hunting
789 with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to
[796] the ol ngur i ol gereti.[3] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut
a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet
[822] around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along
the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy,
they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for
protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw
only one, which they called turuno and which consisted of a small
piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to pro-
tect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes *Arap* (anom), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kiminiig, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniig, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniig. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum.[a] N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sembut*, pl. *sembwisiek*) made of the skin of the tiniest monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarudet*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ibondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Chem-le*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tôkwenga*"; answer, "*Ipô*."

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inge*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chem-le*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*koiset ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [086] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el mgg,[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [077] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to M D 648 each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo D [829] appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been D 648 attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self- 181 defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about D 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the D • 576 Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.
171

The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1, [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwane*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléléd*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitēto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *ureriat*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 754 598

Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaanutok ako ra opaipaiitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606

Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si keam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaola used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaola and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakocu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakocu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

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The clan, *ord*, plural *ortinuek*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tlond ap ord*, or simply *tlondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [177] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

4:Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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under the aegis of the medicine-man Sendeu, with their stock, numbering some 2,000 head of cattle, and ten to twelve thousand sheep. These Masai were subsequently found to be in the possession of seven rifles, the property of Herr Seidentopf, which were recovered and destroyed by the Assistant District Commissioner, Narok.

Cattle theft by the Masai from the Kikuyu.

48. In June, 1916, a series of eleven cattle thefts from the Kikuyu were reported as having taken place, presumably by Masai, between June, 1915, and April, 1916. In three of these instances, the persons implicated were arrested and convicted, but, in the majority, the looted stock was traced to the Masai Reserve and not recovered. Sixty-nine head of cattle had been taken altogether, but only six head had been returned, and the Provincial Commissioner of the Ukamba Province considered that compensation should be paid to the Kikuyu in consideration of their losses. As the information respecting these alleged thefts was too scanty to admit of any fine being imposed on the Masai without further investigation, Mr. Hobley was instructed to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of each case. As a result of his investigations, he considered the case against the Masai to be strong enough to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, and in this opinion the Attorney-General concurred, adding that, in view of the large number of stock stolen from the Kikuyu, the fine might be of an exemplary character. He suggested that the amount and the incidence of the fine might be decided after consultation with the Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. Hemsted, however, thought that insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to prove the complicity of the Masai tribe as a whole, and recommended that a fine of Rs. 1,000 be imposed on the village of Kithendu, and of Rs. 500 on the village of Lokorio, to which villages, situated in the Kedong Valley, stolen cattle had actually been traced. He also suggested that the proceeds should be distributed to the Kikuyu in compensation for lost cattle. This course received the support and approval of the Governor-in-Council on the 11th of September, 1916.

Murders on the Kisii road, July, 1916.

49. Two porters were killed on a road between Kisii and the Masai Reserve, in July, 1916, and some rupees were stolen. An application for the imposition of a collective fine on the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko Muran, based on the ground that these Muran were the only warriors near the scene of the outrage, was disallowed on account of the fact that the road in question was much frequented, and that there was nothing to show that any members of the Masai tribe were responsible for the murders.

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Raids by Wandorobo.

50. In September, 1916, it was ascertained that the Wandorobo had committed a number of stock thefts in the Ikoma district, after the Intelligence Officers had left the border. Several Wandorobo were killed in one attempted raid. The Wandorobo concerned were arrested and punished by the District Commissioner, Mara.

M 648* 579

Murder of two natives near Narok, November, 1916.

51. On the 19th of November, 1916, two Indian traders, travelling on the main road some seven miles from Narok, found two bodies of Kikuyu natives lying near the road. These Kikuyu had been murdered and were quite dead when found. They had several wounds on their persons, evidently inflicted by spears and knives. One of the murdered Kikuyu was recognized immediately as the servant of an Indian trader, at Narok, and both had been carrying loads when they met their death. Investigations were immediately instituted by the District Commissioner, Narok, but nothing definite was discovered. In February, 1917, evidence was brought against two Muran, who had been wandering in the vicinity at the time of the crime, but this was insufficient to justify further proceedings being taken against them.

At the end of April, the headmen of the Muran living in the neighbourhood were called on to explain what steps they had taken to find the murderers. The scene of the murder was greatly frequented by the Muran of the three Purko "Sirita," named Kisaruni, L'Aimer and Mejuali, and, as no evidence was brought by any members of these "Sirita," respecting the murders, the District Commissioner recommended the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on all three companies.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

597 [848] Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on the rare occasions when it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the hut", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them. [848] [847]

5. Adultery and divorce

684 Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

586 When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kaail katunisiet kuu kiil poroanni, ui ka, pakaktan* ("I have broken our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble. [581]

6. Polygyny

595 In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the 587 occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *retinet* (*kigelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, cheusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

561 [304] [582] [880] [589]

Life Cycle

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *marenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiinik*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yoonik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *ragitokinik*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

602 [171]

Kinship and Behaviour

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601

Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makibai*; in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *aiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *niyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda*; mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama*; and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *niyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama*; and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamoyo*; wife's mother, *poker*; wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker*; wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiet*; wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa*; wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker*; husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet*; husband's sister, *komati* and her husband, *poker*; husband's brother's children, *lakuet*; and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the sibet, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *mamkor*, a person definitely in the sibet. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now, but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive as much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four grain. The number of grain varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known by the time as *paiyon*, who brings the bride to her future husband's house, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *paiyon* gives her to the man, saying, *Kaipenete ainin*, "you now belong to this man." He then kindly ties *sebukiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *paiyon* then sets up an erection of *sebukiet* grass called *kendo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *kendo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *paiyon*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwonist*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *paiyon*. It is essential

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that one thing be used for both the female and harmful, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from neighbours also. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Kamâ

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Kamâ or members of the Kamâ group:

Dorobo and Kamâ women: 9	Dorobo and Kamâ men: 7
Dorobo and Nandi women: 1	Dorobo and Nandi men: 1
Dorobo and Turkana women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several men accounted of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had as few than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Kamâ, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere meanly. The wife is attended by a midwife, experienced, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the latter being allowed to see only the face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (chyme) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and body. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has an ox a day or two since his wife bears twins, the ox will never again catch an enemy.

Children receive their first name, the *ngirik-name*, soon after birth, as among the Kamâ, this name is not used, but links the child with a preceding spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "*porridge name*" in imitation of the Kamâ custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *dorgi*, men of, others now taking their

patronymic from their father's guardian name. Younger sons generally take their patronymics from the father's clan-name, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dordos keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the home, as in the circumcision of 1936–37. Sometimes a Dordos acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save in identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dordos have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mut* may be noted: the Dordos have only three, called *Cogetuech*, the senior; *Taiyotik* or *Kipkilionyek*, the middle; and *Kwondamik* or *Kipsiwanik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dordos are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dordos would refuse to shelter one of his own lords, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Division

The Dordos live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiet* (*koroonet*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ent*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kind ap ent*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1936–8. Each of these clans has one totem, except Mut which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, and a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Mut, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Mut marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dordos clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Nandi.

* The Nandi occasionally use *ngorok* for the *ent*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the horns."

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Where a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad milk (milk she-goat, K.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good milcher has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad milk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go on death to the forest up hill (K.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pwolindet*, pl. *pwoik*, K.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*arkolget*, pl. *arkoik*, K.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "arkwinet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tibet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyet" (K.), and rust's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epsito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakut*, K.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the kepuyweet tree (K. *kepuswik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimokwopet*, or *kwosito* (*kwosiss*), K.); it is made of two small pieces of the chemoket tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kpetik*, K.), warriors (*murenik*, K.), and old men (*pwiinik*, or *epwiinik*, K.); the female sex, into girls (*kipili*, K.) and women (*kwomik*, or *okipiniik*, K.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriet* (K.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*; K. *murenik*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi, originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

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Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes *Arap* (*asoon*), "*Son of (Bo-and-so),*" *e.g.* a boy named Kipon, whose father's name is Kimoiliy, becomes Kipon arap (Ki)poiniliy, and is known as *Arap* (Ki)poiniliy. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tom,* K.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sindwinik*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," K. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*Aondi*), K.).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Supai*"; answer, "*Chow-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tilimoya*"; answer, "*Iyô.*"

(b) Of farewell:—"*Sainoo*" (good-bye); answer, "*Sainoo ak inge*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Sainoo ak ahwak*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chow-ke*" as the answer to "*Supai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*kotosi ap sith*), which, however, are seldom used.

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and (3) *Maruket*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Maruket*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apas*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term *of wairil ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *laiuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *senge*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *senge* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *maruket*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *maruket*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

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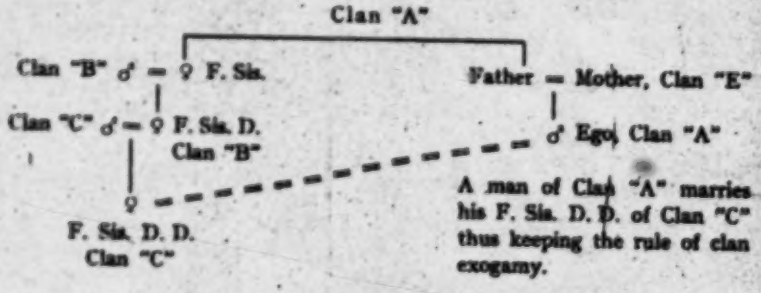
[605]
[589]



This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tiliet* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Nyongi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *macokor* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *macokor* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kesenda*. [603] Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

(woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *apaa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *senge*, and of mother's sister, *eiyo*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(man speaking)

Wife is *muroriat*; wife's brother, *konyit*, and his wife, *pôker*; wife's sister, *pukot*, and her husband, *kipukotiet*. Wife's parents are *pamono* (m.) and *pôker* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *apaa* (m.) and *pakuo* (f.).

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a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorennyon*, and addressed as *macokoronni*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koho* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

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arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tilil*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

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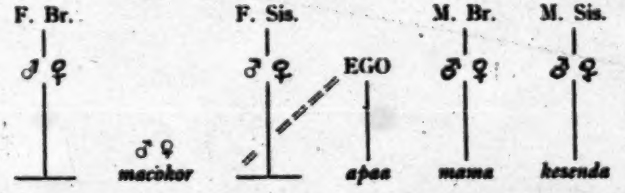
Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurenencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamat', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

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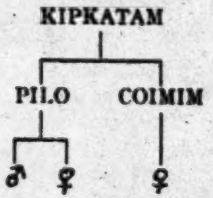
603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[588] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

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614 177 11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiiting; totem, *kipsekeriet**.

The clan-animals are: *kouonyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *soet* in Nandi; *kipkamoiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *konokcot*, baboon, called *moset* in Nandi; *uemuuyo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *uemuiyon*, Nandi *ceptirkicet*; *toraet*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *toraet*, Nandi *toret*; *ropta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimaroket*, hyaena, called *kimaketiet* in Nandi; *sombit*, lion, called *uetundo* in Nandi; *cauweretiet*, partridge, called *taiynet* in Nandi; *asista*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipsekeriet*, snake, called *erenet* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *oret* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap oret*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne ornuuau*? "what is your *oret*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ne tiond ap ornuuau*? "what is the animal of your oret?" Clansfellows are considered as *tilionutik*, relatives; marriage [582] within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Ornuyon*, or else as *Ar t apa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clansfellows.

[267] There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito makiome kitio, kiome tiouik tukul* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

614 588 Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiituni cepto nepo Moi ingo po kot ake ne menye koret ake a mekomi tiliet*; *ngut kiitun nepo tiond ake, mapile* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

one whose totem is Kongonyot may marry one with Soiet or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Soiet may marry one with Kongonyot or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Kipkamoiet may marry one with Soiet or Kongonyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongonyot man married a Soiet girl.

[177] There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Korapor, for instance, may marry Kapsekoi, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

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though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1926-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*tum*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 52-60.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

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881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word monōsis. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of monōsis as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [814] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

● 582 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

551 (4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

[553] On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

●582 197 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

/64 cont'd/
a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country". 648 101

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [582]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

/67 cont'd/

The people call themselves Ogiek. The Keriita section has nine clans, as follows: Kapkibotome, Kamwibu, Kapgwathiru, Kapleldegwa, Kabumbuit, Kapchoiro, Kamuri, Kabiaiya, and Kaplogwe. These are said to be exogamous. The prefix kap suggests that they were at one time territorial. The Kikuyu mbari ya is sometimes heard in place of this prefix, thus mbari ya Kibotome, mbari ya Mwibu, etc. There are said to be other clans which are not represented at Keriita. 614 [582]

If one asks an old man what his clan is he will very likely name one of the following instead of one of those given above: Il-mogethenithiek, Ilugumonithiek, Il-mulelionithiek, Iraitheriek, Il-bargenetithiek, Il-taretheru, Il-kiboronithiek, Il-aitaiyuk, and Il-giringishu. It will be noticed that most of these have both the Masai and the Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The first eight correspond to the Masai clans or sub-clans Il-Mokesen, Il-Lughumae, Il-Molelyan, 'L-Aiser, Il-Parkeneti, Il-Tarosero, Il-Kiporon and 'L-Aitayok respectively, and the ninth is clearly a Masai name. Sometimes a more Bantu-sounding variation is heard, Mugethe instead of Il-mogethenithiek and Ndaruthiru instead of Il-taretheru for instance.

/68/ Occasionally an old man will name one of the nine Kikuyu major clans as his clan, and I was told that there is a correspondence between the nine Kikuyu major clans, the nine named Masai clans, and the nine Dorobo clans, but lists of such alleged correspondences vary with the informant and no informant that I discovered could give a complete list. This is not surprising, for the Masai correspondences are said to be based on friendship and the Kikuyu correspondences on blood-brotherhood, both of which probably affected individual families rather than whole clans.

The word used for "clan" is olgelatait (pl. ilgelataithiek), which has both the Masai and Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The former is frequently omitted. This word may be the same as the Masai ol-ng'elata, which Hollis translates as "the plain between two hills". This again suggests clan-territoriality, as the word may have been used by the Dorobo to mean a stretch of country inside natural boundaries, e.g. rivers.

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *puhot*. 601

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat*.

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor*.

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

[P.185, C]

582
601
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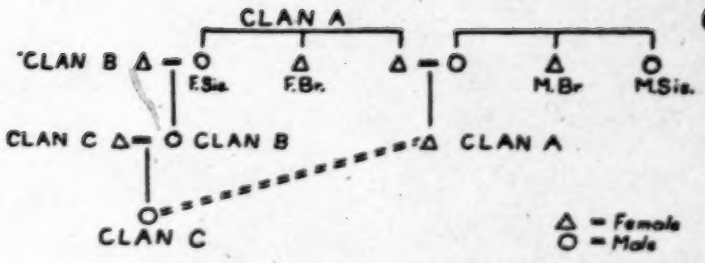


THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH E.Sis.D.D.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582 602

[Text continues top of p. 186, B-Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.— *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.—*MAMA, mama*, placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.—*MAMA, mama*, again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet*.

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.— *KESENDA, Kesenda*, placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S. and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.— *AGWI, agui*, i.e. they call ego *agui*—grandfather; and all of this generation are *agui* to ego, i.e. all children of *mackakav, apaa*, and *mama*, though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda*.

[Text continues middle of p. 186, B-Analysis]

[P 186, B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his 582
mankoker was only ten, he could marry her only 602
as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can [579]
attain. And again, owing to the small number of
clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan,
and so barred from marriage, as in the following
case:—

A'

Functional analysis of terms: 9 speak- 601
ing. (W.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are *BABA*, *ejw*, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.—*APULAITO*, <Maasi *apule*, <*ejw*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.—*ejw* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.—*KONYIT*, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other categories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.—*Sisabi*.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

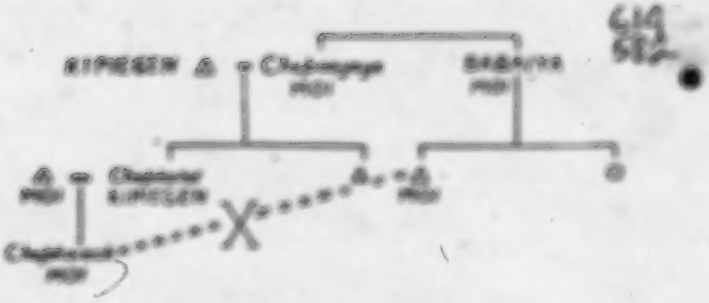
Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between [602]
the paternal and maternal sides. The children of
F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as *MACHO-KOR*, *mankoker*, while on the maternal side
we have:—

(1) M.Br.S. and D.—*AGWI*, *agwi*.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.—*EIYO*, *ejw*:—

[P.186,C]



CLAN - BAR TO

D K 4[illegible]

Dorobo got a right to meat-meat and the Kikuyu a right to cultivate, because they had become brothers in one family. But according to Dorobo law it did not give the Kikuyu any right to purchase land (in any sense at all) belonging to the group, though by Kikuyu law it gave the Dorobo the right to place a piece of land with the Kikuyu as security for any goats he needed, provided the Kikuyu and the other elders (Dorobo) both agreed. In view of the fact that Dorobo law contemplated one way only ("marriage" which was "exogamous") by which land could be transferred in anything approaching perpetuity and that transferor and transferee could not be members of the same cohort, I regard the Kikuyu statement that an adoption-rite was a preliminary to (and part and parcel of) a sale of land as a recent interpretation of what came to pass years later, rather than what was actually intended at the time, and I consider any clauses of the adoption vow which purport to refer to such a sale as sheer interpolations introduced to make the theory fit the fact of final irredeemability. Brotherhood and outright sale were incompatible. The Dorobo interviewed (some of whom had apparently taken part in adoption rites) were definite that the vows referred to brotherhood and mutual protection—nothing else.

But a redeemable "sale" of land between Dorobo and Kikuyu cannot be ruled out, I think, although not contemplated in Dorobo law. One must suppose that some degeneration of Dorobo principles would naturally set in; while they could get the meat they wanted so much more easily the Dorobo would be loath to use the somewhat strenuous methods of their culture; their moral fibre would be weakened. However, we have said that the brotherhood was unilateral, there being nothing very forceful in the evidence (Kikuyu or Dorobo) or indeed in the recorded vows to suggest that such was not the case, and this would mean a gradual supersession of Dorobo by Kikuyu law. But the change would only bring Dorobo law into closer harmony with Kikuyu; it would not involve new principles opposed to those of both, or principles repugnant to the cult of spirits, such as outright unconditional sale. Redeemable exchange, in theory, was no exchange at all, and, though apparently unknown to the Dorobo, would scarcely violate the spirit of their laws nor yet their law of spirits.

D K [illegible]

Inter-marriage is another of the methods mentioned. The marriage of a Kikuyu to a Dorobo girl, being a matrilocal marriage,

D K 4[illegible]

5:Lambert--124 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

DK 425 58

would confer no rights in land except perhaps a meagre one of cultivation only. The marriage of a Dorobo to a Kikuyu girl, the "bride-price" being paid in land, would in theory be impossible because it would mean a double ithumi and that was contrary to both Kikuyu and Dorobo custom, though marriage by exchange of girls between two groups is not a concept [B. 145] quite unknown in primitive society (1), and some of the Fort Hall elders say that many

DK [[71]]

1. Cf. Akiga's story: the Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members transcribed and annotated by Rupert East, 1939. Of the practice of exchange marriage Dr. East remarks, "It is, or has been, an institution of paramount importance, and lies at the base of the whole present tribal organization." According to the Tiv theory of exchange, daughters bear children to their father's family by proxy. Dr. East says, "The most probable explanation ... is that it represents an unconscious attempt to reconcile the patrilineal and matrilineal principles." Cf. also C.K. Meek in "Marriage by exchange in Nigeria," Africa, January 1936: "... it may be said generally that one of the main reasons for the abandonment of marriage by exchange is that women now claim the right to marry anyone they please."

years ago, land being plentiful and goats scarce, a girl was rarely handed over as the "purchase-price" of land among Kikuyu; others declare that this could not be done at all. But I doubt if we can rule this method, which would sometimes mean alliance with a family rich in goats, completely out, although it would entail an infringement of the strict Dorobo law. We have seen that such a union would become a matrilocal marriage. It would serve to keep the husband close at hand and make him something of a drone, dependent, leading a lazy life and liable to degeneration. As a long-range method of absorption it would be of some effect.

DK 425

Another method of acquiring land was that of compensation for a homicide—"blood-money." Theoretically the land would be

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/930 cont./

IV.

600 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young man to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Idomi, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Idomi, the /[illegible]/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see [illegible] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Idomi, but rather the one who made her pregnant must redeem the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Here, just as among the Idomi, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the evening of the married, and their fellow companions confirm the intention by a feast corresponding to the at gorok I at 18, to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served goats and heavy beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidate may not yet drink. They like to eat the beer for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can beat heartily on meat.

593 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five hoeknives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the rest that belongs to its fathersmen, two head of cattle, which

/340 cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[40] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-gatad, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-gw, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
583 nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[590] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed prevents dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[584] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /341/
[584] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[584] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[591] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

587 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

• 582 Among the Asá the same marriage obtains held as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/241 cont./

582 often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has
[71] often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

[71] There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband
[71] drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the M[illegible]
[587] [71] about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one par[illegible] and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

l; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *imbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

1; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncin cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *korosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 262.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93.
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance. 411

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwane*[1]) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1] [278] [439]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey. 372 410 [577] 207

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate. 415 [583]

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence. [278]

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kimiñiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisiek*) made of the skin of the tisiet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Cham-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tákwenya*"; answer, "*Igó.*"

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Cham-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kainet ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [16] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[16] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[2] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[2] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cornet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

000 **Africa, East.**

Notes concerning the Eldorobo of Mau, British East Africa.

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 [224] [233] [241] To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.

By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik. They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi language; in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

[6A8] [191] [563] 142

Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkindu," or wild date palm, and a few monkey-skin cloaks, or "kaross," and takes away his bride.

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14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6
[P.191,A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations: 614

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oroyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile. [842]
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of. [836]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock, but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mandeis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance. 596 [556] 583 [131] [648] 586 589

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of 131 [137] [487] 193

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

D
K

174 not addicted to the digging-stick, the use of which, Kikuyu husbands
425 thought, was what a wife, apart from bearing more Kikuyu, brewing
682 beer, and being generally a willing slave, was mainly married for.
But he might take her, being satisfied that long before the harvest of her first attempt at growing things was in he would have got more land in lieu of her, and she would be happily at home again. Or he could argue that, her father having failed to provide more land and she refusing steadfastly to stay, the marriage must be deemed a matrilocal one and he be given cultivation rights in her father's land and bring along a relative to do the digging she declined to do. One can imagine endless sophistry along such lines and understand how in the end the slayer's kin would have to yield the only kind of property they had at their disposal that their Kikuyu creditors would deign to take in compensation, that is, virgin land.

[p. 117] Payment in girls

174 Another way in which the Kikuyu have alleged that they acquired
425 Dorobo land is mentioned in the records; this was paying for it, not
583 in goats, but girls. The evidence before the Land Commission gave instances of this, or at least of payments said to have been made in both, partly goats and partly girls. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee: "Sometimes he (the 'seller') accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of stock in which case he had to stay." They had previously (in 1920) told Colonel Ainsworth much the same. Colonel Watkins in his note of 1920 considered the arrangement similar to that between the Giriama and the Sanya, of which he said:

> "The Wa-Giriama, driven like most immigrants by the desiccation of their former haunts, are drifting to better watered and better timbered areas. They naturally clear ground first where timber is thin, on the outskirts. To the family soon comes a Sanya who through sickness or scarcity, complains of hunger and asks for a goat. This is given on condition he brings in ivory when recovered. Thus trade relations are established, and he becomes a hunter to the agricultural community, on no fixed wage, but friendly and vaguely attached to it. Later on perhaps he builds a hut near and accepts, in trade, girls of the agricultural community (1), possibly in return for permission to clear more

5:Lambert--89 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

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1. But the "Dorobo Committee" of 1929 recorded: "Their social standing (i.e. of the Sanya, Dahalo and Boni) is so inferior that it seems very unlikely that they can be absorbed with either the Galla or the Giriama. Intermarriage between them and either of those tribes is unknown."

of his hunting land."

Mr. A.R. Barlow wrote in 1926:

"Kikuyu girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the Aathi (hunters) who then settled among the Kikuyu. The Aathi having no stock, they surrendered areas of forest to their fathers-in-law as bride-price." (2)

2. Quoted by the 1929 Committee.

This puts the transaction in its proper light: it is incorrect to talk of girls as currency with which to "purchase" land; land, possibly, in default of goats, was currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats as currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the lands their fathers or their brothers (according to the Kikuyu story) had arranged to "purchase" from Dorobo who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "sales." That would be tantamount to ritual incest, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. Or, if there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of joint adoption by the parties to the "sale" the marriage would annul the husband's status as a ritual brother of the "buyer's" group (3). But

DK
[[71]]

3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "treated as the son of one's own mother."

S:Lambert--90 G-S (ca. 1956-1960) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6
DK 174 425 S83

if we note these limitations there is no great harm in doing as the witnesses have done and speaking of a land-and-marriage deal the wrong way round, for the transaction was in any case reciprocal and girls were certainly alleged to be the medium of exchange in certain instances of acquisition.

(p. 115) The fact that when a girl was taken as the "purchase"-price or part of it the "seller" "had to stay" requires some explanation, for when the payment had been made in grass he nearly always "wandered off" or "moved away." A nomad's life with nothing to the nature of a settled home with gardens of her own to cultivate would not suit the bride, and she would certainly desert her husband if he tried to force the habit on her. No doubt her father would return her once or twice (a costly business if it went on very much longer), but in the end there would be nothing for it but divorce, and that would mean her father's group would have to hand back the wife-deposit, that is land. One can imagine that the angry father would tell his disobedient daughter what he thought of her in no uncertain terms, but native girls, as every native father of a daughter knows (or husband of a wife), can stand a lot of that and show no sign of more submissive conduct. So the only answer to the general problem in the end was that any Dorobo who disposed of land in payment of his wife-deposit "had to stay." This would entail a somewhat curious form of matrimony. All the preliminary negotiations leading up to such a marriage would not differ much from normal patrilocal ones, but the moment it was determined it would become a patri-matrilocal one, the husband staying where his group-in-law—not he himself—would establish their fields and homestead. It would be a patrilocal patri-matrilocal marriage, though possibly exploited matrilineally, by using practices pertaining to a "seller of the sword" as precedent or analogue.

K 174 Possibilities of tribal acquisition

Three long-range possibilities of acquisition of stretches of Dorobo land must have occurred to the imaginative minds of the Kiambu Kikuyu immigrants. There were, first, annihilation of a small and scattered rival; second, expulsion of such as lived in the stretch of land the immigrants wanted to acquire; and third, absorption into the Kikuyu tribe. Having regard to the overwhelming

"sale" in which no girl changed hands should enter the European as bizarre, as being possibly a penny rope for nothing more than fun, the picturesqueness idiomatic of a savage tongue, but lacking actuality or force in function.

In general the exchange, direct or indirect, of men for men or girls for girls is necessary in every tribe in which exogamy is practiced, and in a patrilineal system girls for girls would naturally be or tend to become the rule, and where the spirits of the gens continue themselves with gentile land the patrilineal principle would rule the girls away from home. In the immediately pre-British Ojibwa system in Ishcome girls could be exchanged for stock and stock for stock, and stock for girls, but land could never be exchanged in perpetuity or sold, possibly by reason of its clustering with kindred, dead and living. In the Dandee system girls could be exchanged for ivory and ivory for girls. This took the girls away from home, the Dandee being patrilineal and patrician, but the girl remained a member of her gens; the gentile spirits kept an interest in her, and the marriage bond is not a bond between her and her husband only but between her gens and his; the spirits of the gentes were included in the bond. The groups, inheriting two different kinds of land, were bound together by the marriage rite, which was a continuity-enabling rite binding the living and the dead of both, and so, in a sense, by reason of the land-rite bond, the land of both. The Dandee gave this principle in force to native logic. Land itself could be exchanged for spiritual currency, provided the exchange entailed a sacramental bond. The essence of the bond in land-exchange or marriage was that it bound the living and the dead of both the groups for ever or at least as long as there was visual evidence of it, that is, just so long as what was "purchased" with the currency continued in existence, whether as itself or as its offspring, with the "buying" group. The "buying" group was, in the case of land, as much the "seller" group-in-law as was the group which "bought" their girl for marriage with its son.

"Ojibwa"

All the relationships covered by exchanges in the continuity-enabling rites were continuous and lasted at least as long as the object transferred remained in the "buyer's" hands. The Ojibwa

Dk Mother-618 G-6 (695-ca.1900) 1951 PLIS Ideal
Dorobo PLS
Asa

/618 cont./

600 marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young man to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Paying the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

915 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Ideal, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Ideal, the /[illegible]/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ideal, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Then, just as among the Ideal, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gumdi [ol ti], to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served gruel and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to eat then for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before the circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after the circumcision, half of a dark female elephant with the calf that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/540 cont./

583 [439] are bought from the Ideal for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a headless spiare. Instead of the headless the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandomba live in close contact with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ka-ganak, bridegroom and mother-in-law ka-ge, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ka-ndeng, according to ancient Ideal custom.

[540]

583 587 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her bridewe her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; however, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.

583 [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed parents dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as bonus for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /541/ [784] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment [583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens [171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Ideal -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 171 Among the Aak the same marriage obstacles hold as among the Ideal, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

[illegible]

90.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Ibbesi only insofar as the poverty of the dad affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with [illegible]. Wealthy people, i.e., those rich with numerous progeny, are [illegible] buried by women, and, to be sure, in the bush near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the bush and put down approximately [illegible] paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling corpse every night, [illegible] then one hears as an offering the recital of the heavy lees, consisting of one particle, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a freshly fallen man runs [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] - God, father, give advice, give meat. What one said above about the Ibbesi holds for the remaining.[1]

In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Ibbesi. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son [illegible] of the principal wife receives the entire inheritance consisting of [illegible], women, and [illegible]. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Ibbesi. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the [illegible] brother each of his wives a part of his [illegible], which the son of the wife in question then [illegible]. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the [illegible] price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Ibbesi PLS?, 10 Abstract, Ambagory 'Ibb--dissipat.]

423 /NO com./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.

229 421 Only one half of any game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his companions together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage. Those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives in both cases insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (Ugerok, Ngamit) of the elephant each receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /NO/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (Ewoloi, Lwikonyi) of the rhinoceros the hunter must go to exchange points and then distribute them among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his companions.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's

425 claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter connection the Wandorobbo never want one kind of goods alone, but always several, and of the heaviest ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a

432 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens

• 434 that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he delivers the

436 animal of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable, and, so he says, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the successor is liable. If — which is seldom the case — one is present at all. The heir of the successor is also liable.

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the clan, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *mwenkor*, a person definitely in the clan. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now, but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'chest bon.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive as much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four cows. A man who gives his father-in-law gourds of honey-wine and a fur cap or two, does marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him gourds of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *poiton*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *poiton* gives her to the male, saying, *Kaipenete ninte*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some ochred grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *poiton* then sets up an erection of ochred grass called *tendo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; for the wife has to touch down and stand upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tendo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, by the *poiton*, also by the old women, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwonion*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *poiton*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, 589 helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word *monosis*. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of *monosis* as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiriaat* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [824] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

584 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

●584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi keito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [*] by the bridegroom and *Pa-musi* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and classmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[*] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Lu-tumo*, „razor"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokuoro	Kokuoga	40
Ulugum	Maumugum	60
Luteren	Luturiu	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokuoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Luteren are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias). 643 622

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official *deliveries*, as among the Lalwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lalwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lalwor. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lalwor practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

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l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *paiuon*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *paiuon* gives her to the man, saying, *Kaipuecie ciuoio*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sebeliet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *paiuon* then sets up an erection of *sebeliet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *paiuon*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kowoiet*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *paiuon*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *koruiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 [248] Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 8	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Keyo women: 1	Dorobo and Keyo men: 1
Dorobo and Turik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 852 845 [824] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *apaiyoyoit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

753 [916] [802] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *kwap*, men of, eldest sons taking their

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*dowɔ*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalises the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Fa-tawa*[*] by the bridegroom and *Fa-mani* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and classmates of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place; this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[*] *Fa-tawa* is used also in connection with circumcision, which is called *Tawa*. Though the Nandi word *tawa* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Lau tkwon*, „mother"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoi* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoi* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoi* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Koipuncia cicuto, maiowuti* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sokoiot* grass (*lpurukuta*) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words *'koipuncia'*, etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sokoiot* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the hole is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyoo tin*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectile phallic, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, by the *Pa-tum*, also by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *kerenisi*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *olawiyuti* (olive), *ceptai'yat*, or *mamita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *kerenisi* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *kerenisi*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat a follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Eshesenge	Eshesenge	40
Chepon	Kamagambo	40
Lutecho	Lutecho	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not intimate, but they are congenerous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Eshesenge (north of Kisumu). Chiefainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. To Chepon and the Lutecho 643 622 are each provided over by a headman (*gutelkuliet*).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by some relations. There are no 844 official deliverers, as among the Luhyia. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child recognizes his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual 584 among the Luhyia, except that the prospective husband goes to Orgut's people direct, without representatives in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Luhyia.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of three sections to which the 585 ● contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After 591 marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married 392 couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.* There is no special burial 764 ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, 684 and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Luhyia 682 practice in this respect is not followed.

* This statement was subsequently contradicted, to a far as it was true that the wizard attends at all births.

/241 cont./

582 (971) often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

• 585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

(971) There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 (971) Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

587 (971)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

payment and a man has but few shells) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a cavity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Iatmul of betting a wife away with a visiting agreement. A wife being a scarce and very valuable property, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and to make her well, with such kindness and consideration as one to display to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat afraid of her as a boss, the general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for the sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the family, their father and mother. The father has authority over the wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man. In the old days a bad wife had continually to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of throwing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whose duty it is to discipline. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Lawaiiß are not uncommon. A child was pulling kernels from her hair. Tigwaiiß the mother told it to be quiet. It merely pulled harder. Lawaiiß then said quietly but firmly, the behaviour (he said), and it was silent immediately.

As Driver-Farnham has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty, and he stays on in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while his mother was away and treating them in the busy way of one that one would expect of a man not very sure of the ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with children problems which the mother or her sisters see arise at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who improves upon them that they meet they father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they are enough. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are moved when ill. She thus has a large share in their affection, but this could be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. In the child, the state is reinforced among the Iatmul by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her sons, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 119.

Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i.e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but usually (as the case considered above is unusual) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the hut", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it is born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

5. Adultery and divorce

Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "washes till she has got over", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of lava, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the lava in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kumi kakoroset kwa kit yaroset*, or in, *pukuliton* ("I have broken our marriage as this lava has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the affinal or relationship [illegible] relationship terms, or an orphan.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., B.W., or Un.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the affinal is forbidden; but with a classificatory sweetheart, though not approved of, [illegible]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The [illegible] price is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This [illegible] is high for people who own little or no stock, but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Masai (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than in most agricultural peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called [illegible], that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Elgon Nyiro and the Masai escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Nikowau in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and as much it from any side entails a steep climb of [illegible] ft.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

...that one thing he said for both the hands and females, and it does not as cattle in the Commissioner's settlement to grant he promised them restrictions also. Sayings of goodness.

Sayings with Youth

Eighteen sayings were recorded in gossiping between Chenbo and Youth or members of the Youth group:

Chenbo and Youth women: 8 Chenbo and Youth women: 1 Chenbo and Youth women: 1	Chenbo and Youth men: 10 Chenbo and Youth men: 10

Sayings of Chenbo women to outsiders were to the to the poverty of the Chenbo, which by these same would have report that the women would have considered an excellent, such sayings who were the existence of work to the Chenbo.

Polygamy

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Chenbo seldom have the means of supporting more than one wife at a time. Ningpo proved more successful of re-sayings with a wife's death or desertion. In one gossipings a women had as few than five secondary husbands, some of these her husband's brothers, and her only there was one daughter.

Re-sayings of Widows

Unlike the Youth, the Chenbo recognize the re-sayings of widows to the normal manner as members of households to their sisters, brothers, or other representatives, in a domestic manner. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, wives to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only: consensual. The husband may divide the wives of his brothers. But a wife who has been a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Sons

Intercourse between husband and wife ends in the family on fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Many sayings place in the husband's but the husband going to the Western country. The wife is provided by a midwife, sometimes with the mother to prevent if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body given its best covered the several months with the latter being different in sex only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat instead its male progeny ceremony in the two eyes of the child and with the hut and judgmental gives priest from the stomach of the two breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about 3 years. Twins are not liked, and the mother's usual performance except by twin birth must be observed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her nearest friends. The Chenbo say that if a man has an ox and he has sons who has two heads, the ox will drive each child an inheritance. The Youth has sons a son and has only by child with a preceding spirit. The grown a principal spirit is given before the child was born, at the time when it is five years old and is called 'guardian spirit' in relation of the Youth animal. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become men of other and calling their

A/Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

ox, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1937 I was told a standard ability of honeycombs in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin rugs, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the householders had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days [illegible] was had to provide four cows for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still suckling, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 5 goats; 1 cow, 4 goats; 4 cows and 3 goats. As well as live stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more hut rugs, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

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Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-kwa*[1] by the bridegroom and *Pa-mwet* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and relations of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place. This is by the settlement of the suitor's father. He the shows the bride

[1] *Pa-kwa* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *kwa*. Though the Dorobi could not supply philological information on the matter, *pa-* is thought to be a causal prefix, *pa-kwa-mwet* (or *mya-kwa*, *-mwet*) = 'causes a man to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony"'.

4(Huntingford E-S (1926-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i.e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but usually (as the rule nowadays where it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the hut", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small hole, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

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Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and unfaithful wife who is continually caught with other men.

When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls to one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of lawa, he cuts each on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the lawa in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kiseli kotonyat ben bili gurumoi*, or in, *gudubiton* ("I have broken our marriage as this lawa has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygamy

In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygamy may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who had been married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

/Tai cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
(439) a male female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The
mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bride-
groom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law
in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[40] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the
bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other be-gerai,
bridegroom and mother-in-law be-gor, bridegroom and the brothers
of the bride be-oshon, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
• 587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and
after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband
the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow
who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the
bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
(534) If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal persons
dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid
is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the
full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for
the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship,
he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment.
The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[719] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /[719]/
to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[720] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[721] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among
the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

587 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from
it. The woman does not cohabit with the other man for longer than
a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she
returns to her husband.

584 Among the Arsi the norm marriage ceremonies hold as among the
[71] Masai, but the great distances between the individual clay camps

/541 cont./

often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A *jus p. n.* /*jus primae noctis*/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

Kikuyu men pass through four stages: youth, undifferentiated boys; warrior, circumcised men; and elderly, elders. They are circumcised between the ages of 18 and 25 years, and very rarely at any time after circumcision when their fathers become elders. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on casual affairs with wives of age-mates. Women go by four ages, girls, boy-friends, married women, and finally, when they begin to look old, unpleasant, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Relationship

The existing Dorobo relationship system, also, is structurally similar to that of the Kikuyu, and uses a number of Kikuyu terms; but it is less regular and includes in the other a larger number of persons than does the Kikuyu. Moreover, the collective term *mwanake* (which I did not find to use as a true relationship term in Kikuyu) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Kikuyu.

Within the other the chief terms are: in the third ascending generation, all males are *mwanake* and all females *mukiritu*; in the second ascending generation, all males are *baba* or *ahe* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *baba* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *ahe* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *gukui* = father's sister; *kwayo* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are similar = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *ahekuyo* = mother's brother; *ajuo* = mother's brother's wife; and *kwayo* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kwendu*; mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama*; and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *mwanke*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *ahekuyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *ajuo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, also includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *mwanke*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are also, except mother's brother's children's children, which are *mama*, and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kwendu*.

Among affines, wife's father is *mwanke*; wife's mother, *gukui*; wife's brother, *kwayo* and his wife, *gukui*; wife's sister *gukui* and her husband, *kwayo*; husband's brother's son and wife's sister's son, also; wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *gukui*. Husband's father is *gukui* and his mother, *gukui*; husband's brother *kwayo* and his wife, *mama*; husband's sister, *kwayo* and her husband's brother's children, *mama*; and husband's sister's children's children, *kwendu*.

In the other it is the father's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother

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over couple adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was circumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

Unorganized manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to to restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into intimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never marry on account of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not court unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This sex of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in the household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the adoption of a special term, for which I suggest the word mutilate. As it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the mutilation of mutile as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

Young brides to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women on whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wife of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and is nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, where there a girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called ekimet close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital love. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

Dorobo normally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

A man comes his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary acquaintance. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (amak kobi), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

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[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enyon.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Un.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the above is forbidden; but with a classificatory enemband, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dwelbo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The kadoo (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This kadoo is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than in rural among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called sandals, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dwelbo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldoret Station and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkaren in the north to Tidoretet in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and as much is from any side reveals a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in Kenya," J.R.A.I., 1935, 197.

child,' is being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister.

AP'AA—children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* —M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*an'-t apa,*) meaning "father," and used allusively in Dorobo to mean "(children of) father."

APULAITO—M.Br. < Masai *ajulo* < *aja.*

ILYOOT—F.Sis., F.Br.W. < *eiyot* found in Masai-*ekidoti,* 'sister-in-law.' *Dodoi*(W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pakot* (M.S.) and must mean "one to whom respect is due."

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.:

1. (a) *Fraternal group:* three brothers

D.F.	S.F.	S.F.
(Stat 1)	(Stat 2)	(Stat 3)
S. Br.	2 Br.	3. Br.

a. F. or M.

1. (b) *Extended fraternal family*

S.F.	S.F.
(Stat 1)	(Stat 2)
F. and M.	S. son, wife, and children

2. *Clan group*

S.F.	S.F.	
(Stat 1)	(Stat 2)	(Stat 3)
Sister and wife	Sister and wife	∅ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are those: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Sp. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., S.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up

"Definitions of 'family':

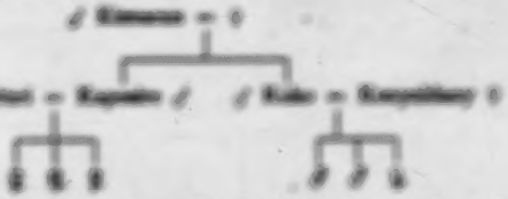
Elementary family=F., M. and children. (S.F.)

Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or dwelling. It need not be elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (S.F.)

Extended family=a group of families related by ancestors or adoption living together in a defined unit, e.g. Father, mother and his wives and children from a previous extended family. (Stat 1.)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] mother, also, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife, and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kapaiko's children, Kanyabiwy took the place of the grandmother, and Nahiri did the same for Koko's children. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the South and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilineal institutions as well as other factors are doubtless answer for this, and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be ordered with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whose permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimawa says Koko is Aney Maiwig's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipinikwa, and saw the brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, Kapei, kiya, and they answered, Eja, jaga. (Here kiya is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things, he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what mark does marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and spears, his knives, his tobacco bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use throwsticks, and explains the magical observances connected here and there.

The mother's brother, unless the father's sister, parted and their spouses (I mean, as [illegible]) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all trouble to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him, and in one or two cases when I was talking from genealogies was had to ask them friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

For an example the mother's brother is essential a vague that is not too necessary due. Aney Maiwig was a great follower of traditions, but

[425] is concerned, as little as he reciprocal owing to his age, for when the grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as the new grandfather when he himself was a child.

[426] Whatever is the degree is too old, though, and what one is active like grandchildren, and for reason therefore long as can as there when their mother goes to the theatre. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I met among the Swedes were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though to remain many grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their adult wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, even if the disparity in age is not great.

[427] Between a man and the relations he marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and ceremonial to be more restricted than between blood-relations. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet. If they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit about out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all: he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and by the time sisters when he may even sit and talk to her, as long fitting did to the mother of his second wife (Lagbemannen). Avoidance between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessary difference. She may have to live with them, or at least in their proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact with her parents, and therefore also cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such reverence as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in want of physical help from her. The relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in working their strips.

[428] Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Swedes call social "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner. Yet there must be no love talk, dirty jokes, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, as

[illegible]

Social Organization.—The Arikara and the Waxkanaka are very few in number, and are divided among three moieties, each of which has its own kahikan or fathers (according to the Hidatsa, who are very interested in this point):—

Arikara			Arikara			Approximate Numbers
[illegible]			[illegible]			[illegible]

Each moiety lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The moieties are not intimate, but they are cooperative, and interact a lot in the work line. The wife has her own shelf, also from a Kahikanga (lordly or Supreme). Notwithstanding a hereditary, and no instance is ever considered to exhibit the grooves of a shelf. The Pilgrims and the Lamentations are each presided over by a hereditary grandmother.

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is isolated by female relations. There are no special [illegible] observances, as among the Iuchiens. The Waxkanaka allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child cease from incessant pain the mother is left to be lucky throughout life. It is feared that the afterbirth is thrown away with the evidence, often revealing a child evangelist the likelihood that it is boy and that newborn is a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal exist as in the very similar to those existing among the Iuchiens, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people (more ordinary representations to the Irish fantasies). The consent of the girl and of the parents or kinsmen is necessary, and the question of gifts is not ignored as it is among the Iuchiens.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast to which the people of the two moieties to which the contracting parties belong are given. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which he remains with him in his own village. Here a woman's own hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partners, after he has established his consent with regard to the fortune then for marrying in.

Morals.—All the Irish are hostile children against [illegible]. There is no special feeling towards girls, but parents are fond of "one to the body," and away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The Irish always a problem. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty of adultery with another woman of her husband's [illegible] and the offending man, [illegible] this. Neither is homicide a tribal affair, for which the grandparents or friends. The Iuchiens practice in this regard is not different.

The ceremonies are subsequently [illegible] and [illegible] the Irish [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

/97 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practiced. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral ghosts as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (or so great) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation included a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation age groups except in so far as the Double initiated or joined in the initia of the Kikuyu and the nuomo of the Masai. The moiety are so far the leading exogamous recognized divisions. Alternating age or generation are distinguished as mori ya ira (the right hand) and mori ya kenye (the left hand). When the Kikuyu speak is referred to kiraring'o is the former and kiyio the latter. But the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no religious chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Each of these is called kiregindet (pl. kiregini). A kiregindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is an athoni but formerly the Double owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one supreme being, called Ngai (compare the Nandi Asis). There appears to be no cult of ancestral but worship. The second term, used in prayer to Ngai, are, to ask the benison of military strength, to keep the nation, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the mutiso and the thingithia.

It is little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Double or Kumam tribes with other Double nations. The "Double Committee" called them the Kikuyu Development group, and remarked that they were first found in the Nandi-Kavirondo hut here and there in the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee of this group was living as farm squatters in the

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/500 cont./ It is to be
noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboore among the Aaí, as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboore enjoy among all the Ideal people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adapted into the community of the oppressors.

/501/ E.

Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

The Aaí roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large bands, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aiji) only consist of hastily built small huts (mwaka) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Aaí will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dahoong) live with the young girls. As among the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her meyan nan, she calls him meyan nan, words in which one again finds the Masai word nanjo. These huts are designated as nyeng

843 /342 cont./
pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Then, too, as among the Mbuti, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments.
[801] [971] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp.
844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obscure
[991] methods of the Mbuti, there also exist here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps sometimes with his wife's the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (ne ama) is severed with a razor-knife (kamey) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded
[991] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower
[856] ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family.
846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious
853 reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

845 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the
849 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me
163 /343/ of childlessness of one woman was 11. From 57 aged and women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 3.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were
165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 72 = 46.8 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths
• 591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Economic life in day to normal seem and seem
as the different from as hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men
hog, make tools, protect the family; the women
look after house and children, and prepare food;
the children, while dependent on their parents for
existence, help them with the different and lim-
ited, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can
make traps and heavy barrels, and all women can
make baskets. Joint production occurs in (1)
house-building, when the whole family take part;
(2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging
cultivated earth. Food produced by the family is
shared by husband, wife, and children, and also
by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat
caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's
family and the other people living in the same
room. Fingerskin foods are not shared thus, since
they are to go to all. Hospitality is given to
visiting relatives, age-mates (though here
do not sleep with their host's wife), and many in
many localities, even their good faith is established.
Food is drunk on social gatherings of men or
women, or two mixedly, and on ceremonial occa-
sions. But just as meat is distributed to a
particular way (p. 172), so with tobacco: a man who
acquires some gives it first to his father, then to
his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and
classmates, if it will go so far.

The typical Dorobo has, heritages, a economic
despite, living no more than a framework of skills
covered with bones, and a little no lap. They are
now building large and better huts of thatch upon
foundations with supplemental walls, and as bam-
boo from may be seen, with a sturdy like mat

3. [illegible]
OF [illegible]

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain.
All men say that every had a skills whose had
every, by ritual they Mindy, for example, kept to
they are of those who had seen. Their hunting
is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be
given for over as a result of government action.
the spite of apparently [illegible] prohibitions, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] i.e., kids of the unmarried men, to remain in the [illegible] the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, as [illegible], ends in the name, a separation into [illegible] of the married and [illegible] of the unmarried, similar to the one mentioned for the Ideal.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the farm itself, resembles that of the Ideal: to [illegible], however, on one [illegible]. A heavy pot (mutlô, [illegible]), a great bottle (ngan) for drinking water and heavy beer, a leather bag (ibbom, [illegible]) for collecting honey, a large axe (ntem, [illegible]) for wood, a few earthen pots, large ones (dbo, [illegible]) and smaller ones (ngolbe, ngolbe) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (ngô), a cape or rug of an animal skin (mbom, [illegible]) to lie on the dirty mat, a reed [illegible] one of the best items of the [illegible] (Ndeambe Ngôngo) for the dancing up and bring down of the testicles hung in [illegible] (nsôngo), along with a few [illegible] skins (ndô) that serve as [illegible], as well as an [illegible], beverage] and knife (mendongo), constitute the principal household [illegible]. In a few huts one also finds the [illegible] (earth-holders) of the Ideal, here called [illegible] (mbongo), as well as a hammer (ngôndô) for forging and a chisel for designing the [illegible] (nsôn, ngwa), and finally the [illegible] small piece of [illegible] serving to [illegible] (bwô, bengô). The entire family [illegible], husband, wife or wives, and the [illegible] children, live in one [illegible] hut. Man and boys, however, are usually not. The [illegible] have [illegible] for the [illegible]. They [illegible] with a [illegible] consisting of a [illegible] of boiled or roasted [illegible], so that the [illegible] already [illegible] to the [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] eagerly and [illegible] than a [illegible], after the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. At daybreak [illegible] and children leave the huts [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in order to visit the [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] because of a [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

a Dorobo, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kimnit's, though both men are referred to as Asiapik. Their children are called asowa.

Ole Sekut's sister Loyalpul and her husband Tumoyaka are both dead, and if the spirits of these two be by the name pulul and Asiapik, but her son Ngidokin is an exception, as the same feeling as Lok and Kimaiyo, the sons of Ole Sekut's other brother Kaelu, allowing for the difference of age and Ole is a Purupi, as she is Lok; but Kimaiyo is a Worian. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a pilikimisi, which somewhat corresponds the difference. Loyalpul and Kaelu, the daughters of Ole's father's younger brother Ogieno have inherited themselves to a certain extent to old-fashioned Dorobo ways by marrying Asiapik (though Dorobo-Asiapik marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live as a Dorobo. The wife of Lok and the husband of Ngidokimaiyo, Ole's other relatives, are both Dorobo, and although they live with the Worian have to a great deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as pendimoroyoto, and addressed as asowa (woman) pendimi, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as Asiapik. Though Kimaiyo may belong, the husband of Ngidokimaiyo, is known to Ole, his relations are outside the other as far as Ole himself is concerned (though son of course for Ngidokimaiyo), and Ole applies also to the relatives of the above husbands. Such people others as terms of friendship and nothing are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the Worian they a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. So did Kimaiyo Ole Lenkoilbut, long Kimaiyo's mother-law married to the grandfather). Asiapik are the addressed as Worian, however, that as Ndo 'grandfather' (a relationship, 'old woman', though are objects to any way, but use of respect towards Ole is a friend of long Kimaiyo, and often stays his neighbour, including Lenkoilbut.

Supeki and Supeya, the brothers of Ole's father, lived for many years in Lenkoilbutiok, but after their Kipsandiben, close to and beside the house. Also of the Oldoll Poiyeni, that is 1930 they went to live in Kapiyan near Mt Kenia. In that new tenth of these were seven sisters Kipa Sokk brother Sukkaiyan (Ole's father) who, if he had been a Kamogisio, would have been described as 'Sokk father' - and the proportion exemplars Supeki took the place of Father to Ole and his brothers and sisters. Sukkaiyan was their mother's eldest brother, and hardly able to assist, as when Ole learnt to assist mother, to herself in Supeki, as if he was away, to his slightly younger brother.

It will be seen that a person's children are not alone. Ole's brother's two sisters Ole's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so can in reason have little or no part the responsibility of his brother's brother Sokk Ole's wife and the one to live Kiliaiyo and the family. This is Supeki's duty to the two sets of his house and has little to do with Ole. Moreover, his wife has numerous Ole and Sukkai, his brother Supeki, to them as Supeki. So his duty some years ago, as Sukkai and his family are still settled in Ol Lenkoilbut — where it is necessary to speak of them as all the Supeki, they could they would only think to Ole's life.

Moreover Ole and his brother Lenkoilbut there is a good deal of inter-

who stands to the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both girls of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a few cases there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in distinct groups and not scattered to the same extent as among the Kwoli, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a person's life that the mother's brother does among the Kwoli.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother if none survive or can share both (see also Appendix). Three families give the Ibanda child the first experiences of human beings. Kinship ranges are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under these conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society, but in a pastoral society such as the Kwoli, for instance, the father is not under conditions of working for day to day food supply, obliged to go away from his homestead if he is to be successful, and there is no doubt that a Kwoli child of twelve years old would live of his father than a Ibanda child. While food might be given to a pastoral, and often is a means of attachment, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, tends to play much more than the mere role of food, or whose cultivation produces a crop which is not given.

The child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is to sleep almost with its mother than previously did, and its father leaves it alone a few days. When the mother has to go out to the fields of hoeing, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother, failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Ibanda mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings, nor can she, for the same reason, leave it alone in a tree while she busily engages in search and its cries do not reach her ears. This both prevents hunting and even often a woman gives no birth to her child, for the baby is left behind to constant care. The [illegible] hunting is also much more arduous than a man's hunting, and she is away from home. We already see in all the ways that the women get back to the child quickly it must be.

The amount of a man in the life is particularly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when wives are becoming the monopoly of [illegible]

Normalität der Identität für die Logik, bezeichnet die Lust in die Logik. Es die Identität der Komplexität, unterscheidung für durch Unterlagen, an dem 0 z Unterlage Symbol in für Gegebt ist keine den Lehren z eine neue Aspekt in in gute ag für die Logik. Dieses ist Identität dieser die Lehren Unterlagen neue für z eine eine z Lehren z Lehren und z Phänomen Lehren Lehre dann Lehr eine Komplexität an Lehrbuch, und Lehr an die gleiche Lehren Lehre. Lehre z Lehren in Phänomen neue für Lehr für z Lehr in Lehr Lehren, und Lehr Lehr Lehr gleiche Lehren Lehre. 0 in Lehr Lehr.

0 Überschrift

0 Lehrer Lehrbuch in Lehr Lehre z Lehrbuch Lehrer Lehrbuch Lehrer Lehrbuch Lehrer

[illegible] Chiefs [illegible] again. Not because [illegible] they're [illegible] should or can of [illegible] [illegible] Chiefs. It is just a [illegible] Kikuyu [illegible] of religion. It [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] away. Now it may [illegible] that Chiefs [illegible] enough [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (cousins, cousin)
2. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (cousins, cousins)

3 Fourth Ascription, may marry any person in groups 1 and 2 provided they are not in the line.

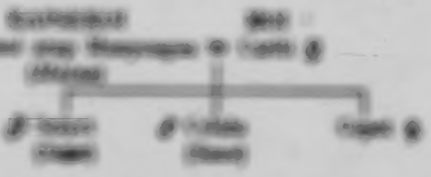
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are taboo and come to Fourth, and their children are taboo and also, whereas to Cousins of our native country. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed to Fourth, where there is an interaction of the with-spoken marriage within the tribe. But, on the other hand, the Fourth has a certain number of people who are biologically allowed to this though are classed as relatives, and therefore prevented since. The Fourth and that there are many as cross for the third ascending generation, as a man cannot have, but it is desirable for example of them, the same date (male) and wife (this) per land, whereas the corresponding females cross per member and marriage.

III. The Family and Relatives

1. Family life

Family life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the tribe, the family living a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and cultivating more than one garden. In an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families attached by genealogy or adoption live together on a defined area.

A typical elementary family living in the town is formed when the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[1]:



A domestic family living on the edge of the town of Tshaya comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children.

[1] In the genealogical diagrams, circle or symbol indicates male, and square or rectangle denotes female.

who stands to the relative of father's brother to the youngest members of the group as to the daughter of Ego's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a few groups there might be an father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be at all, for the tendency is to settle in different groups, and not believed to the same extent as among the Yuendi, where a family may live alone without having part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. The point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a person's life that the mother's brother does among the Yuendi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I once came on man where both were alive together). These families give the Ilanda child his first experiences of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under these conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Yuendi, for instance, the father is not, under conditions of ordinary life day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he has dependants, and there is no doubt that a Yuendi child of tender years see much less of his father than a Ilanda child. When food must be got or it is wanted, and when it is scarce or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose crops are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father learns to leave it alone when it is with its mother. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother, failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Ilanda mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings, nor can she, like the agriculturalists, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit permits ecstasy, and even when a woman goes to work in her shamba* the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-getting is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home. The shamba, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of barter

* My Swahili word shamba = cultivated land, field, farm, a convenient word to have. There is no a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent. I shall use it in the sense of a piece of cultivated land.

Gillhaughout B-5 (1936-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

The economic unit in the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of the necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of (relative) importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: *eleusine* and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelope, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelope they eat the following:

*Ngamuyoni**, the common duiker (*sylvicapra Grimmi*).
Kipeshani, the blue duiker (*C. monticola*).
Mirabi, the red duiker (*C. ignotus*).
Kurumeti, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Imbaiti, the roanbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kongoni, the gnu (*Gorgon taurinus*).
Kipeneuni, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Sarati, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiriti, hybrid monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Tumati, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwenkwi, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Tumati, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumata, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Ilchilili, the leopard.
Imeiti, the lion.
Inoti, the buffalo.
Tembi, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

455 the absence of pastoral and agricultural industries and technology, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Part :	—	Part :	—	Total :
Family	Men :	Trapping game in the forest					
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.			Cultivation of shambas		
		Some : working for wages					
	Women :	Preparing the results of trapping					Bush
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.			Cultivation of shambas		
		Housework and food collecting					
	Children :	Minding					
		Housework					
Men Living Alone :		Trapping					
		Making things					
		Preparing the results of trapping			Cultivation of shambas		Bush
		Cooking, housework					

Dembo life Consists exclusively on cultivation, with a hunting background and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dembo (in 1939 at least) had a pastoral economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

3. Economic Activities

a) Beekeeping

Honey is to the Dembo what milk is to the Nandi. It is much-sought and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Anya Minio said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

[P 191.6]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) *Of greeting*:—To men, "*Ingas*"; women, "*Ukwa-ke*" (feebly). To girls and women, "*Ukwanga*"; women, "*Iyé*."

(b) *Of farewell*:—" *Ukwan* " (good-bye); answers, " *Ukwan-di-inga* " (good-bye to them), or, " *Ukwan-di-ukwé* " (good-bye to you).

Except " *Ukwa-ke* " on the western tribes " *Ingas*," these are the same as in Kwafi.

* The Kwafi also give children " spirit names " derived by petty augury, however, are seldom used now, and,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] marital relations. — Polygyny. — Seduction. — Rape of young betrothed. — Conversion of the young man to the clans of the married. — Bride price. — Paying the esteem of the father of the bride. — Exchange of wives. — Obstacle to marriage. — Severing the marriage. — Dissolution of the marriage.

[illegible] The married women are after bride fee a son. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent, most of the people are too poor to provide and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three or more it is a rarity. Seduction of unchaste childhood were to be more frequent here than among the Ibibio, but on more binding and efficient legal consequences. On a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight or ten years old, after he is taken has prepared for him to her parents. On crossing the Ibibio, the [illegible] betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in his own county, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ibibio, but rather the one who made the pregnant even reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

[illegible] Here, just as among the Ibibio, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and their future companions watches the ceremony by a feast consequently to the [illegible] to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served goats and heavy food, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidate may not yet drink. They like to eat the meat for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

[illegible] Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before the circumcision, five pots of heavy and five bottles, and, even after the circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the rest that belongs to [illegible] fathercows, two head of cattle, which

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible] and grandchildren of brother's brother's son and daughter (Kinship, males)
2. [illegible] and grandchildren of brother's sister's son and daughter (Kinship, females)

§ Kinship distinctions may exist in one person's group-1 and 2 provided they are not of the same

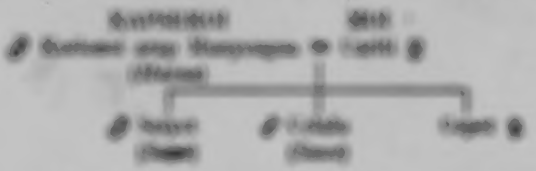
The relatives of his father's brother and father's sister are called and count as Kinship and their children are called and also [illegible] Kinship is kinship of an other relation. The marriage with his father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Kinship. [illegible] is an exception of the old-fashioned marriage [illegible] his wife. But on the other hand, the Kinship has a certain number of people who are distinguished, known as less thought and classed as relatives, and therefore [illegible] terms. The Kinship and the [illegible] as rules for his kind according [illegible] and [illegible] Kinship. [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] his corresponding Kinship terms as relatives and [illegible]

III. The Family and Relatives

1. Family life

594 Kinship life and social [illegible] are based on the [illegible] family unless the Kinship living a unit consisting of father, mother and children. The [illegible] family is sometimes enlarged into the [illegible] family, which is a group of people based on an [illegible] family living in one homestead and consisting more than one parent (i.e. an [illegible] family with one or both of the husband's parents). A further development is the [illegible] family, where two or more [illegible] families unite for [illegible] or [illegible] live together as a [illegible] unit.

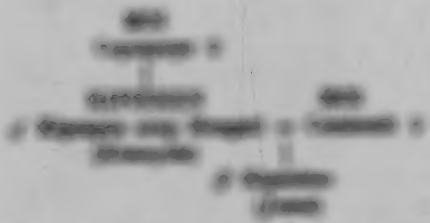
594 A typical [illegible] family living in the forest in Igbinlo may be following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[1].



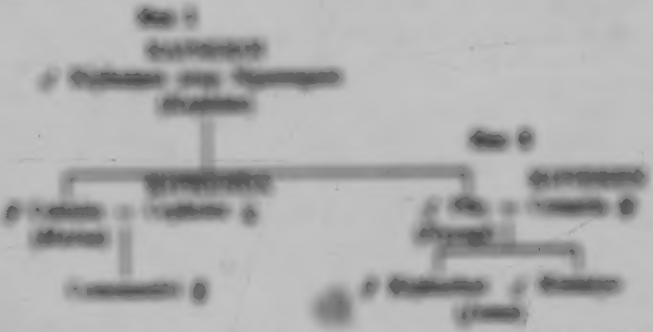
596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Tiwaga comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children.

[1] In the genealogical diagrams, marks to indicate [illegible] [illegible], and marks to [illegible] opposite

[illegible]



[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and 834
normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. 843
When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ka*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of 844
birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaiteyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, 846
and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its [854]
birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he [983]
must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old 845
men say, *yaaere amo aaasii kamat* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by [983]
the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, 848
ceurpuut, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, [983]
however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into 853
her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *sumii cake*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application 869
to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kenkenit* (Nandi, *ketrwet*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other 853
female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a 868
small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted [591]
by a married couple.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on the rare occasions when it occurs) the father. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the hut", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

5. Adultery and divorce

Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kooil hatwaisiat hun hil paroonni, ni ha, pakahtaa* ("I have broken our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

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get his relations to help with the purchase price so as to avoid having any other than relations as neighbors. Each lily planted as boundary had its [p. 89] roots first smeared with tatha. If a tree was the boundary mark it was blazed with an axe and tatha smeared on the blaze. When the boundary had been marked they would go and sit down, and the Ndorobo claimed 1) the knife which had cleared the tract, 2) the axe which had blazed the trees, 3) a branding iron used for marking honey-barrels; the latter indicated that he was going to move his honey-barrels, 4) a young ewe, which had not yet borne a kid. This ewe was called the mwati ya njegeni (the ewe of the stinging nettles). The latter was to compensate him for the stings sustained in marking out the boundary. The ewe and the ram sealed the contract; 5) a pot of honey. Up to the time when the Europeans came Wanderobo at Kijabe were still selling land there in that way. There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania. We always bought them out and never drove them out. If we had driven them out there would have been a curse on the land. Moreover purchase gave right of possession against others. The purchases were made by individuals. The Ndorobo always moved off the land which he sold. The adoption ceremony was as follows. The Kikuyu called the Ndorobo to his village in his own country and in the presence of witnesses they sat down on an ox-hide. Then there were brought 1) an ewe (mukuha), 2) a branding iron (ruoro), 3) a razor (ruenji), 4) a cattle-breeding arrow (ndia). There was also fat, 5) ira (white diatomite), 6) oil. All these things were passed seven times round the rukwaro and the cooked breast of a ram, to make the pledge binding and put a curse on any who broke it. Then the adopter and the adoptee ate the meat and put on the rukwaro which was cut by two old men. Next an old woman brought oil and the ira and rubbed it on the hands of the two parties. Then each party put his thumb into the ira and marked the other right down the nose. Each adjured the other by that mark not to break the proposed contract of sale and not to harm the other. Then an old woman took castor oil mixed with ugembe (grain) and rubbed the marks off their noses. The Kikuyu was bound by this oath to be a protector of the Ndorobo. The Kikuyu used the land for cultivation only. They were not hunters.

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425 Individual Kikuyus, therefore, entered into negotiations with
597 Wanderobo families and having offered goats and sheep as purchase price and found sellers, they then would propose a ceremony of mutual adoption as a preliminary to the negotiations that were to follow.

"From the point of view of the European it would seem to be quite unnecessary that a sale of land by a member of one tribe to a member of another tribe should be preceded by a ceremony of adoption, and it is therefore necessary to try to obtain a clear idea of the reasons which made the Kikuyu insist upon such a ceremony as the preliminary to such a transaction, as well as the reason why the Wanderobo so readily acceded to such a condition being instituted. The tribal law and custom of both tribes is, of course, responsible.

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425 "Within the Kikuyu tribe any person who stole the property of
597 any other member of the tribe, or who killed, wounded or otherwise harmed any other member of the tribe, became liable by
673 law to criminal proceedings involving the payment of fines or other punishments. This law applied not only to members of the tribe by birth, but to all who had become members of the tribe by adoption, so that if any Kikuyu were to kill or harm any adopted Wanderobo he would be held responsible by Kikuyu law and would be punished.

"On the other hand, if a member of the Kikuyu tribe were to kill, harm or steal from a member of any other tribe, he was not responsible by Kikuyu law, and he was not legally liable for the damage done. He was, however, likely to be punished by any means possible by the members of that other tribe and also by the departed spirit of the deceased in the case of having caused death.

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425 "When a Kikuyu adopted a Wanderobo as a member of his family
● 597 ... he bound that Wanderobo and his family to him with very special ties, and he also bound himself to protect, not only the Wanderobo, but also all his property. At the same time, the

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Wanderobo, who had very similar laws to those of the Kikuyu on such matters as these, bound himself to treat the Kikuyu who had adopted him as a brother and a fellow Wanderobo. In other words the adoption ceremony was founded on mutual safeguard and guarantee of good faith. By the oaths which the Kikuyu took when he performed the adoption ceremony he laid himself open to both supernatural and judicial punishment if he failed in any of his obligations to the Wanderobo when he adopted him, or when he proposed to buy land, [p. 95] but he also obtained in exchange oaths from the Wanderobo which bound him to act fairly and justly in all his dealings with the Kikuyu. Not only so, but the adoption ceremony which took place in the presence of many witnesses from both sides bound both parties to avenging the death of either. This meant that once the adoption ceremony had taken place the Kikuyu purchaser of the land of the Wanderobo could go into the forests he had purchased without fear of being attacked or killed by any other Wanderobo, for they all knew that he had been adopted by one of their own tribe. Similarly, the Wanderobo who had been adopted could, after this, come and go freely in Kikuyu country without fear of molestation, for as a member of a Kikuyu family he was a member of the Kikuyu tribe and any person who killed him would at once become liable to a fine of 100 goats and sheep by Kikuyu law.

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"Moreover, if, after the adoption ceremony was over, the Wanderobo failed in his obligations the Kikuyu, as an adopted Wanderobo, could claim against him in the Wanderobo judicial courts, and similarly if the Kikuyu failed to recover his obligations he could be sued by the Wanderobo in the Kikuyu courts, for the Wanderobo, as an adopted member of the family and tribe was then entitled to make use of the Kikuyu courts. If a land transaction were to take place between Kikuyu and Wanderobo without a preliminary ceremony of adoption, neither party would feel in any way bound to honour the agreement, and there would be no legal support to either party in the case of breach of contract, for the whole proceedings would be outside the jurisdiction of either the Kikuyu or Wanderobo courts. By means of the

S:Lambert--63 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950* FL10 Kikuyu FL10
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adoption ceremony the transaction was placed on a legal basis for both parties and became absolutely binding." (1)

1. In hitherto unpublished study of the Southern Kikuyu.

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Meaning of words used

By the European investigators of the Kikuyu method of acquiring land whose statements we have recorded we find a very general use of words which usually mean to us some form of outright, irrevocable exchange (Boyes: 'purchased'; Routledge: 'paid for the land'; Talbot-Smith: 'sold'; Lawford: 'bought or bartered'; McClure: 'ceded'; Tate: 'bought out'; Northcote: 'purchased'; Dundas: 'bought'; Beech: 'purchased'; Ainsworth: 'paid'; Watkins: 'purchased'; Canon Leakey: 'bought'; 1929 Committee: 'payments'; Land Commission: 'succeeded the Dorobo'; Dr. Leakey: 'bought'). Several of these investigators qualified the expressions they used to an extent which affirmed or suggested that they did not necessarily mean thereby an outright irrevocable transfer of land in the European sense (Northcote: 'the right to fell trees and to cultivate and the right to live in peace'; Beech: 'as price of peace'; Ainsworth: 'in respect of disturbance'; Watkins: 'obviously a later interpretation'; 1929 Committee: 'exact implication not defined'; Land Commission: 'by a process partly of alliance and partnership, and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery'). There is a lack of definition in the recorded statements of Boyes, Routledge, Talbot-Smith and McClure. Lawford's account appears to imply outright purchase but is not entirely clear on the point. Tate and Dundas seem to have understood their informants to refer to outright purchase, and Canon Leakey and Dr. Leakey are both absolutely certain that the payments to the Dorobo involved an irredeemable transfer of land ownership, equivalent to a transfer of the freehold in our own system.

[p. 967] Difficulties in assessing value of evidence

There were and are obvious difficulties confronting enquirers. It is probable that in the early days the main difficulty was simply one of interpretation. Latterly the chief problem has been a political one—it has become necessary to assess the value of

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The oaths

It is not suggested that the Kikuyu deliberately sat down and set about devising an adaptation of the rites of aggregation known to them and kindred tribes with the express intention of discovering a formula to suit their book; nor is it suggested that an astute Kikuyu brain would be incapable of inventing some new system which would give them in one transaction what they wanted. But the Dorobo had to be reckoned with, and they were a people certainly no less conservative than the average tribe; any startling innovation or any pattern of behavior not readily related to established custom would be rejected. If the Kikuyu had in fact invented some new rite which gave them absolute and unconditional ownership of land, and if the Dorobo had in fact accepted it, we should certainly expect the detail of the rite to make it clear that outright purchase was an essential part of it and understood by both. But there is nothing in the wording of the oath the parties swore (as recorded and translated by Dr. Leakey in his study of the Southern Kikuyu) which clarifies this point. The Kikuyu party swore as follows: —

"1. As for me, if any man draws blood of this my Mwathi and kills him, and if I do not make him pay me a full hundred (goats and sheep understood) may I break this (1).

1. Presumably a misprint for "may I break thus," i.e. "may I be broken like this." The Kikuyu is ndirotuika ugwo.

2. As for me, if I should ever call him a Mwathi, or suggest that he is not a Kikuyu like myself, may I break this.
3. As for me, if I should fail to treat him as the son of my own mother, may I break this.
4. As for me, if I should ever seek out someone and get them to kill him in order that I may acquire his land from him without paying for it to the full, may I break this.
5. As for me, if any other family should try to enter illegally the land that I am going to buy from this Mwathi who is performing this adoption ceremony with me, and if I fail to sue him for so doing, may I break this.
6. As for me, if I should fail to give him a present of so many

5:Lambert--83 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
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goats and sheep (here he makes a gesture with his hands to indicate the numbers in terms of units of ten) in order that you may all know that he is now my mother's son, may I break this.

7. As for me, if when a child of mine marries I fail to invite him to come and share in the meal of the Ngoima of the family, may I break this."

The Kikuyu having taken these seven vows the Dorobo also took seven vows as follows:

[p. 108] "1. As for me, since now I have come to this man, if now I am not his, may I break this.

2. As for me, in respect of the promises I am making to him, if I should break them, may I break this.

3. As for me, if I should betray him so he is killed by another Mwathi or by a Masai through me, may I break this.

4. As for me, though I still remain a Wanderobo, if I am not now also a Kikuyu, may I break this.

5. As for me, if any other Wanderobo should kill this my own Kikuyu and if I should fail to help you to spy out his homestead so that we can kill (the murderer), may I break this.

6. As for me, if any man should bring an action against this man in connection with the land (I am selling him), if I fail to take part or show the boundaries that I fixed, may I break this.

7. As for me, if I shall resume the Wanderobo habit of moving my homestead about and should thus abandon this man with whom I have been through the mutual adoption ceremony, may I break this."

We must examine the clauses of these two sets of vows which specifically refer to land. In Kikuyu vow No. 4, the phrase "that I may acquire his land from him without paying for it to the full" is a translation of ndimutunye githaka giake itarihite," which means literally "that I may take his land from him by force without paying" and could refer to a redeemable transaction just as easily as to an irredeemable one. In Kikuyu vow No. 5, the expression "the land that I am going to buy from this Mwathi" is a translation of "githaka giki ngugura kuri Mwathi uyu" and the use of the word -gura renders the precise meaning of the transaction unascertainable.

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Certainly in Meturne, where the Kikuyu came from, the meaning of the word in regard to land transactions was not "buy outright" but rather "hold as security against a loan." At the same time it must be remembered that when Dr. Leakey recorded the vows his informants had probably already become completely accustomed to the new meaning of -gura in relation to land transactions. None the less one would have expected so radical a change to be reflected either in the use of a new word or in some qualifying phrase which made the intention clear, and that that new word or qualifying phrase would have been retained as part of the formula used and remembered. In Dorobo vow No. 6, the phrase "in connection with the land (I am selling him)" is a translation of "ni undu wa githaka kiu" which means "on account of that land (previously mentioned)," and the phrase "if I fail to take part to show the boundaries that I fixed" is a translation of "ndaaga gucira na mundu ucio ndimwonie kuria twahakanite nake," which means "if I fail to take up the matter (legally) with the said person and show him where, together with him, I marked out the boundary." This vow does not necessarily imply any outright sale, nor indeed any sort of sale at all.

The simplest explanation of the whole transaction is that the Kikuyu were acquiring rights in land hitherto inoccupation of another tribe, and that these rights were meant to supersede those previously vested in the "sellers"; and that the ceremony of adoption was intended as a guarantee of good faith between the two, to minimize the possibility of double-dealing, and put the transfer on a business footing. That is the simplest explanation to the European mind, but the transaction was not between two Europeans but between two Africans; we should probably be wrong [p. 109] if we allowed our preconceived ideas to color our interpretation of the facts, and we should almost certainly be wrong if we neglected customary canons which we have every reason to believe were still the only principles, reinforced by centuries of use, known to the Africans concerned. In native custom it is rare indeed that one can settle in another tribe's domain merely by inveigling members of it to disavow their law and custom and their way of life, abjure their tribe and take one's own instead, and even dispossess themselves of land and livelihood, and all for nothing of more worth by way of recompense than mutton on the menu for a time. We cannot but conclude that

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1. cf. the Kiambu Handing Over Report, 1943: "... the principle of interpenetration has as yet brought slight relief to Kiambu's excess of landless people. Interpenetration, to the average native mind, involves adoption, full absorption into family, clan, and tribe, but the Kikuyu, when his numbers and the wiles his twisted mind creates, afford him, in his own opinion, safety, treats it as infiltration in a foreign land from which the foreigners in time will be expelled. When Kiambu Kikuyu congregate outside their tribal lands they are, wherever they may be, Kikuyu first and last and all the time, but not from any patriotic sense or tribal pride but simply that they see therein a chance to oust the indigenes and gain their pooled but egoistic ends by common effort and, when that is done, begin the final phase of ousting one another."

invented to obscure the things they did rather than describe the
K things they swore to do. It is perhaps significant in this respect that
[114] Mr. Jomo Kenyatta in his very clear account of acquisition and tenure in Facing Mount Kenya, talks consistently of purchase but nowhere mentions brother-adoption as a pre-condition.

The things they did were related to me by one old Kikuyu man as follows: "There was first a ceremony of adoption, not the ordinary son-adoption well known to the Kikuyu, by which a young man could be adopted as a son by an older man and so become one of his mbari and renounce his own, but a brother-adoption (-chiarana, instead of -chiara). The Kikuyu and the Mwathi then became as brothers. They adopted one another, so each became as it were both father and son to the other. As the father he would be expected to give something to the other, just as in the ordinary son-adoption he would give his son a place to cultivate and even 'buy' a wife for him. The Mwathi had nothing but land so he gave the Kikuyu a

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place to cultivate. The Kikuyu gave the Mwathi some goats. The Kikuyu could also buy land from the Mwathi, paying goats for it. But the Mwathi had been made a Kikuyu by adoption and so the sale of land would be redeemable because the sale of land between two Kikuyu was always redeemable at that time. The Mwathi, having got his goats, moved off. If he had been an adopted son he could not have done that. But because he was an adopted brother he could do it. He came back from time to time for more goats, but never came back to settle. His son did the same thing. The first transactions with the Athi had no end in sight. But in the time of the Maina generation the Kikuyu got tired of supplying goats for land they had by then occupied for some considerable time (2) and they

> 2. cf. H.E. Lambert: "The Constitution and Personnel of Statutory Institutions in the Meru Native Reserve," 1939: "(Reciprocal blood-brotherhood) produces its factual avoidances of friendship as well as its juridical abstentions from enmity, and implies not merely unwilling submission to extortion but tacit sanctuary for criminals."

said that the matter should be brought to an end by smearing tatha round the boundary and planting itoka lilies where necessary. [p. 110] The Dorobo did not like this but had to agree. But when it came to the point they would only do a piece and then refuse to go on. So they got more goats. They were very reluctant to close the boundary completely and nearly always left a gap for a very long time. So the Kikuyu had to go on paying goats. But in the end they got the descendants to come and finish it off."

A great deal of evidence before the Land Commission suggested much the same thing, that is, that in the early days of immigration south of the Chania there was no clear intention of finality of payment, but that later on what purported to be a final payment was actually made in at least some cases and accepted as such, however reluctantly, by the Dorobo concerned.

l;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 [304] [582] [584] [589]

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *petik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiinisk*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yoonik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engilokisisk*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Behaviour

602 [171]

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiket*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

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Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *oiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *oiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *oiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apas* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamogo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiot;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apas;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

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In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

II. Kinship

Kinship is the formal organization of relationship for social purposes, and depends for its effectiveness on a relationship system, which consists of a mode of naming relatives and is the framework of social organization. The Dorobo relationship terms show much resemblance to those of the Nandi, but there are certain significant differences, though (as among the Nandi) all those who call each other by relationship terms form the *tilist* or relationship system, which is an exogamous behaviour group, for (with one theoretical exception to be mentioned later) nobody may marry a person whom he or she calls by a relationship term. It will be seen that though terms exist for the 3rd ascending generation, there are none for the 3rd descending generation, for the father's father's father has existed, and thus may need a term; but the son's son's son may never exist in a person's lifetime, and so no term is needed.

It would seem that we are dealing with a non-Nilotic relationship system modified by contact with Nandi, as the result of which some of the original terms have been displaced by others of Nandi and also of Masae origin. The relationships comprised within the *tilist*, covering six generations, are as follows:

1. The Third Ascending Generation

(man & woman speaking)

This generation comprises the father's father's father, the father's father's mother, the father's mother's father, the father's mother's mother, the mother's father's father, the mother's father's mother, the mothers mother's father, and the mother's mother's mother. The males in this generation are all called *macokor*, and the females all *makikat*. The word *macokor* is found in Nandi applied to the son's son and daughter, and in Dorobo also to the father's brother's children, father's sister's children, and their children. The etymology of the word is uncertain: we may compare it with the Luo word *cokore*, 'collect', which might give the term the significance of "a collection of relatives". However unsatisfactory such a term may seem, it was the term used by the Dorobo. The females in this generation are all called *makikat*, a term not used elsewhere by the Dorobo, and not found in Nandi at all, though it may be derived from the Nandi *makiikat*, "they are not greeted", because though their names may be known they are seldom alive in a person's lifetime, and therefore he does not greet them.

2. The Second Ascending Generation

(man & woman speaking)

This comprises the father's parents and the mother's parents. Males are *kuko* or *akui*, females *koko*. The latter is used only of this generation, but *akui* is applied by courtesy to father's father's brother and sister and to mother's

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[601] father's brother and sister, of the same generation, and also to their children. *Ahui* will be found again in the second descending generation. The corresponding Nandi forms are *ingokut*, *ingokot*, *kuko*, *koko*, and *akui*. The last is the same as the Masae (*ni-*)*akui*, father's father. *Koko* means 'old woman', and is related to the Masae (*eng-*)*oko*. Women use *kuko* and *koko* for father's and mother's parents.

3. The First Ascending Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation we have *papa* which covers the father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband; and *eiyo*, which includes the mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife (though mother's sister is sometimes called *pükine*). *Mama* includes mother's brother and mother's brother's wife. The father's sister is *pukut*, a term applied also to the wives of father's brother's son, father's sister's son, brother, and mother's sister's son, as well as to wife's sister, all in the speaker's generation, and implying that the women so called are in the same category as the father's sister, i. e. one of respect. The father's sister's husband is called *konyit*, which is applied also to the husband of the father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and to the wife's brother. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukut*. The word *papa* is so wide-spread that its use is not significant. *Eiyo* = Nandi *eiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, a word found with this meaning in most of the Nandi dialects. *Pukut* does not occur in Nandi or Masae, and may be a relic of the original Dorobo terminology. *Konyit* = Nandi *konyit*, 'honour', and may be compared with the Masae phrase *e-sindasi e-anyit*, "respected sister in law" (brother's wife and wife's sister), for *anyit* is the etymological equivalent of *konyit*.

(woman speaking)

Papa and *eiyo* are used for father and mother, and *papa* also = father's brother, and *eiyo* = mother's sister. But father's sister and father's brother's wife are called *sindet*; mother's brother is *apulaiyo* and his wife *eiyo*; while father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband are *konyit*. *Apulaiyo* is from the Masae *apule* = 'mother's brother' (woman speaking), a word formed from *apa*, (same meaning, man speaking). *Konyit*, it may be noted, is a common term for a male relative by marriage, and is used by men as well as women.

4. Own Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation a man's relatives are grouped in three classes: (1) *Kesenda*, which comprises his brother and sister, and his mother's sister's [605] son and daughter; (2) *Mama*, his mother's brother's son and daughter;

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and (3) *Macokor*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Macokor*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

5. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apas*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *weirit ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *lakuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *sungs*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *sungs* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *macokor*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *macokor*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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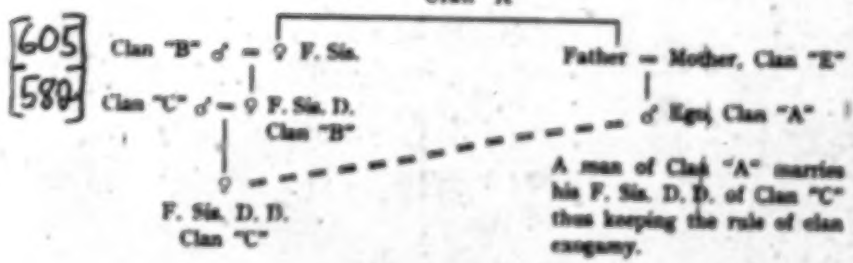

This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tilat* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Nyongi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *macokor* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *macokor* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kesende*. [603] Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

(woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *apaa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *senge*, and of mother's sister, *eiyo*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(man speaking)

Wife is *museriat*; wife's brother, *konyit*, and his wife, *pôker*; wife's sister, *pakat*, and her husband, *kipakatiat*. Wife's parents are *pamao* (m.) and *pôker* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *apaa* (m.) and *pakao* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

(woman speaking)

Husband is *mamamiat*; husband's brother, *kowyit*, and his wife, *sindat*; husband's sister, *kamati*, and her husband, *pikar*. Husband's parents are *pakuo* (m.) and *pikar* (f.). Husband's brother's children are *lakuat*; and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

Further etymological notes

Papa occurs in Nandi only as a term of address, the term of reference being *kaan*.

Pikine as an alternative for *siyo*, 'mother's sister', is from the Nandi *pikine* — husband's brother's wife.

Apaa, used for a man's own children and for those of his brother and sister, is probably connected etymologically with the Nandi *apa* — mother's sister's husband, and father's brother's son, the latter being strictly *ar-i-apa*.

Mamiat is a dialect form of Nandi *mamwat*, which is the term applied to a man's pre-marital sweetheart.

Reciprocal Terms

m. s. — man speaking; w. s. — woman speaking; * — used by both sexes.

* *Papa* — father:	*Apaa* — child.
* *Eiyo* — mother:	*Lakuat* — child.
* *Kesenda* — sister:	*Kesenda* — brother.
* *Papa* — father's brother:	*Apaa* — brother's child.
Eiyo — f. br. wife (m. s.):	*Lakuat* — bun. br. child (w. s.).
Sindat — f. br. wife (w. s.):	*Lakuat* — bun. br. child (w. s.).
* *Maseiker* — f. br. child:	*Maseiker* — f. br. child.
Pakuat — f. sis. (m. s.):	*Senge* — br. child (w. s.).
Sindat — f. sis. (w. s.):	*Senge* — br. child (w. s.).
* *Kowyit* — f. sis. bun.:	*Apaa* (m.), *Pakuo* (f.) — wife's br. child.
Maseiker — f. sis. child (m. s.):	*Mama* — m. br. child (m. s.).
Maseiker — f. sis. child (w. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — m. br. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. (m. s.):	*Mama* — sis. child (m. s.).
Apulaiyo — m. br. (w. s.):	*Senge* — sis. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. wife (m. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — bun. sis. child (w. s.).
Eiyo — m. br. wife (w. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — bun. sis. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. child (m. s.):	*Maseiker* — f. sis. child.
Apulaiyo — m. br. child (w. s.):	*Maseiker* — f. sis. child.
* *Eiyo* — mother's sister:	*Senge* — sis. child (w. s.).
Papa — m. sis. bus. (m. s.):	*Apaa* (m), *Pakuo* (f) — w. sis. child.
Kowyit — m. sis. bus. (w. s.):	*Apaa* (m), *Pakuo* (f) — w. sis. child.
Kesenda — m. sis. child (m. s.):	*Kesenda* — m. sis. child.
Eiyo — m. sis. child (w. s.):	*Eiyo* — m. sis. child.
* *Kuko* (*Akui*) — father's father:	*Akui* — son's child (m. s.).
* *Koko* — father's mother:	*Apaa* — son's child (w. s.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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* *Koko* (*Abui*) — mother's father:	*Abui* — daughter's child (w. s.).
* *Koko* — mother's mother:	*Apoo* — daughter's child (w. s.).
Mawuatiat — husband:	*Muweiat* — wife.
Pawuus — wife's father (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — daughter's husband (m. s.).
Piker — wife's mother:	*Piker* — daughter's hus. (w. s.).
Pakuo — hus. father (w. s.):	*Pakuo* — son's wife (m. s.).
Piker — hus. mother (w. s.):	*Sandat* — son's wife (w. s.).
Kowyit — wife's brother (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — sis. hus. (m. s.).
Pakat — wife's sis. (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — sis. hus. (w. s.).
Kowyit — hus. brother (w. s.):	*Pakat* — brother's wife (m. s.).
Kawati — hus. sis. (w. s.):	*Pakat* — brother's wife (w. s.).
Piker — wife's br. wife (m. s.):	*Piker* — hus. sis. hus. (w. s.).
Sindat — hus. br. wife (w. s.):	*Sindat* — hus. br. wife (w. s.).
Kipakatiat — wife's sis. hus.:	*Kipakatiat* — wife's sis. hus.

Terms of Address

The forms given in the foregoing lists are those of reference, used when speaking of a person. In some cases the form used when speaking to a person is the same as the form of reference; but in others there is a difference:

Reference:		or mama	Address:	
imamat			*mama* (m. s.)	
			apalaiyo. (w. s.)	
ingokat			*akui*	
macakor(at)			*macakoroni*	
urogat or *urogo*			*urogo*	
muweiat			*muweiandoni*	
mawuatiat			*mawuatiandoni*	
sindat			*sindoni*	
lakuat			*lakuoni* or *lakuoyoo*	

Other terms have the same form for both reference and address. In this list it will be noted that *mama* and *urogo*, though strictly forms of address, are used by the Dorobo for forms of reference as well. The forms ending in *-ai* are vocative (i. e. the demonstrative pronoun *ai*, 'this', used as vocative). *Lakuoyoo* means 'my child'.

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Grouping of terms

In the following classification of terms, an asterisk * means terms used by both sexes, and (w) means terms used by women.

Macakor

Third ascending generation: father's father's father*, father's father's mother*, mother's father's father*, mother's mother's father*. Own generation: father's brother's son*, father's brother's daughter*, father's sister's son*, father's sister's daughter*. First descending generation: father's brother's children's children*, father's sister's children's children*.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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Abui

Second ascending generation: father's father*, mother's father* father's father's brother*, father's father's sister*, mother's father's brother*, mother's father's sister*. First ascending generation: father's father's brother's children*, father's father's sister's children*, mother's father's brother's children*, mother's father's sister's children*. Second descending generation: father's brother's children's children's children*, father's sister's children's children's children*, brother's children's children, sister's children's children, own children's children, mother's brother's children's children's children (w).

Papa

Father*, father's brother*, mother's sister's husband.

Eiyo

First ascending generation: mother*, father's brother's wife, mother's sister*. Own generation: mother's sister's children (w).

Kwenda

Own generation: brother*, sister*, mother's sister's children. First and second descending generations: mother's sister's children's children, mother's sister's children's children's children.

Apua

First and second descending generations: son, daughter, brother's son, brother's daughter, son's children (w), daughter's children (w), wife's brother's son, wife's sister's son.

Sindat

Father's sister (w), father's brother's wife (w), husband's brother's wife (w).

Mama

First ascending generation: mother's brother, mother's brother's wife. Own generation: mother's brother's son and daughter. First and second descending generations: mother's brother's children's children, mother's brother's children's children's children.

Apukuiyo

Mother's brother's wife (w), mother's brother's children (w), husband's sister's children (w).

Songo

Brother's children (w), sister's children (w), brother's children's children (w), sister's children's children (w).

Lakwat

• 601 Son and daughter (w), husband's brother's children (w).

Affinals: *Kenyit*

Father's sister's husband*, mother's sister's husband (w), father's brother's daughter's husband*, father's sister's daughter's husband*, sister's husband*, mother's sister's daughter's husband*, mother's brother's daughter's husband (w), daughter's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother (w).

Pukat

Father's sister, father's brother's son's wife*, father's sister's son's wife*, brother's wife, mother's brother's son's wife*, mother's sister's son's wife*, wife's sister.

Kipukatat

Wife's sister's husband.

Pukan

Son's wife, husband's father, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter.

Pikar

Daughter's husband (w), wife's mother, husband's mother (w), wife's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband (w).

Sandat: son's wife (w).
Pawaan: wife's father.
Kawaat: husband's sister (w).

The use of kinship terms

[608] In practice kinship terms are used as a form of address and as a method of showing respect to seniors, who acknowledge the respect by using the reciprocal term to the juniors. To illustrate the use of these terms, I have prepared a statement of the relatives of a man named Pilo arap Kaisan of Kiptarakon (Soosiyo group), in which it will be noted that the terms fall into six groups, with one isolated term:

1. *Papa-Eiyo*, in the first ascending generation.
2. *Abai*, the second ascending, first ascending, and second descending generations.
3. *Maaskor*, in the third ascending, own, and first descending generations.
4. *Kwanda*, in own, and first and second descending generations.
5. *Apaa*, in the first descending generation.
6. *Mama*, in the first ascending, own, and first and second descending generations.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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The indicial term *pakat* denotes the father's sister. But it is used also for certain affinals, and alternates with the term *kenyit*. It should be noted that:

a) the wife of a *mandet* is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *mandet* is always *kenyit*;
the wife of a *kwanda* is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *kwanda* is always *kenyit*;
the wife of a *mama* (own gen.) is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *mama* (own gen.) is always *kenyit*;
but, the wife of *mama*, the mother's brother, is always *mama*.

b) the spouses of *akui*, when the term refers to people other than the father's father, mother's father, father's mother, and mother's mother, are all *akui*.

This is the genealogy of Pilo arap Katam, with the terms used by himself and his sister Kiroti:

Third ascending generation:

			Called by Pilo:		Called by Kiroti:	
1	PPP.	MUNTAYAN m. Tiwosi	MACOMOM	*cmakikut*	MACOMOM	*cmakikut*

Second ascending generation:

2	PP.	KIMNGAMNGAM m. Cosungut	KUKO AKUI	*kuko*	KUKO AKUI	*kuko*
3	PPSis.	LEMANSO m. (unknown).	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*
4	PPSis.	Kikiwo m. RIPANYA.	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI
5	MP.	MEMEWA m. (unknown)	AKUI	*kuko*	AKUI	*kuko*

First ascending generation:

6	F.	KIPKATAM m. Kosorio	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*ciyo*
7	FBr.	KIPTOO m. (unknown)	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*cimdet*
8	FBr.	KACILA m. Nandoiyo.	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*cimdet*
9	FSis.	Cepuljoi m. TURIRPUKU.	*pakat*	KONYIT	*cimdet*	KONYIT
10	FBr.	CEPTUI unmarried	PAPA	—	PAPA	—
11	FFBr.	son of 5, and wife	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*
12	FFSis.	dau. of 4, Tapimpingoi.	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI
13	MBr.	NEKOI m. Seruiot.	MAMA	*mama*	APULAIYO	*ciyo*
14	MSis.	(unknown) m. SASUTIK.	*ciyo*	PAPA	*ciyo*	KONYIT

Own generation:

15	Br.	COIMUR m. Cepkoior.	KESENDA	*pakat*	KESENDA	*pakat*
16	Sis.	Ceimbur m. (unknown).	*kwanda*	KONYIT	*kwanda*	KONYIT
17	Sis.	Kiroti m. MANYEPAI.	*kwanda*	KONYIT	—	[illegible]

All Manyepai's relatives are outside the *ilkiat* to Pilo, but his Br., sis., f., and m. are inside it for *Kiroti*, though his M. and mam. are not.

18	dau. of 7, Cepkemoi m. (unknown)	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT
19	dau. of 7, Cereis m. (unknown).	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT
20	s. o. 8, LEIJI m. (unknown).	MACOMOM	*pakat*	MACOMOM	*pakat*
21	dau. of 8, Cepkumurwa m. KIMOPO.	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT

All Kimopo's relatives are outside the *ilkiat* to Pilo.

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22 s. o. 9, KIPKOIRC, unmarried.		MACOKOR	—	MACOKOR	—
23 s. o. 12, KIPSERIEM	and their children outside the *ilkiet*	—	—	—	—
24 s. o. 11, KIPLENGE		—	—	—	—
25 s. o. 11, Arap LEMANDO		—	—	—	—
26 s. o. 18, KIPURPUR, unmarried		MAMA	—	APULAIYO	—
27 dau. of 13, Cepketai m. KILANYA.		mama	KONYIT	apukiyo	KONYIT
28 s. o. 14, KIKOROR m. (unknown).		KESENDA	pukot	EIYO	pukot
29 s. o. 14, TOTE m. Kimeyan.		KESENDA	pukot	EIYO	pukot

First descending generation:

30 s. o. PILO: KIPKURKAT	APAA	SENGE	
31 s. o. PILO: KIMAIYO	APAA	SENGE	
32 dau. of 15, Cemerandei	apaa	senge	
33 s. o. 16, POIYO	MAMA	SENGE	
34 dau. of 16, Cepkemlui	mama	senge	
35 dau. of 17, Cepitok	mama	lakuet	
36 s. o. 27, KIPROTIC	MAMA	AKUI	
37 dau. of 27, Tepkeny	mama	akui	
38 dau. of 27, Ndito	mama	akui	
39 dau. of 28, Kimpaun	kesenda	eiyo	
40 dau. of 28, Nariare	kesenda	eiyo	
41 dau. of 28, Cepukoko	kesenda	eiyo	
42 dau. of 29, Kendakor	kesenda	eiyo	
43 dau. of 18, Tapitol	macokor	macokor	
44 dau. of 18, Ceptum	macokor	macokor	
45 dau. of 18, Cepkoino	macokor	macokor	
46 s. o. 21, KIPROTIC	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
47 s. o. 21, KIPTUMA	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
48 s. o. 21, TIONGOI	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
49 dau. of 21, Situni	macokor	macokor	
50 dau. of 21, not yet named (1939).	macokor	macokor	

(*Note*: Males in CAPITALS, females in small type. 'Unknown' means that the person's name was unknown to or forgotten by my informants. m. = married.)

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Pilo's immediate contacts are with people of the ***papa-eiyo***, ***kesenda***, and ***apaa*** groups, for he lives at Kiptarakon with his aged and infirm father and his married brother Coimim. Pilo always speaks of his father as ***papa***, and treats him with great respect, kindness, and gentleness. Coimim is his younger brother, and though of a junior age-set (*Maina*, while Pilo is *Nyongi*) * is now married and a father, and so is on terms of more or less equality with Pilo. They address each other by name, but usually refer to one another as ***kesenda*** — ***mii kesendannyon ka***, "my brother is at home", rather than ***mii ka Coimim***, in answer to a question as to his whereabouts. His own and Coimim's children Pilo calls by name though he often addresses them as ***apaa*** by way of instruction. His two sisters Kicoti and Ceimbar are both married and live not far away in Nandi. The former is the eldest of the four and was married to a Kimnyike now dead; Ceimbar married

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* The names *Kimnyike*, *Nyongi*, *Maina* are those of age-sets, which form an important element in social behaviour, and will be described in detail later on (p. 30).

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kiruti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukat* and *konyit*; but her son Kipkoiec is, as *macakor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macakor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macakorennyon*, and addressed as *macakoronni*, *macakor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

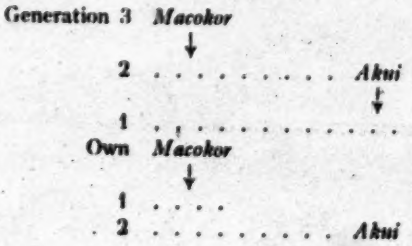
Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's 601 father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makikat*, "one who is not greeted".

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On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyiko* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups:

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuet* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuet*: all these are called *mama* by Pilo.

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyot*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimôken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *pôker*, though outside the *tiliet* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukot* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

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171

The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tiliet*:

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

601 191

C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).

D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

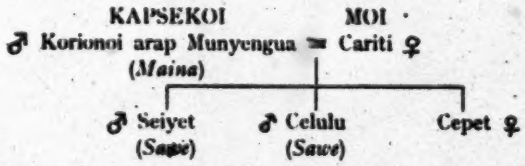
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupet* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakuet* and *akui*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tilist*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *makikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic 596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sosoiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[*]:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timopo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

[*] In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets age-sets.

[P. 184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [165]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA, mama.*

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA,* as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*pukot,* a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*kowyit,* i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*. [601]

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat.*

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor.*

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

[P.185, C]

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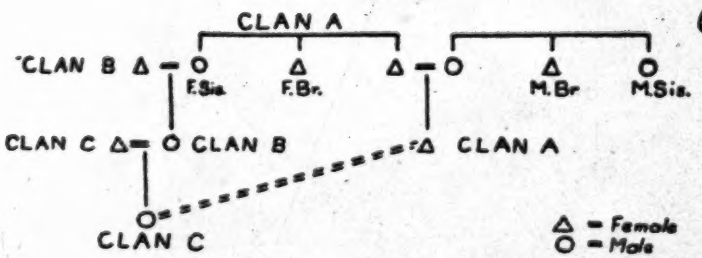

THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH ESis.DD.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582 602

[Text continues top of P. 186, B-Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.= *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.=*MAMA, mama,* placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=*MAMA, mama,* again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet.*

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.= *KESENDA, Kesenda,* placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.= *AGWI, agwi,* i.e. they call ego *agwi*=grandfather; and all of this generation are *agwi* to ego, i.e. all children of *machokor, apaa,* and *mama,* though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda.*

[Text continues middle of P. 186, B--Analysis]

[P.186,B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machohor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case:

582 602 [595]

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speaking. (W.S.)

601

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are ***BABA***, *eiyo*, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=***APULAIYO***, <Masae *apula*, <*apu*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=*eiyo* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=***KONYIT***, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other catagories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=*Sindet*.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between the paternal and maternal sides. The children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as ***MACHOKOR***, *machohor*, while on on the maternal side we have :—

[602]

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=***AGWI***, *agwi*.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=***EIYO***, *eiyo* :—

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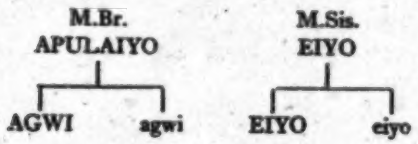


W.S.

(3) Br., Sis.=*KESENDA*, *kesenda*.

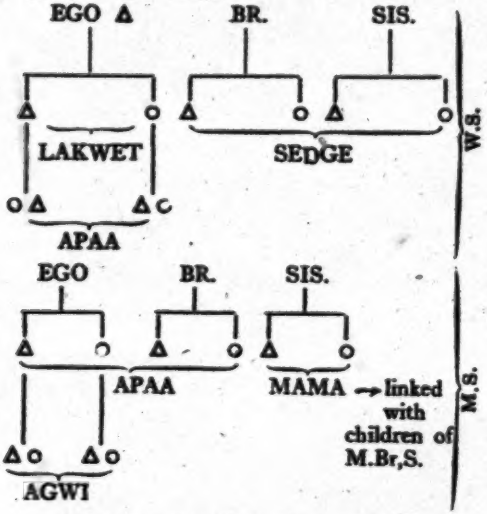
First Descending Generation.

(1) Children of *MACHOKOR* are also *MACHOKOR*.

(2) Ego's children ♂ and ♀=*LAKWET*, *Lakwet*.

(3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.=*SEDGE*, *sedge*.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently:



Second Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D.=*APAA*, *apaa*, transferred from first descending generation M.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

BABA=F., F.Br., M.Sis.H. Allied to Masae *papa*, Bari *baba*, and probably to Ndi *apa* (Gala *aba*), all meaning 'father.' [197]

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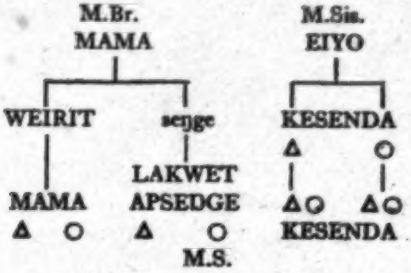


MAMA=M.Br., M.Br.W. Ndi *mama*, and possibly akin to Bari *mana-ye*. 601 197

EIYO=M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *eiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An occasional alternative for *eiyo* in Dorobo is *POKINE*, which in Nandi means Hus.Br.W.

AGWI=F.Br., his children and grandchildren. Nandi *agwi*, Masae *ol-akwi*='grandfather.' Cf. Bari *akwe* < *kwe*, 'head.'

KOKO=F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masae *koko*, 'old woman,' i.e. grandmother. And cf. Masae *eng-ŏgho*, old woman.

PUKOT=F.Sis. This might be from a stem occurring in Bari *puk*, 'germinate,' but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

KONYIT=F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi *konyit* means 'honour,' and cf. the Masae term *e-sindani e-anyit*, 'respected sister in law,'=Br.W. and W.Sis.

KUKO=F.F., M.F. Nandi *kuko* is the masc. form of *koko*, and hence='old man,' i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *inguget*, *ingoget*, the reference forms for *kuko*, *koko*.

MACHOKOR=F.F.F. etc. Nandi *machokor* =S.S. and S.D. The etymology may be Luo *chokore*, 'collect,' hence it would signify 'a collection of relatives.'

MAKIKAT=F.F.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-ikat*, "They are not greeted," because though their names are known, none are ever alive in ego's life-time.

KESENDA=Br., Sis., M.Sis.S. and D. Nandi dialect for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *tupchet*. Possibly < Nandi *kesen*, 'carry a

[P.188,A]

child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister. 601 197

APAA=children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* =M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*ar'-t'-apa,*) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO=M.Br. <Masae *apula* <*apu*.

SINDET=F.Sis., F.Br.W. <item found in Masae *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sindet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *puko* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.: 59

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.
+ F. or M.		

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

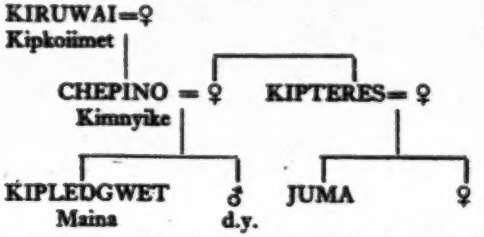
2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up 602 [855]

[1] Definitions of "family":
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or steading, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,



Kipleggwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

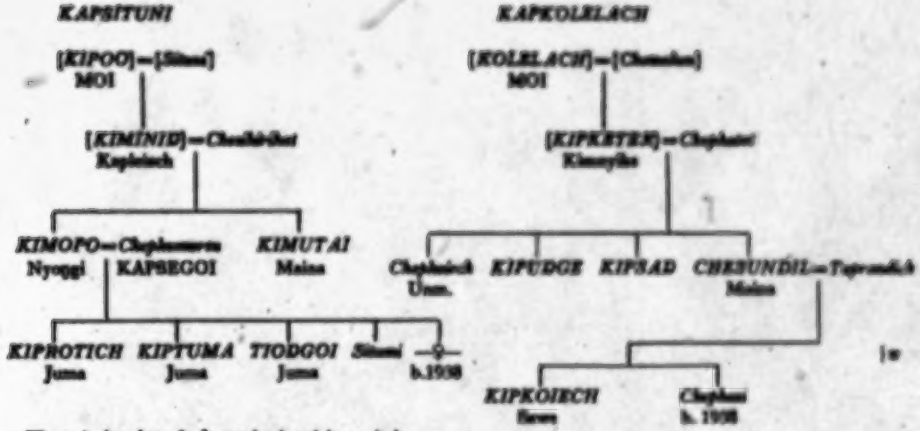
The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR.*
(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA.*
(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA.*
(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA.*
(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI.*
(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P 195]



Those in brackets [ ] are dead. ♂ in capitals.

GENEALOGY OF TWO EXTENDED FAMILIES, UNRELATED BUT OF THE SAME CLAN, LIVING IN ONE SETTLEMENT AT KIPUKWA.

1. Those in italics are living at Kipukwa (i.e. in 1938).
2. The Kapsituni family take their name from a woman. (Kap- here means 'family of.')
3. This table also illustrates age-descent (ipinda), ages being written in roman script, Maina.

Ist Huntingford E.S (1938-1939) 1942 FLS Dorobo FLS
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TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: I A SPEAKING

[Page] 601

TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: ♂ ♀ SPEAKING

MALES in capitals
FEMALES in small letters

H. Huntingford E-S (1888-1939) 1932 FILE Dorobo FLA

[P. 196]

601

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

• 601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jëjo or ga.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ga.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ga.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogesch.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ga.

/238 cont./

• 601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogesch.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogesch.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjesch.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiagesch.
Mother-in-law: ratotuan.
The terms of address for relatives are:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteñ.
Brother: bidjogesch, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjesch.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogesch.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same
171 rights as among the Masai.

For the Masai terms of address eraijo, engĭjo, abula and araba,
601 the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogesch, and arāmó
171 (see p. 56).

/240 cont./

583 [439] are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the [601] bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteñ, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 587 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, 583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a [784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/ to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment [583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens [171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 171 Among the Asá the same marriage obstacles hold as among the Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 Dorobo men pass through three stages: ***getik***, uncircumcised boys; ***murenik***, circumcised men; and ***apaiinisiek***, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first ***tipik***, girls; then ***yosonik***, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, ***ngitokisiek***, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

[304] [582] [880] [589]

Kinship and Behaviour

602 The existing Dorobo relationship system, ***tiliet***, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term ***macokor*** (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

[171]

601 Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are ***macokor*** and all females ***makikat;*** in the second ascending generation, all males are ***kuko*** or ***akui*** and all females ***koko***.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: ***papa*** = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; ***eiyo*** = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; ***pukot*** = father's sister; ***konyit*** = father's sister's husband; ***mama*** = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are ***sindet*** = father's sister and father's brother's wife; ***apulaiyo*** = mother's brother; ***eiyo*** = mother's brother's wife; and ***konyit*** = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are ***kesenda;*** mother's brother's son and daughter, ***mama;*** and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are ***macokor***. Women's terms which differ from these are: ***apulaiyo*** = mother's brother's son and daughter; ***eiyo*** = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, ***apaa*** includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; ***mama***, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; ***macokor***, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are ***akui***, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are ***mama;*** and mother's sister's children's children's children, ***kesenda***.

Among affines, wife's father is ***pamoyo;*** wife's mother, ***poker;*** wife's brother, ***konyit*** and his wife, ***poker;*** wife's sister ***pukot*** and her husband, ***kipukotiet;*** wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, ***apaa;*** wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, ***pakuo***. Husband's father is ***pakuo*** and his mother, ***poker;*** husband's brother ***konyit*** and his wife, ***sindet;*** husband's sister, ***kamati*** and her husband, ***poker;*** husband's brother's children, ***lakuet;*** and husband's sister's children, ***apulaiyo***.

602 In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special
604 place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi ***mama*** with his nephews.

l; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncis cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *koroniot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Lakwat

601 Son and daughter (w), husband's brother's children (w).

Affinals: *Konyit*

Father's sister's husband*, mother's sister's husband (w), father's brother's daughter's husband*, father's sister's daughter's husband*, sister's husband*, mother's sister's daughter's husband*, mother's brother's daughter's husband (w), daughter's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother (w).

Pukot

Father's sister, father's brother's son's wife*, father's sister's son's wife*, brother's wife, mother's brother's son's wife*, mother's sister's son's wife*, wife's sister.

Kipukotiet

Wife's sister's husband.

Pakuo

Son's wife, husband's father, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter.

Pôker

Daughter's husband (w), wife's mother, husband's mother (w), wife's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband (w).

Sandet: son's wife (w).
Pamono: wife's father.
Kamati: husband's sister (w).

The use of kinship terms

● [600] In practice kinship terms are used as a form of address and as a method of showing respect to seniors, who acknowledge the respect by using the reciprocal term to the juniors. To illustrate the use of these terms, I have prepared a statement of the relatives of a man named Pilo arap Katam of Kiptarakon (Sosoiyo group), in which it will be noted that the terms fall into six groups, with one isolated term:

1. *Papa-Eiyo*, in the first ascending generation.
2. *Akui*, the second ascending, first ascending, and second descending generations.
3. *Macokor*, in the third ascending, own, and first descending generations.
4. *Kesenda*, in own, and first and second descending generations.
5. *Apaa*, in the first descending generation.
6. *Mama*, in the first ascending, own, and first and second descending generations.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorennyon*, and addressed as *macokoronni*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

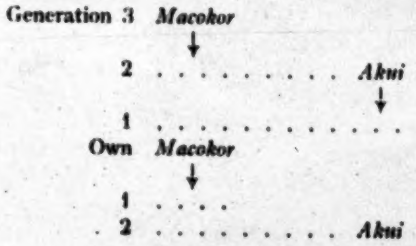
Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

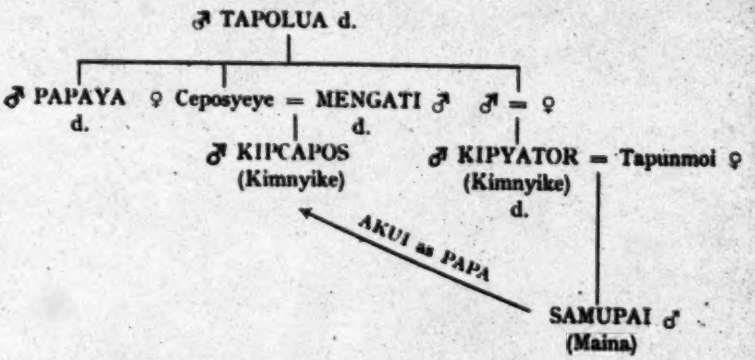
603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

he respected and feared both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both oiled him [12]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

When a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *akui*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *akui*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipukua where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cesundil a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kipungei, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimutai

[12] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who oils his head and face in token of consent.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe koheny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo ualek ce somis, amu ya, ngut ualek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

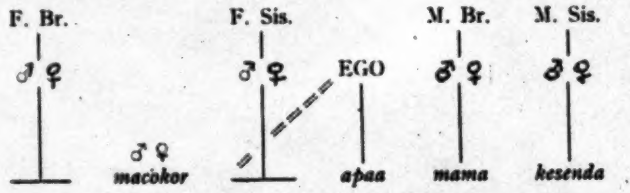
It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamet', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

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602

[Text continues TOP of P. 186, B - Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.= *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.=*MAMA, mama*, placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=*MAMA, mama*, again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet*.

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.= *KESENDA, Kesenda*, placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.= *AGWI, agwi*, i.e. they call ego *agwi*=grandfather; and all of this generation are *agwi* to ego, i.e. all children of *machokor*, *apaa*, and *mama*, though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda*.

[Text continues middle of P. 186, B - Analysis]

[P.186,B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machokor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case: 582 602 [595]

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speaking. (W.S.) 601

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are ***BABA, eiyo***, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=***APULAIYO***, <Masae *apula*, <*apu*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=*eiyo* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=***KONYIT***, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other catagories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=***Sindet***.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between the paternal and maternal sides. The children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as ***MACHOKOR, machokor***, while on on the maternal side we have :— [602]

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=***AGWI, agwi***.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=***EIYO, eiyo*** :—

child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister. 601 197

APAA=children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* =M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*ar'-t'-apa*,) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO=M.Br. <Masae *apula* <*apu*.

SINDET=F.Sis., F.Br.W. <stem found in Masae *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sindet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *pukot* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.: 59

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.
+ F. or M.		

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

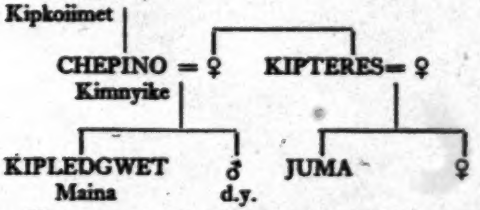
2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up 602 [855]

[1] Definitions of "family":
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or steading, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., FaBr., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,



Kipleŋgwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR.*

(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA.*

(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA.*

(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA.*

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI.*

(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P.189, A]

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are: 561

♂	♀
yetik: uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik:* girls.
Murenik: circumcised men.	*Yoostik:* married women.
Apaiisiek: elders.	*Eygitoginiek:* old women.

Boys are *yetik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apaiisiek* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *mostinuek*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior: *Choyinisk.*
Middle: *Taparik* or *Kipalkopek.*
Junior: *Rawakanik* or *Kiptaiisik.*

A man belongs normally to the age next but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
Kipkoiimet	*Kimnyike*	*Nyoggi*
Kaplelach	*Nyoggi*	*Maina*
Kimnyike	*Maina*	*Juma*
Nyoggi	*Juma*	*Sawe*
Maina	*Sawe*	*Kipkoiimet*
Juma	*Kipkoiimet*	*Kaplelach*
Sawe	*Kaplelach*	*Kimnyike*

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a man will be classed with an age next but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to. [191]

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently: [701] [182] [602]

[1] See J.R.A.I. lvii. 426, for further details of the Nandi age-set.

14.Cunningford 2-4 (1938-1939):1943
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[P.190,A]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimisi and Kipkutik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kenimo, and Kipet, Kipsir; while Leina, Kipilat, and Kipkoimo are all inferior to Lemiga. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that " So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation.

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of " ego "):

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and

[P. 142, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dondo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a hoor or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dondo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapsingkandi Dondo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dondo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sawiyo. (See map of the Dondo country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dondo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their initiation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being reincarnations and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Venie Giniu Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, elevsine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, ash and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: bowers, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

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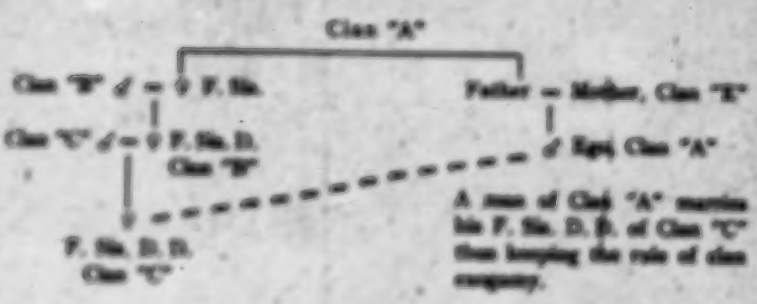
[605] [589]



This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the clan was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Piroyot*, he might be allowed [illegible] but would [illegible] be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's mother may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

8. The Second Descending Generation

(Man speaking)

The term *ekwi* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kwenda*. Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

[601]

(Woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *ekwi*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *ongo*, and of mother's sister, *aiye*; the rest are *ekwi*.

AFFINALS:

(Man speaking)

Wife is *mamnia*; wife's brother, *kwayit*, and his wife, *pakwe*; wife's sister, *pakwi*, and her husband, *kipakwiat*. Wife's parents are *pamwan* (m.) and *pakwe* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *ayian* (m.) and *pakwe* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

593 [808] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesunda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesunda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikuror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngaterpkong, and Kikuror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesundaeyyon* and would greet them as *kesunda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

609 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

●603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *koko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimugamugan", or "my *akui* was Nereun", his statement was amplified by saying "the father of my father, *koko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *koko* or *koko* (some were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *loiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *murukor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to ego's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makikat*, "one who is not greeted".

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On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyiki* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups:

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuat* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuat*: all these are called

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyat*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimóken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *póker*, though outside the *tilist* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukut* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

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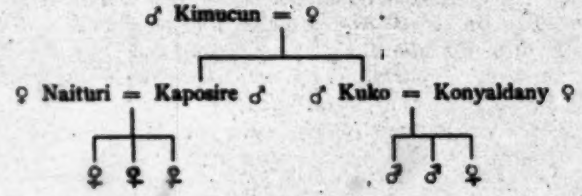
The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tilist*:

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ficatory mother, *eiyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiyo*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiyo* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *puko*, and their spouses (f. *mamay* m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo nalek ce somis, amu ya, ngut nalek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

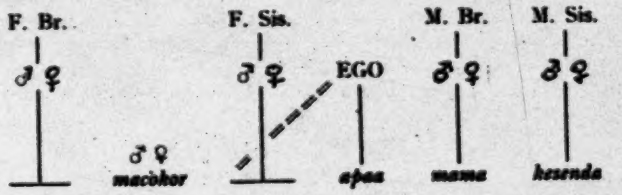
It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupshi, kiwerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngul kum kamat', amu ki lakak.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor*, *mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor*, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

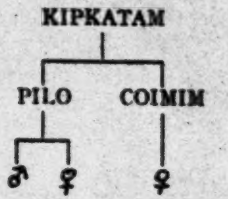


so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *ureriet*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik araaek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ns, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaaunŭok ako ra opaipaiitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si keam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaola used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua ; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaola and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children ; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children ; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakocu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakocu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did ; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *orot*, plural *ortinnoh*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tlond ap orot*, or simply *tlondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census ; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each ; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names ; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [197] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 Dorobo men pass through three stages: *potik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of [304] 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circum- [582] stances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional [884] help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surrep- [589] titious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yosotik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engitokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Behaviour

602 The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of [171] the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601 Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamogo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiot;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special ●604 place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

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A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuncin cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *koroiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorennyon*, and addressed as *macokoronni*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and *the other women of the settlement. This* of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* [10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[10] The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

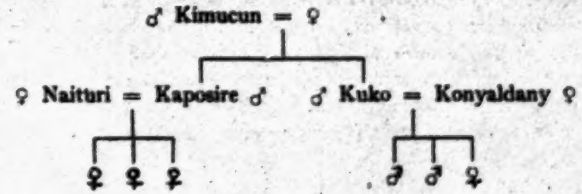
[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Ilume* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [241] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ficatory mother, *siyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiye*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (He [illegible]*w* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *puko*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

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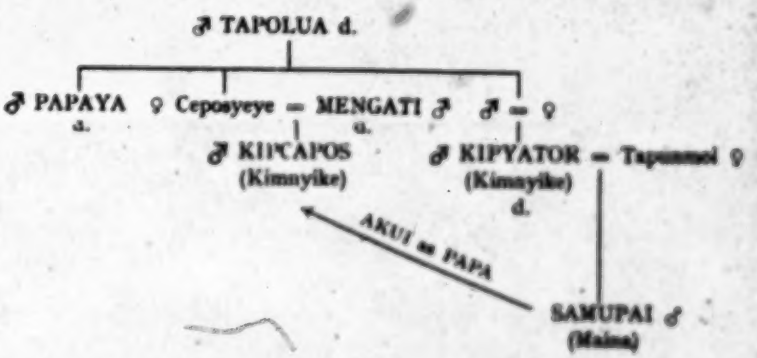
he respected and feared both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both oiled him [12]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

When a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *akui*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *akui*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipukia where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cemandi a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Malakwen, Kipsang, and Kipungoi, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimutai

[12] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who oils his head and face in token of consent.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicapkei, kiarenenkei, kilowcinkei, 'Kumin kon, agut kum kamat', anu ki lakak.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i.e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *marakor, mama,* and *kwanda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and in whom soon may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *marakor,* his *mama,* and his *kwanda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To these children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *marakor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kwanda*; and a man's own children are *apan,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *marakor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *marakor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

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Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sov kwaanik ake ne ejwijwiikoo* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606

Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkenren, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *ei kowo kakei* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long in the hut or [illegible]

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away to a neighbour's hut. The father of her Kaale used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipsaben; but in July 1938 he moved to Kipkenren, so his son Loti was working on Kapchemsa Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaale and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Loti, a Maina, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore owes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipsaben to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being on all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkemuntu taught her children to like Loti, who would greet them by saying *Nyhei, kakwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sov, kakwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Eye, owwa* ("Morning, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Loti never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimaiyo did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

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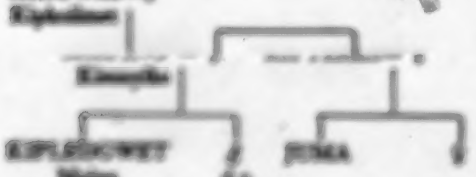
The clan, *oot*, plural *ootwek*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kimet ap oot*, or simply *kimet*, "the animal [of the clan]". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, so unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people symbolically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (i), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (ii) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

[illegible]

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M.; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Si., F.Br. H., M.Si., M.Si.H., and eldermith (relations) in the persons of elsewhere living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kalpsi genealogy,



Kipkoguyet had hardly ever seen Kipsaros, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Jame similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Si. are classed as *MAKWEEK*.

(2) Children of M.Si. are classed with Br. and Si. as *KEEEYEK*.

(3) Children of age and his Br. are classed as *AP.A.K*.

(4) Children of M.Br. and age's Si. are classed as *MAMA*.

(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWE*.

(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *Ipkinde, pl. Ipinogik*, with three age-grades in each set. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

father's brother and sister, of the same generation, and also to their children. *Attai* will be found again in the second descending generation. The corresponding Tamil forms are *appaṉ*, *ammāḷ*, *aṇṇaṉ*, *aṇṇi*, and *attai*. The last is the same as the Skaane (*a*)*attai*, father's father. *Kiḻavi* means 'old woman', and is related to the Skaane (*reg*)*ieke*. Women use *kuṭṭa* and *kuṭṭi* for father's and mother's parents.

5. The First Ascending Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation we have *puṟa* which covers the father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband; and *aiyi*, which includes the mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife (though mother's sister is sometimes called *puṟavi*). *Mama* includes mother's brother and mother's brother's wife. The father's sister is *pudai*, a term applied also to the wives of father's brother's son, father's sister's son, brother, and mother's sister's son, as well as to wife's sister, all in the speaker's generation, and implying that the women so called are in the same category as the father's sister, i.e. one of respect. The father's sister's husband is called *kuṟṟi*, which is applied also to the husband of the father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and to the wife's brother. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pudai*. The word *puṟa* is so wide-spread that its use is not significant. *Aiyi* — Tamil *aiyi*, Skaane *aeiye*, a word found with this meaning in most of the Tamil dialects. *Pudai* does not occur in Tamil or Skaane, and may be a relic of the original Dravidian terminology. *Kuṟṟi* — Tamil *kuṟṟi*, 'inverse', and may be connected with the Skaane phrase *a vindaeni a mayk*, "respected sister-in-law" (brother's wife and wife's sister), for *mayk* is the etymological equivalent of *kuṟṟi*.

(woman speaking)

Puṟa and *aiyi* are used for father and mother, and *puṟa* also = father's brother, and *aiyi* = mother's sister. But father's sister and father's brother's wife are called *aiyāḷ*; mother's brother is *aṇṇaiyaṉ* and his wife *aiyi*; while father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband are *kuṟṟi*. *Aṇṇaiyaṉ* is from the Skaane *aṇṇa* = 'mother's brother' (woman speaking), a word formed from *aṇṇi*, (same meaning, man speaking). *Kuṟṟi*, it may be noted, is a common term for a male relative by marriage, and is used by men as well as women.

6. The Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation a man's relatives are grouped in three classes: (1) *Kuvaṉḍa*, which comprises his brother and sister, and his mother's sister's son and daughter; (2) *Mama*, his mother's brother's son and daughter;

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and (3) *Mwanke*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as women may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kimondo* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kwon* 'carry a child', in being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kimondo*, brother and sister; (2) *Ayakoiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Mwanke*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Siyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *ajaa*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mamo*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *mwisi ap ogiik*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mamo*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *kokwet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *ongo*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *ebei*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *siyo*. The term *ongo* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *mwanke*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo men, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *mwanke*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

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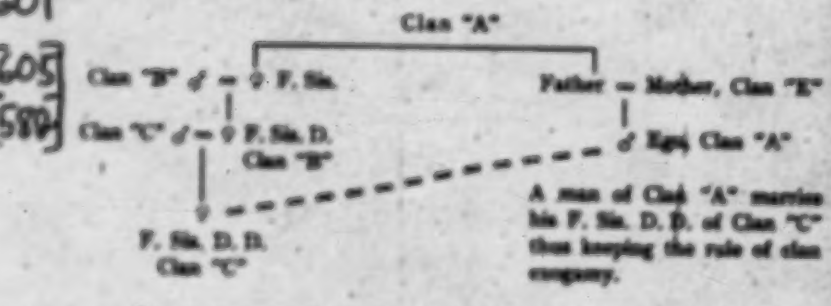
[205] [588]



This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tilat* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Siyangi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *mandet* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *mandet* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(*man speaking*)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *nanua*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kwanda*. Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

[603]

(*woman speaking*)

Grandchildren are *ajwa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *wuga*, and of mother's sister, *aiya*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(*man speaking*)

Wife is *mamwiat*; wife's brother, *kwayi*, and his wife, *pakwa*; wife's sister, *pakwa*, and her husband, *kipakwiat*. Wife's parents are *famwaa* (m.) and *pakwa* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *ajwa* (m.) and *pakwa* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *kenyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pakat* and *kenyit*; but her son son Kipkoiec is, as *marakor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaela, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maisa*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Ceeub, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lowered themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *marakor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *marakoreneyon*, and addressed as *marakoreneni*, *marakor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *kenyit*. Though Kimaiyo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *kenyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tilet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Ceukirikai, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiononi*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Ceukirikai.

Kaela and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakom, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1929 they went to live in Soaniyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaela took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaela, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilaeya and his family, lives at Ngetyekeng on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Kemarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

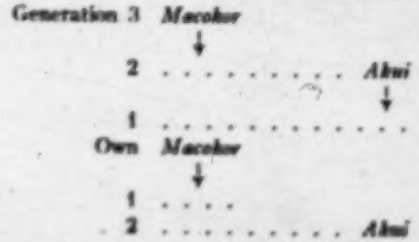
Between Pilo and his brother Cuimin there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. [605] Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamat', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor*, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*. 601

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat*.

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor*.

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

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A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macohor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an older known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuecie cicoto*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sokutiot* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sokutiot* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.

. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [588] even if the disparity in age is but small.

Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to ● 606 be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *areriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaaiwtok ako ra opaipaiitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si kaam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaola used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaola and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakocu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakocu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *ord*, plural *ortinuuk*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap ord*, or simply *tiondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [199] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them. 606

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations. 614

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils where matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap oreniyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or *tiondanyō* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *orayon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value. [361] [627]

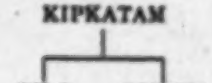
Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kut ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilioswik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *orayon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *a' l' apan*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi. [171]

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi ..... } *koyonyot* (crested crane).
Moi ..... }
Kipiegen ..... *kimukichat* (baboon).
Kipamwi ..... *pemuriyo* (duiker).
Kapil ..... *tuwait* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi ..... *rukita* (the rain).
Kororpor ..... *kimuketyot* (hyaena).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkamuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

● 607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *mwiat*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no lewd talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 195 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *wuriá*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Ceuikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Ceuuguny who was married to a *Nyangi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Ceuuguny would bring her children to see Ceuikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Ceuikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiriotet* with Arap Ratos. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Iere ɨpako lakwa ee mooɨpua emɨmakɨ* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapɨnko amut, ko-ceuket, ame mamɨpeta emɨmakɨk aweuk ee ame, kwanɨpɨk, kɨnɨ,* "Iere, ɨpɨkwa lakwa".	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and he cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Wei, eweuki ame, aiyo! Ko-kwanɨpɨ kɨnɨ, kɨnɨ,* "Iere, ɨpɨkwa".	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Mamuun, lakwa, mamɨ-cɨk kɨnɨ, kwamɨk, a mɨ-ta kɨpɨrɨɨk ɨlɨmɨpɨn ɨl kɨ-ɨpɨn makɨlɨn.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but tomorrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Wɨrɨn, mɨjo natɨ, ɨl ko-ceuu kɨnɨ.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Wɨrɨn, kɨpɨ kwan, . . . Kɨɨpɨn ee, ɨl kwam?*	Yes, let's go tomorrow, . . . What shall we take her, what she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kɨpɨnɨ kwan, ɨl kɨɨpɨn eyeuyɨt ɨk kɨlɨmɨk.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her [illegible] some honey and water.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e.g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *kwot* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *kwot* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *chiat* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *kwot* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*ipat*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been committed, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *kwot* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *kwot* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever collected[1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The reason nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

693 the relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-doubled spear as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either cows or worn-out old ones, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been agreed upon by both clan and local councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, as he had to be low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

693 Killing a witch. Though in 1938 I could hear of no Dendo who were reputed to be witches (*mwoti*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mojinet*).

693 Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dendo and is believed or known to have performed any actionally act against the Dendo. The Dendo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy uses the law makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. The action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dendo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man who has killed an enemy is painted (*kwaan ndet*) with stripes of white earth (*mwonet*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual. Though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. If actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dendo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 Theft. Stealing honey is the most kind of theft, and is almost comparable with (unprovoked) cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's hive(s) is considered very low indeed, and if found

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Both the social and the economic origins of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and those groups whose thought does occupy their minds are exclusive and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as a unit among the Dorobo, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a local or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the latter also that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Thadiow hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sawiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisputed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Masai, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Masai), as being ventriloquists and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Masai, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Nandi (Giloy Mission); (2) restitutive: the Government calls them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of distinct suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, tubers and roots (grown or cleared), milk, native meal, salt and beer.

B. *Use-skills*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (image of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, cultivated earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Masai for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

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174 themselves, ready to pay the usual dues demanded of a foreign visitor, in course of time increased tremendously in numbers and gradually assumed an agricultural type of alimentary culture and in doing so put the Dorobo country to a different use which changed its face entirely. The very name Kikuyu must have been associated in Dorobo minds with the elimination of everything in life they thought worth while. So they would not readily share their country with a people who, they knew, intended to destroy its forest. The reaction of the occupants to what they thought the immigrants intention would govern the situation, and so the mode of acquisition, in each case. In the north a few Kikuyu banians had come to and paid the usual fee or made the usual presents. There would have and there have been some clearing for a homestead, but later the increasing population (eventually too many to be overawed) would have started cultivation; the Dorobo would have begun to realize that their means
D of livelihood were gone or going fast; some no doubt would have been
[609] absorbed [p. 107] and some would have Kikuyu-ized their way of life, but most would have searched for somewhere else where they could live their lives unhampered by the hated forest-farmers. In the south the immigrants made no pretence of seeking a share in hunting grounds; their openly declared intention was to make those grounds unsuitable for hunting; any other declaration would have been of no avail, the Kiambu Dorobo knowing where they came from and what had happened there, and doubtless knowing also that hunting was by then not merely rarely practiced by the Kikuyu as a way of life, but almost, like its products, subject to taboo, at least regarded as an occupation followed only by the lower sort. Before they willingly relinquished what they held they would demand security or greater value than their brothers to the north had found,
D they would require in fact a guaranteed subsistence, not mere longe-
[648] Hitherto Dorobo sections whose borders marched with those of stronger peoples had always sought some form of symbiosis, a theoretical equality of status although their different mode of life and their dependence on the goodwill of a numerically stronger people involved in practice something approaching some degree of serfdom. But now their case was different. It was no longer [illegible] of protecting a dangerous neighbour by occasional gifts of honey or hides or undertaking certain menial tasks to keep him in a peaceful

THE MINERS OF KING (KINGITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Kyaka on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Great Rukwa, is quite unlike all others in that region or indeed in Kingitania (IRS).[1] It was seen by Thompson in 1883 on the plain between it and Mwanda,[2] place of Kalulema,[3] which, he says, is "another village and considered the selling best bought from the Kikuyu in the West and the Kyaka." The people in part of the Kikuyu Kyaka, who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Kyaka lost complaining has been lost to IRS since Kyaka ground through a comment up by the Kenya Land Commission as one "guilty of silence and persevering and guilty of religious and atmospheric, guilty of impatience, and tragedy of force and inhumanity."[4]

Organization

There are no chiefs, council being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Kondelelani, or young Kyaka. Marriage is prohibited, and sexual permissive. Polygamy is prohibited. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be also chiefs, with Kyaka-Kalinga names beginning with the prefix Mpi. Lambert does not locate territorially, but simply records "groups of." These chiefs are sometimes elected to by Mwami also exists, as does for Kikuyu also appear. The word for chief is mi-Mwami, derived from the Mwami of which "Mwa" and are, as Lambert suggests, from Arabian, which means not "glass," but "one God."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called Kyaka[5] is recognized, and the elements describing ancestral spirits or "entire members" of a Mwagi implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

Sources: (1) E. Lambert, The system of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit, Part II. History of the tribal occupation of the land, pp. 47, 48.

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[1] [illegible]
[2] Thomas' Mwaa, 1883, p. 88.
[3] Kyaka and Kalulema, Kikuyu tribe, p. 47.
[4] Lambert, loc. cit.
[5] Mwami-Kyaka = Mwami.

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/50 com'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practiced. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Davies succeed in grouping the [illegible] of the Kikuyu and the [illegible] of the Maasai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is [illegible]. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as [illegible] (the right hand) and [illegible] (the left hand). Where the Kikuyu system is referred to 'Mwangi' in the former and 'Mbiru' the latter, but the expressions were probably and originally of the Maasai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Each an elder is called [illegible] (pl. [illegible]). A [illegible] has much the same function as a Kikuyu [illegible]. There is an [illegible] but formerly the Davies owed allegiance to the [illegible] of the Maasai.

They recognize one supreme being, called [illegible] (compare the Sub [illegible]). There appears to be no cult of so-called [illegible] Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Ngai, are, for example, the [illegible] (a solitary clump), [illegible] mutiny, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the [illegible] and the [illegible].

[illegible] little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Davies of Northern Kikuyu with other Davies divisions. The "Davies Commission" called them the Kikuyu Development group, and remarked that they were first found in the [illegible] but left them and went to the Maasai Reserve, whence they were expelled. [illegible] the Commission the [illegible] group was living on Maasai pasture in the

/88 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is cuuotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as oret ap-tai (the right hand) and oret ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Moina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Sun Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mubeo, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the murhai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Commission" called them the Kikuyu forest group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Commission met this group was living on forest squatters in the

/15 cont./
the El aziki also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Aaí and El aziki have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El molelyan, and the El oonkgona, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Aaí, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol mamasi, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the knowing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobbo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The El gilaiá lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feasts. -- The ceremonies. -- The El kiboshe lineage. -- The reincarnation.

Every tribe (ol oonkgona) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gotuny, ol gotuk). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gotuny lolodi

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas among the El gamurak the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 197 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed. Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 214 191 000 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oibonit* as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

142 241 411

Ill. 60. Wandering men.

* [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Gualpot]

/320 cont./ It is to be
• 613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explain the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

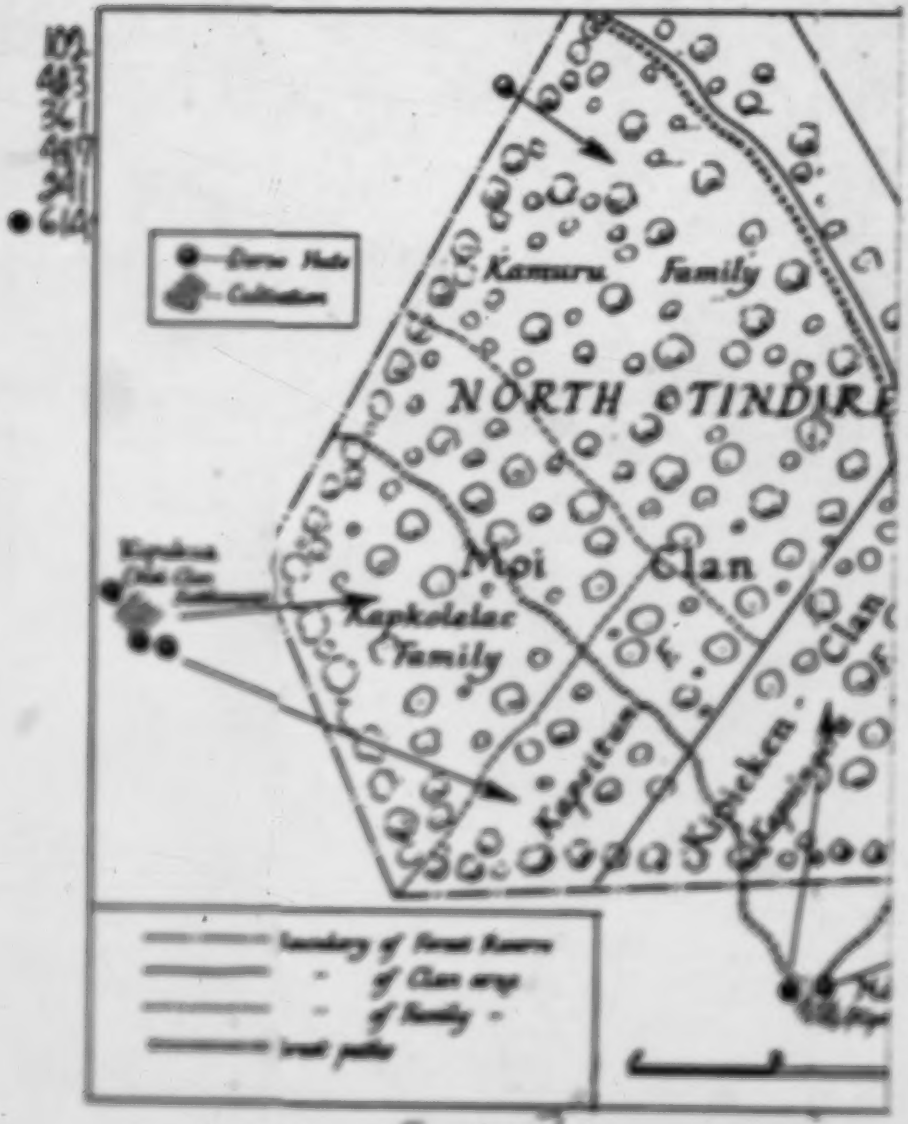
/321/ E.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Basketry. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dances and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[358] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[359] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large bands, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[362] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (also) only consist of hastily built small huts (manda) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[367] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

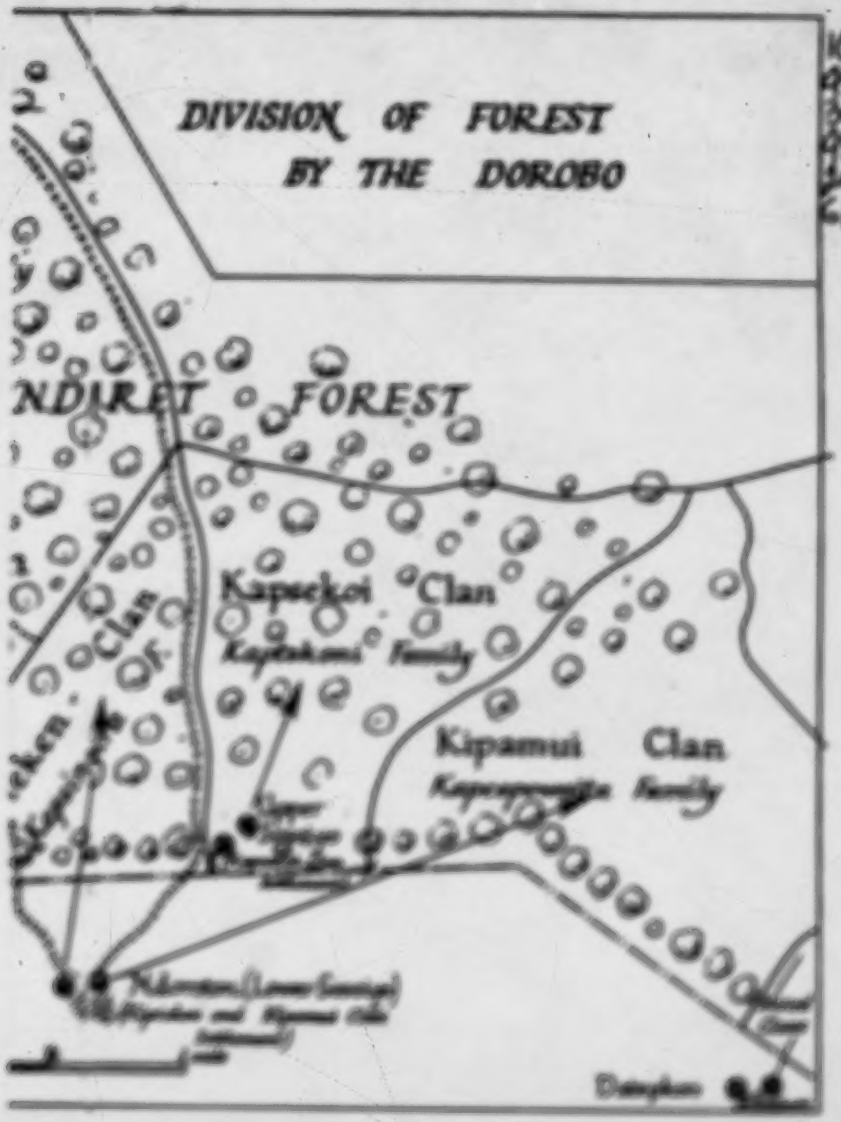
621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried
[391] circumcised sons (kokonyi) live with the young girls. As among
[392] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. She calls her
[393] enkai nai, she calls him enkai nai, words to which one again finds the Masai word enkai. Their huts are designated as inanyi

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES



[p. 56]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA



[p-57]

patronymic from their father's prestige name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's subclan, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936-37. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as sponsor for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mut* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cegiwandi*, the senior; *Tuguldi* or *Kipkilionyek*, the middle; and *Kwondandi* or *Kipsiandi*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own lands, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Institutions

Land Division

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiek* (*koroweik*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1900 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1901 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ovet*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kowi ap ovet*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census, three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has four, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of five, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exception borne the possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom like marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 97.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were sub-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which enough to one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

* The Nandi occasionally use *ogwet* for this sub- (i.e. Nandi *mutik* meaning "the totems"

Table of Clans

Clan name	Corresponding Proto-Lituanic word, and also Old Prussian	Source	Possible notes
Kiparkas*	Kiparkas Kip	Proto-clan	ancient name
Kiv*	Kiv	Proto-clan	ancient clan name, meaning unclear
Kipakas*	Kipakas	Proto-clan	Kipa-
Kipanas*	Kipanas	Proto-clan	Kipa-
Kupal*	Kupalkas	Proto-clan	kupa pig
Kupa*	Kupa	Proto-clan	kupa
Kunigas*	Kunigs	Proto-clan	kunig
Kuis*	Kuis	Proto-clan	kuis

The clans named clans are: Kiparkai,* corresponding to the Proto-Lituanic name *kiparkas,* corresponding to the Proto-Lituanic name *kip-* and Kiparkas, meaning a Lituanic word, Proto-Lituanic.

(All clan names marked * are of Proto-Lituanic origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the full men of the clan. People meet at the house of a chairman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine or a keg of beer passing around. Each in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine or a keg of beer passing around, which is a case in a. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between members, boundaries of hunting areas, [illegible] of a chieftainship, feuds, and the preliminary arrangements when a clan man has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is pronounced by the council leader, Kiparkas, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in [illegible] which the clans may or does the Proto-Lituanic [illegible] (p. 68).

The Kiparkai

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*kunigai*, sing. *kunig*) governed by Proto-Lituanic officials. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and accredited men of all the clan settlements within it; the council site marks a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the land has been cleared. The function of the Proto-Lituanic council is to decide [illegible] clans. It has a leader, also known as Kiparkas, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he organizes the affairs in the same way. There are six clans of the Kiparkai.

The Kiparkai is divided into nine Proto-Lituanic clans (Proto-Lituanic *kipakas*, Proto-Lituanic *kipanas*, Proto-Lituanic *kupal*, Proto-Lituanic *kupa*, Proto-Lituanic *kunigas*, Proto-Lituanic *kuis*, and Proto-Lituanic *kiv*). Of these, only three of them were occupied: Kiparkai, Kipakas, and Kupal. [illegible]

Legal Sanctions

Legal system which governs sanctions on Proto-Lituanic [illegible] and [illegible] in the council. Secondary sanctions deal with magical theft, [illegible]

[illegible] and wealth. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, the girl burnt. Sorcery [illegible] the woman who is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the tribal council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could agree two or three men to force the offender, by sword and physical persuasion, to submit his case. Of offences in the second category, [illegible] have already been mentioned (p. 76). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the tribal council, which may order payment of compensation. A more powerful deterrent is [illegible] "If I see a thief, every time grass we see," said [illegible] a thief, [illegible] grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-wite. If a man [illegible] committed by something like, he must bind [illegible] to recompense. Homicide of a member of another clan, though not involving primary revenge, was a serious offence, because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The murdered man was also head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man [illegible] the murder might be enforced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from his friends, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dirndo lands consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together chiefly by the feeling that they are all Dirndo, the ascendancy by the clan law which [illegible] and by the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dirndo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Clans

Housing

(a) Forest type.—The Amongali, as we saw in 1927, was a [illegible] of circular [illegible] huts in long [illegible] structures, covered by the grounds with [illegible] and [illegible] of trees (eight, 6 ft.; height, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. [illegible] type; the [illegible] has a circular wall about 3 ft. high [illegible] with mud, and an [illegible] flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the hut is a hut of ordinary Pondi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of from [illegible] huts, were situated in [illegible] just big enough to hold the huts, and were [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] to a [illegible] regulation that each is [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the [illegible] land.

Dress and Ornament

Clothing is made largely from the [illegible] of wild animals, and the hides are mainly [illegible] from those of the Pondi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, [illegible] and [illegible], necklaces, and [illegible] worked in an irregular [illegible]. The necklaces are [illegible] and arranged [illegible] getting [illegible] to the [illegible], and [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] in the [illegible] of the ear. Those [illegible] all [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] is [illegible] to [illegible] in a [illegible] of about 2 [illegible] [illegible] is a [illegible] [illegible] with a [illegible] cap, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Occasionally a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Food and Produce

[illegible] are obtained from Pondi cattle, the Dirndo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Grubbs are made from [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE HISTORY OF KINGS (EXERCISE)

History

The group identified by Lambert relating to Kinsbo as top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Great Rivers of salt north of Lamora, is first shown on Kinsbo in Lambert, 1851. It was seen by Thomas in 1861 at the place known to the Lambert as Wanmak ("place of hunters") which, he says, a Kinsbo village was established for selling land bought from the Kinsbo in the West and the Kinsbo." The group is part of the Kinsbo Kinsbo who occupied the land before the Kinsbo came. The process by which the Kinsbo had completely lost their land by 1861 when Lambert passed through is unknown, but the Kinsbo Land Commission in one [illegible] purchase of villages and surrounding land by of religious and missionaries, purchase of properties, and forgery of titles and ownership."[1]

Organization

There are no chiefs, council being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Kinsbo-Kinsbo or simply the Kinsbo-Kinsbo. Marriage is prohibited, and divorce prohibited. Polygamy is practiced. There are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. Tribal spoons as the centre unit of age-set system, and Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, one Kinsbo-Kinsbo clan beginning with the [illegible] clan, which does not apply territorially, but simply means "group of". These clans are sometimes referred to by Kinsbo clan names, but Kinsbo clan names. The word for clan is Kinsbo, derived from the Kinsbo [illegible] "clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, one of [illegible], which means not "[illegible]" but "one goat."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called Lamoi is recognized, and the deceased [illegible] spirits as "entire nations" of a Kinsbo implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

[illegible]. S. S. Lambert, The society of land tenure in the Kinsbo Land Club, Part 2. History of the tribal occupations / the land, pp. 47, 48.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

of the following types of Dembo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ch-Dolofgni	D-Dolofgo
2. Ch-Kinyolofgni	D-Kinyolofgni
3. Ch-Mbiri	D-Mbiro[3]
4. Ch-Mvfuki	D-Mvfuki
5. Ch-Kimvbomi	D-Kimvbomo
6. Ch-Avumuli	D-Avumuli
7. Ch-Kivkovchi	D-Kivkovchi
8. Ch-Kimogoro	D-Kimogoro

These names, all provided by the Mossi article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Mossi have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Mossi idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dembo having been ascertained, I endeavoured to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mbiro* Dembo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Yalomni, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Mossi. On being questioned, the *Mbiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Mossi, but stated that there were other Dembo[4] whose language they (the *Mbiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I object to calling the segments, having totally unconnected or remote ancestors, by the name of clan. On the further ground, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be indirectly traced to Bantoid and Sudanese origin.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

[3] According to Delhy, *D-Mbiro* is the name given to a class of the Gagu people by the Yarse Mossi. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Mossi of the Yungayanda District. [4] *D-Lemogoro*.

[5] It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

[illegible] G. W. S. Shannonians.—Modern Russian: Some Account of

Class.

● 614 The Duellist have eight chess pawns, g2 continued, B.g, which correspond to eight of the Dutch class:—

Class.	Name.	Meaning.	Corresponding Dutch Name.
1. Bel	Bulgarian (Fr.)	Crystal stone	Bel.
2. Kahgan	Kazakh (Kaz.)	Baron	Kahgan.
3. Kazikan	Tatars (Fr.)	Dark city	Kazikan.
4. Kalmuk	Russian (Bel.)	Elk	Kalmuk.
5. Kaz	Kazakh	Kaz	Kaz.
6. Kalun	Kalmuk	Kazik	Kalun.
7. Kazikan	Tatar (Fr.)	Kazikan	Kazikan.
8. Kalmuk	Arabic (Fr.)	Elk and	Kalmuk.

The first class is the most numerous.

Consecutive Ages.

524 There are seven consecutive ages (brisés, pl. brisegh), which have the same names as in Dutch; the intervals between the ages are about 14 years, and they succeed one another in a recurring cycle of about 98 years, as in Dutch, except that the Dutch intervals are 12 years (formerly 13) years. The present order of the ages, and their names, are as follows[1]:—

1. Bors (very old men)								Chronicled about 1877
2. Kilgishtuni								1891
3. Kilgishtuh								1905
4. Kilmaylin								1919
5. Kilmagli (mothers)								1933
6. Kalun (boys)								Chronicled after 1947
7. Kalun (small children)								1961

The old men speak of an eighth age, Kilgaraliy or Kilgaraliy, which has fallen out of use.

Each age is divided into three divisions (see pl. mentioned (B.) a line), which are called[2]:—

1. Bazan—Kilmaglishi (B.) Radishtish, or Radigan-ugh).
2. Ali-ishi—Kilmaglishi (B.) Kilgishtuh.[3]
3. Kazan—Kilmaglishi (B.) Kilgishtuh.[3]

[1] By Kazik Kilmagli a.v. "Ireland's queen" for the Duellist Kaz. A valid form of an even Kaz for both Kaz gives.

[2] By the Kazikan dialect of Kazik Kaz names are called also "Kilgishtuhgish" and "Kilgishtuhgish."

[3] See B.C. Ali. A. W. S. Shannonians a.v.B.C.I. Kilg.g. Ali-ishi.

In 1928 and 1929 I made a census of the three Gumuz districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 280 surviving members of the Eighteenth family, 67 % were living in the forest or on forest clear in it. The remaining 33 %, were settled in groups in certain areas of Gumuz where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Gumuz, and in Uanie Uoha, with a few in the Dumassa and Kuya Reserves. Most of these 33 %, maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognised as members of one or other of the three Gumuz districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organisation, but the disruption of even the remainder for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Accordingly it was not too late in 1929 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Gumuz.

The dispersal of the Gumuz made it necessary to classify the groups according to their distribution, and this resulted in a grouping of the bands in four "forest categories".

1). Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6000 ft. and over.
2). Forefoot on the edge of the forest, usually over 7000 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
3). Forefoot or Upper Gumuz, within 10 miles of the forest, with several conditions generally similar to 2, but a little lower.
4). Kuya, Dumassa and Lekkuya, where conditions in places are similar to 3.

The analysis of the census and forest categories will be found in the Appendix p. 6.

Here in this paper we are first only with those parts of the social organisation that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Gumuz life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Gumuz is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even in this people live in clan groups. This is common to the Forest, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in communal political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or spatial divisions, also forested, of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1 Lagaba[1], 2 Bulgai, 3 Gwaa, 4 Kabanma, 5 Gwanya, 6 Gwadeu, 7 Bidugu, 8 Fadi, 9 Angolo. In 1928-29 only Bulgai, Kabanma, and Gwanya were inhabited, the latter had been small previously to the district as a whole (irrespective of clan). The Gumuz never acquired the coastal belt of the Forest, district councils were held only where there was something important to talk about, and the clan council was held a short distance and was closed after that the district council.

There is no chief of the Gumuz, nor an overall chief in Gumuz to whom has an district council, the holding was dissatisfied — the executive

[1] B is English church, and is used with the clan throughout

[illegible] getting his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The Ganda therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Ganda", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Kavirondo.

The Ganda are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Kavirondo, but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralists, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. There is importance in hunting even here, and history is regarded mainly as pastoral people regard cattle.

Although the Ganda are commonly thought of as a people who practise or still observe taboo a game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go for shoot in the old days working game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own lands map and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where no family holdings to which people have, as crops, keep their bees, and other vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map, but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map representing perhaps one mile on the ground covers a very short distance, will find when he gets to the Ganda that one inch on the ground is a very formidable item altering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite distance for the stranger to see himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Analysis of Domestic Categories

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and stability, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by elsewhere as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no elsewhere immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kolpai there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried elsewhere; and at Kibaraina a widow with two small children could turn to five adult elsewhere for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with elsewhere than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom elsewhere are much less important than relatives in these matters.

5. The Age-Set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no hostile solidarity. Theoretical this of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

Age-sets, *ipinda, plur. ipinwaki*, are an Wanderobo institution adopted by the Nandi and Dorobo, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sore kamasiek ake ne ageyiandwee* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Maiting's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkoreon, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Maiting visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *ei kotee kakai* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaela used to live at Cepkenyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipsikon; but in July 1933 he moved to Kipkoreon, as his son Loli was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaela and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Loli, a *Moiton*, is Arap Maiting's wife's brother, and therefore 604 owes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipsikon to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkemoiro taught her children to like Loli, who would greet them by saying *Nabei, kakwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sore, kakwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Eju, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Loli never played the part in their lives that Arap Maiting's brother Kimoisi did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

● 614 The clan, *ent*, plural *entinik*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *Ainet ap ent*, or simply *Ainet*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people nominally related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [199] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

grandfather, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its products. Each clan corresponds to a Huron clan, with the exception that one, the Eagle-Hawk, corresponds to both Huron Eagle-Hawk and Bird, and that the Huron have also a clan called Rat corresponding to Huron Bird. This apparent confusion indicates that the Hurons have borrowed the Huron clan nomenclature and called it by their own clan names without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deeply rooted a part of their organization. The two appearances of the Eagle-Hawk clan extinct has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

A. Inherited by grandfather and women

[illegible]	[illegible]	Name	[illegible]
1. Kayenhes	Kayenhes Bird	subsidiary name of Huron clan Kayenhes	Kanenyah*
2. Bird	Bird	Huron corresponding clan	1. Kanenyah 2. Rat* 3. Kayenhes
3. Kayenhes	Kayenhes	Huron clan	Kanenyah
4. Kayenne	Kayenne	Huron clan	Kanenyah
5. Kayll	Kayenhes	subsidiary name of Huron clan	Deer
6. Tsiyut	Tsiyut	Huron clan	Otter
7. Kwayer	Tsiyut	subsidiary name of Huron clan	Otter

B. Inherited by genealogy from Tsiyut

8. Tsiyut	Tsiyut	Huron clan	Otter

The following are reported to exist or to have existed, though it seems certain on numbers of clans, either in person or in genealogies, the names were ascertained by Mrs. Emerson, in 1847:

9. Kayenge, corresponding to the Huron Kwenrohe, of which Kayenge is a subsidiary name; bones, sagamorship
10. Kayenhes, corresponding to Huron Kayenhes; bones, snake

* Kanenyah, applied Huron * Rat are corresponds to the Huron Ata-ochiatah

though to Kautil such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogists, which does not exist that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries one whole may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry sisters of the same clan.

9. Marriage

1. Generalities

Consanguinity is a prohibition to marriage, but does the whole process of alliance associated with that of the Kautil, it is not necessary to describe in part the regular ways to alliance in Kautil's descriptions for the Kautil.[1] It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Kautil along with the agnatic system with which it is closely associated. The fact that the Kautil prescribes not a formula to perform the operation of Kautil ways and that the Kautil is the past normality for a might suggest that the Kautils practised it before they came in contact with the Kautil of Kautil. But is also of the close resemblance of the Kautils to the Kautil population and the use of Kautil forms there points to its working particularly significant to the employment of Kautils as specialists, and does the operation of discretionary which is performed on the girls is symbolically of Kautils might, an way to question to assuming that the Kautils have borrowed the whole business from the Kautil.[2]

Kautils have not often encountered a Kautil along with Kautil how to an someone who may be either Kautil or Kautils. Kautil Kautil may known Kautil of Kautil Kautil Kautil and another Kautils asked Kautil Kautil Kautil part right Kautil. An operation Kautil a Kautils. The periods of encounters correspond with those of the Kautil, for the Kautils have not worked out a method of interbreeding of Kautil sons, has expressed themselves with marriage the Kautil of the Kautil. Where Kautil and Kautil have been preventing the circumstance Kautil Kautil Kautil

forms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, blend into the existing culture patterns and even then reluctantly adopted. The Nandi, are living two-experts, even the two divine forms; are living functions, they divine fate; the Dorobo living both functionary and function now supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped to the assimilation of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact from having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralists and retain the outlook of the hunter.

5. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the Nandi is controlled by two institutions: the clan and the council, and the later council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the later organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain family unity by bringing together disputes from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the later council is more political and has domestic, organizing the disputes as a whole irrespective of clan.

Of importance and binding are the feasts of social life, the clan is the basis of family relations and government; and it is in regard to the importance granted to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper) has only limited significance. Not so the Dorobo the regulation of public life on a clan basis depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements by the clan councils, and by the cross-link on the group-aspect rather than on the cross-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity ensures the most friendships, and in the event forms that brings the Dorobo together under conditions which would make guarantees any institutions less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. Pupils tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-set senior to the age of the council who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi. Though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Huntingford, G. W. B., op. cit.

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a chieftain who, upon announcing given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the proposed event of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a pot of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which to a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between members. Business is done then, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Planning disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a chieftain has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-7 are settled by discussion, the justice of the council executing by the opinions, the views of the members. The leader, theoretically is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but such a man might be his words to get property, has someone fairly senior to age, with the headman being, who is blind and respected, becomes a source of clan law in the case of the leader of the local council looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

Most serious matters, the three under heads 1-3, are dealt with the clan and by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a chieftain has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable and a chosen a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the dead council, since two different views are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. Once the murderer has to have some honey-wine and kill a goat from which his kin is collected. There are two of both the families concerned most of the house of the murderer and which he has to be provided, after which two of the old men of the murderer sit over with the goat's fat. The animal from which the fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. As a murderer can in some circumstances, and even illegal, for it to be a man's goat he kills living against it caught, and the examination as are of both sexes, regardless only the sacrificing of the fats. Also fats from the performance except by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a stranger, but the murderer must if he can get his victim's skin and use it to help towards his maintenance. The fact is a fourth cousin and one probably considers to know more than the fourths but there is usually more to a small one.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby. Though the [illegible]

[illegible] to marry her, and should the affair become known (as well things usually do), the man would be [illegible]. If necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary exclusion, for as an elder told me, *Ingonyama ii ok vuk ga ndaa, ukhulile ke ke tha, uma sesuna sperrsuk ngak sesuna sweetlik.* "If a man lies with a girl of his tribe (by which he means clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes known, and a very serious offence, involving as it does intercourse with a relative by the tribe, and customary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the union of incest offends the ancestral, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty pair are permitted there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may have [illegible] and not only have bad [illegible] people as well. So in such cases when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his [illegible] are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after the discovery of the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is to the time before the Government proceeded to establish the Courts in Natal in 1937, and my census in 1936 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many fully in fact, than there were in 1937. The clan genealogies therefore do not show as many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing members of society are older members of the Nyongi age-set, whose [illegible] age in 1936 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

(1) Ntombela and Ngidimana, 2 elder aged: 28 like clan

- 1 Englishe
- 1 married Nyongi, with out children
- 1 married Mdala, with out children
- 1 unmarried Ngidi
- 1 Jonta
- 1 old woman with [illegible]

(2) Ngcobo - Nxi and Ngqokolo clans

- 1 Ntombela
- 1 married Nyongi, wives and children
- 1 unmarried Nyongi
- 1 unmarried Mdala

(3) Ndlovana and Ngcongolwana elder aged: 28 Ngidima

- 1 married Nyongi, with clients
- 1 unmarried Mdala
- 1 Jonta
- 1 widows and 3 girls living with them
- 1 married Nyongi, with out children
- 1 married Mdala, with out children
- 1 unmarried Nyongi

These all contain one relatively small settlement, but there were seven people living round and inside the fence in 1957, and a number of them had been evicted owing to the effect of the 1957 storm. The manner in which the settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Name

The methods by which primitive people perceive themselves and separate [illegible] one another are usually so unstated to ourselves, even if they are not themselves fully obvious to the casual visitor. The observations of concrete facts and events are doubtless even the commonplace organisations that are so difficult to understand, and an obstacle to their history, where there may often be an [illegible] difficulty, and an inertia sustaining that groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Europe like the Slavs, Greek, and Hungarians had [illegible] of this type, and the Nordic also were similarly organised. But in the case of the Nordic the difficulties in the way of investigations were greatly [illegible] increased as a result of the wars of 1917, an action which it was hoped would [illegible] place the Nordic in more favourable conditions and increase their chances [illegible] and unity of national consciousness, but of ultimate survival, and in 1938 I was told that as there existed but three such wars before 1917, I was likely [illegible] [illegible] to observe only seven of Nordic life, and the concept of such [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the relatives it would be very much so. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-fretted spirit as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Druid in exchange for furs, which means, of course, that the family would be either more or less-or-not still-ready, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to the relatives and dependents to make up the number, which worked a dire reward to apportion the fellows among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the present had been agreed upon by both clan and local assembly, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by the victim's relatives, as he had to do (as the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would shortly have had to endure the world as compensation for their own gut. In dividing worth between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1930 I could have given friends who were married to the witches (Jewish), such people certainly subject to the gen- ration from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been involved on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a division to the guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (payment).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a friends and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the friends. The friends have an sort of war organization, and their enemies kill generally start at once the cause of undergrounds. Though not a crime, killing an enemy were the law makes the killer morally unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has short human blood. This action is then brought into the same category as homicide of a friends, and though there is generally no compensation, purification is required. The man of a man who has killed an enemy is ordered (because killed) with stripes of white earth painted on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the neck. He gives a shout to scare off a fiction elf, and the men then are free to stay in the fort, but goes about as usual. Though if he had killed a Druid or Druid who was to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. So small fact, Druid were seldom killed, but any who stayed into the forest might get shot by accident. The body would be taken to a Druid, given for the funerals to eat, and at any age of Druid generally the friends would cause the death of the forest where the Druid dwelt (and many dozens of feeling there even if they had the confidence to search).

Theft. Stealing honey is the same kind of theft, and is placed com- pletely with being killed upon theft among the Druid. A man who steals honey from someone else's dwelling is considered very low indeed, and if found

[illegible] different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is also [illegible] we are aware, others we do not ; but on this there all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

With animals for the Dembo have personality, and the belief that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real belief of personality that human beings like the Dembo are supposed to.

Bees, though are domestic insects, are analogous to cattle among the Fulani, and their product has great social value and forms among Fulani value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than herding and one likely to continued by older men who are still reasonably active but are active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but does some existing conditions have to do exactly of them, there is an inked understanding between them and men.

The also has a social value and found among the Fulani, for the Dembo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Fulani are, and although the expression of which, "we are Dembo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression of Fulani, "we are Fulani", give when said by a Fulani. The real work of the Dembo is the also, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain, and the effect of all that the also means to the Dembo is that it has an immense prestige, being the element that means both solidarity.

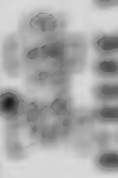
[illegible] Dembo are perhaps more striking to a Dembo than the one, and it is noticeable that they should be prescribed in one figure. "the way a man" This is probably an original Dembo belief for in the Fulani life has the form of a belief. This prescriptions expresses and fulfills the Dembo world of personal contact with a dangerous elements, and explains the policies of the Dembo whose the Fulani Dembo and bridging the "side-gulf" [1]. The policy of and to avoid the enemies and enfolds, and in spite of occasional prayers a day. No subscription of the Dembo is ever has days. For while the way to expected as the power which controls the weather, and seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and heaven. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the tribe is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the practitioners of public duties is necessary to prevent disaster to the tribe. Public duties that is are more even within the field of religion, the most conspicuous which the breaking of the moral relationship between man and

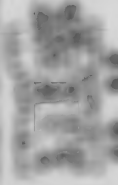
[1] This is although man attends the house that a Dembo as man and again the whole and although the house that as man of the whole the as an accordance that as of who house are members to that the of the as to and to the tribe.

[1] the with do

[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			

[redacted]





[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE HORDERS

By C. W. S. [illegible]

Experiments, even bold guides of a wider kind [illegible] and controversial. In 1907, in accordance with the decisions of the Kongo Land Tenure Commission of 1905, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Vlaak Reserve. This attempt to settle these nomadic Bush-spirits forest was a failure, and they are now so scattered by [illegible] group of nomadic living a precarious existence on the forest which extends up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their only existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Vlaak, the majority do not care to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own forest. I had fortunately made [illegible] their acquaintance in 1907, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1910, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organisation.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in I showed a total of 301 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans, the names [illegible] enumerated [illegible]

[illegible]

B. [illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

162 361

C. CLAY ANALYSES

CLAY	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TOTALS
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

162 614

[P 134, 4]

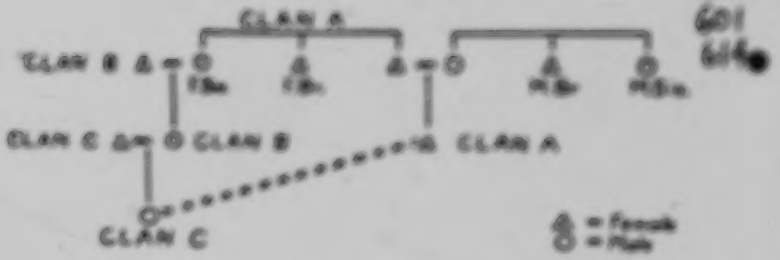
[P.184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilineal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

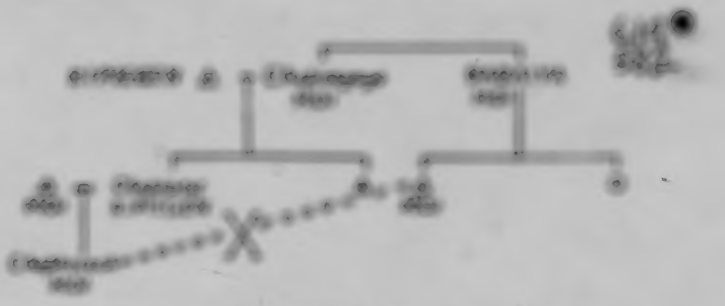
1. The homestead is set in a small clearing just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

[P 185, C]



THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH ES=.00



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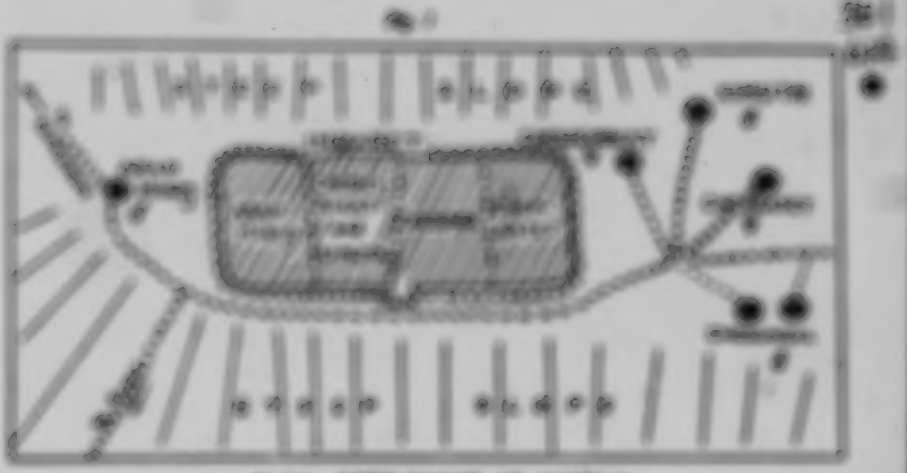


1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]

Ill. 11. Vaudeville man.

[i.e., the chief of the Bassi people--dealyet]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FLA

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kowet* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 56). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kowet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(a) Forest type: the *kocoogei*, in use as late as 1937, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) New types: the *kowet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kocoogei* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

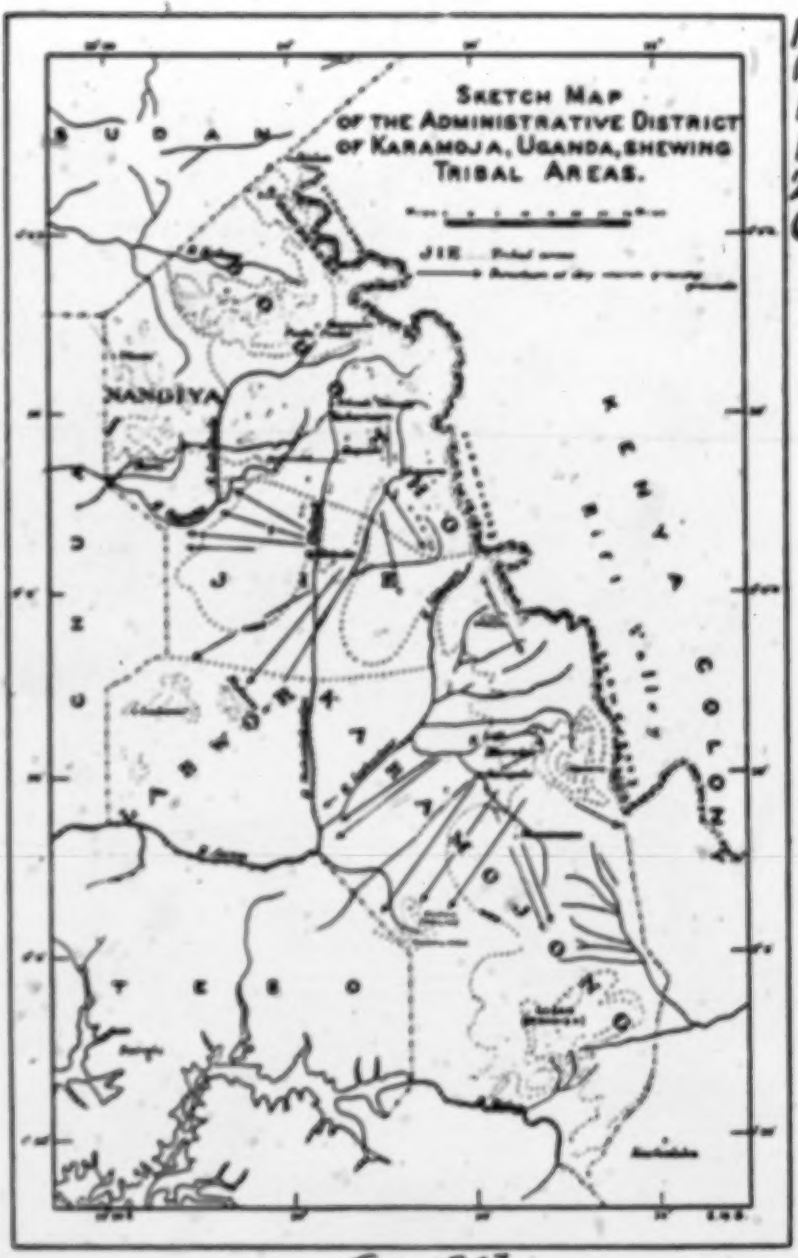
Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*lauk*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6 ●
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4 D

102
103
131
193
233
619 ●



[p. 189]

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

[P. 192, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of diaruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Maasae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

194 Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee that there were no Dorobo there when their forefathers first arrived, but we have every reason to believe that to have been a political lie. There are certainly Dorobo or part-Dorobo in the District now, and we may take it as reasonably certain that there were Dorobo in all three districts of Kikuyu proper when the Kikuyu first entered them. We can also believe that the first Kikuyu immigrants into Fort Hall and Nyeri were still to a very large extent in the hunting stage of culture; there is a definite tradition to that effect and there appears to be no political reason why the Kikuyu should invent it. There were therefore different degrees of difference between the occupants and the immigrants in the two cases (North of the Chania and South of the Chania) in accordance with the nutritional aspects of their cultures. In Metume the occupants would be impinged upon by people very like themselves who wanted a share in the seemingly illimitable forest hunting-grounds; in Karura the occupants would be impinged upon by a people very unlike themselves whose mode of life would mean eventually a serious diminution in the type of land where they could practice theirs. It cannot be supposed that the Kiambu Dorobo were ignorant of this. They must have known that happened in Fort Hall, and probably among them were some of those (or some of their descendants) who had been ejected from the northern districts whether forcibly or by chicanery or simply by increasing economic pressure; there was almost certainly a southward crossing of the Chania by Dorobo families before the first Kikuyu crossing started (1). The Dorobo must have

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[619 64]

1. The Keriita Dorobo told me that they had no intercourse with the Dorobo north of the Chania, the "Dorobo of Karuri" or "Nguchuri" or "Tongiik" as they call them. They explained, however, that they meant they have no intercourse now, the northern Dorobo being, to them, so Kikuyu-ised as to be Kikuyu. Formerly Dorobo from the north had crossed the Chania and settled south of it.

had, if not a first-hand knowledge, at least a tribal memory of expulsion from their northern happy hunting-grounds by hordes of aliens who, starting as small bands of friendly strangers, hunters like

/13 cont./

MD 142 eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

MD • 619 174 Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

MD 174 619 233 262

/14 cont./

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Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

D M 771 304 619 [171] D M 174 612 [844] [876] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

D M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples

D M 128 the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiboron lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

li Huntingford E-4, 9 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipalkoayek*, the middle; and *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoïnik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in dan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koroinek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1936–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeshoi *	Kipkokoe Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapii *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Koŋoŋ, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kirusokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kirusokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sapalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 262
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HOBLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiet*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

Group	Horde	Now or formerly [1] in contact with	Territory
I. Western [2]:	1. Kipkurerek	Nandi	Kenya
	2. Tindiret	Nandi	Kenya
	3. Lo-l-diani	Nandi	Kenya
	4. Ravine	Nandi, Tuken, Keyo	Kenya
	5. Western Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
	6. Eastern Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
II. Central [3]:	7. Dundule	Masae	Kenya
	8. Saleta	Masae	Kenya
	9. Kidong	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
	10. Digiri	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
III. Eastern [3]:	11. Kisima	Masae	Kenya
	12. Mt. Kenya	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
IV. Southern:	13. Mosiro	Masae	Tanganyika
	14. Aramanik.	Masae	Tanganyika

[1] I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.
[2] Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.
[3] Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HOBLEY (1905).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DOROBO HORDES
IN KENYA COLONY
SUK
MARAKUET
SAMBURU
KISIMA
FORMERLY
MASAE
NANDI
KEYO
TUKEN
FORMERLY
MASAE
KIPKURERE
TINDIRET
KAVIRONDO GULF
KIPSIKIS
WEST NYANZA
EAST NYANZA
FORMERLY
MASAE
DUNDULE
DIGIRI
KENYA
CALETA
KIKUYU
KIDONG
MASAE
DOROBO HORDES
(approximate)
Shaded areas represent
Land over 7000 feet.
Miles

101
G31
1331

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *korosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* — *ch* in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkoreon	8	6	15	10	10	49
Soaiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpai	25	19	17	9	8	78
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile category	Kipkoreon	Soaiyo	Kelpai	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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MOI
Cepoyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati — Comiemit ♀
(*Kimayiki*)

♂ Kipsoimo
(*Uama*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1

KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamogam
(*Kepisiat*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim — Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo — Cematia ♀
(*Maina*) (*Nyongi*)

Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo
(*Uama*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years sees much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her shamba [*] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the shamba, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[*] The swahili word shamba — cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kirupshei, Ainewomishei, Aitiowishei, 'Kemein Am, ngui kom kimat', amwa ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i.e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *marokor, mamwa,* and *kwanda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *marokor*, his *mamwa*, and his *kwanda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *marokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mamwa* and *kwanda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mamwa*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *marokor* and *mamwa*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *marokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

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The people contained in these settlements in 1939 were:

Kipukwa:
Arap Minin, his wife and 5 children.
Arap Ruto, his brother.
Cesikirikat, his mother.
Arap Keter, his wife and 2 children.
Kipsan, Malakwen, Kipsangri } brothers of A/Keter
Cepkoiec, sister of A/Keter.
Arap Teitony, clansman.

Upper Sooniyo: Arap Cepsonita.
Arap Ceruiyo, his brother.
Kipor, his brother.
Kipkutik, his brother.
Simotua, clansman.
Kiptanui, cousin of Arap Cepsonita.
Kwemo, brother of Kiptanui.
Kimitei, his brother.
Cepsiip, his sister.
Arap Lengai, relationship not established.
Koriosi arap Munyengua, his wife and 3 children.

Ndoroton: Arap Singira.
Oriayi, his brother.
Kipkurwot, his brother.
Arap Ngeli, Arap Kome } clansmen
Arap Ceimalita.
Mother of last two.
Widow with 3 children.
Widow.

Isolated: Arap Koruru, alone.

Upper Ngatepkon:
Kipitet (Kipiekut).
Kueyo, his brother.
Kimmerkat, clansman.
Daughter of Kimmerkat.
Kikuow (Kipiekut).
Arap Enni (Kapurkui).
Kimmurura (Kapurkui).
Sudio arap Silimbo (Toiyui).

Lower Ngatepkon[*]:
(1) Tote arap Nasutik, his wife and 3 children.
(2) Nekui arap Mereua, his wife and son.
(3) Kilanya arap Korongua, his wife and 3 children.

[*] Note that (1) is Kipiekut, (2) Kapil, and (3) Kapurkui.

/67 cont'd/

[illegible] only [illegible] a small number of Wanderobo 162
are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider
that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were
probably several hundreds of families representing more than a
thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the 648
decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to 177
absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many
Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into
Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to
the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they
were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to 621
live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and
their families reasonable security from attack, and where they
could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts [692]
of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the 596
Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had
our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari
is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that
all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family
was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in
the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name
applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. [619]
Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certain-
ly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the
possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was 124
given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerita on the [114]
edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the
assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a [115]
European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and
Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit: but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[239] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morōg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

• 621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[191] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 [192] [071] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 412 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg), 413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing 177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat [251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littlo*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *korosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *korosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kirnokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* — *ch* in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into stricly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkorom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kipkorom	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati (*Kimnyike*) = Cemiemit ♀
♂ Kipsoimo (*Juma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam (*Kaplelac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim (*Maina*) = Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo (*Nyongi*) = Cematia ♀
Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo (*Juma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

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In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

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Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

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4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939).1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* [10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

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5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kirwokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

634 [161 [178] To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* 634 had its council, *kiruoket*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, 623 "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand 622 the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside [186] world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

634 623 [182] 197 These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokosera	Kokosoga	40
Ulugum	Naumugum	60
Luterem	Loturim	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokosoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Luterem are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias). 643 622

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Labwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Labwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Labwor. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Labwor practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. 591 595 The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by 613 the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts 769 of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually [775] successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys, and a pre-marital 881 rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male 561 initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the [177] Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature 622 being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. 623 kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu [171] muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed 648 allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare 776 the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun 771 Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain 778 the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the [881] mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo 101 of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo [628] Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and [166] went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pîs swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongibore who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sibirai, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamillo or Tinderit	Kipsangtan.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurerek.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pilukum.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldama Ravine	Kakimengiria.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pîs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siniwok.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EasoNyiro	Lalariek.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong lel Mariko, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongibore who is said to live near Nyeri or Kakeya in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.

I:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeokui *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapii *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaika, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kopoc, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sapalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kerita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mazaini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1897 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gisiait*, derived from the Masai *ol-gisa*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Turuviti*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 3.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 393.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93.
[4] = Nandi *turuv*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)039 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Guitars (*kitilo*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and honey in exchange for livestock, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuk* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kiptenon, Ilwa, Kimoriogo, Soniyo (hamlet, N. *sokut*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Mawet (N.). East: Ye-tarur (N. *ole-tarur* = sp). West: Ye'nik-ta (= where[the sun] descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo-Kipchepkendi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkyetuy[3] arap Ngaindigan, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1906. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)—councillor) was chosen for "*kipiyopta kitio*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogut ap poiniek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi one, since H.H. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, see V., "Miscellaneous." These were hardly to be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

that emotional disturbance is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms :—

Ke'nuch ligúsh ai kuúch che mûyuch ak che
We take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[139] nuch, ai ke-kas pûk tukul. Ingumin chûl'
bad that they-may-understand (-okay) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-nen, ai kwa emet ake.
other way, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

[171] The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.
[176] They believe in a god *Asista* (N.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a sister *Aruwa** (N.), the moon.† No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form :—

[182] *Asis,** ipûy'-uch emûk,
[139] God, fill-us-with the-food,

or,

*Aruwa,** ipûy'-uch emûk,
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[183] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*mûndet*, pl. *mik*, N.) which are good and
[180] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good *mik* (*mik che mûyuch*) to obtain food and
[184] health; *e.g.* :—

Mik, ipûy'-uch emûk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[184] Mik, ipûy'-uch mget,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[182] Libations of honey and water (*kapsoûk*)* and of honey-wine (*kipkelûk*, N.) are offered to the good *mik*, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*lumûk*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[184] Ipûy'-uch emûk ai kîpûye mget,
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] * I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (See Seidel, *The Ark*, for the ideas of the Sak, Kajemsel, Turkana, etc.)

† The Nandi offer milk.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*kwet* plur. *kwosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokogic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] C ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *muranik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingoruiyo cĭ ok cept ap tiliet, caluokto ne oo kut, amu mecome apaiisiek ngut mecome cesowilōk*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilōk*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans.	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

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These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *uetik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *uetik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

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To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* had its council, *kiruokat*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

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I noticed that when Dorobo were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kernoc nalek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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673 live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a [987] path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days [36] shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution. Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

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4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 673 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also 674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesowiloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

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682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 682 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the [701] Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus [783] brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [302] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase toket*) with stripes of white earth (*enoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [693] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespass can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

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the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuywet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(la)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arawa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipsekei, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-issaci.)
Keremaiit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

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Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*tasok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them. 606

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations. 614

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living [361] in clan settlements, by the clan councils where [627] matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap orenyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or. *tiondannyō* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *ornyon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value.

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kot ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilionutik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *ornyon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *ar' t' apaa*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, [171] but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi.

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi..... } Moi ..... }	*koyonyot* (crested crane).
Kipiegen.....	*konokchot* (baboon).
Kipamwi.....	*yemwiyo* (duiker).
Kapil.....	*toralt* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi.....	*robta* (the rain).
Korapor	*kimaketyet* (hyaena).

/68 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the inuika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Turuit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Turuit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for luney the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

/261 cont./

GOO D 431 0 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol donkoni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [191] [425]

D [191]

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 638 [191] [672]

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /263/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as punt-ensig, corresponding to the ol olchani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

D [191] [425]

D 682 648 [191] [672]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kepenkut*	Kipkokus Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi*	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipiekun*	Kipiekun	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui*	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil*	Kipsirkui	Nandi clan	bush pig
Tuiyui*	Tuiyui	Nandi clan	rain
Kuruput*	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Tuini*	Tuini	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kiponga,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaika, totem partridge; Kipaiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipaiso, totem the sun; and [illegible]

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is ascertained by the council leader, *kiruchindet*, who is not necessarily the eldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kotwet* (p. 32).

The Kowet

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*kowemek*, sing. *kowet*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *kowet* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruchindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *kowemek*, named (from north to south), Ceparur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorum, Sowiyo, Metetiet, Mokogin, Puret, and Segalo. In 1938 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorum, and Sowiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Metetiet).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

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cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

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7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokosera	Kokosoga	40
Uhugum	Naumugum	60
Luterem	Loturim	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokosoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Uhugum and the Luterem are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Labwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Labwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Labwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Labwor practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

224 [634] [631] The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret*, plur. *korosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kirwokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C — ch* in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kiplorum	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kiplorum	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *netik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *netik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs; however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

634 [161] [178] To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* had its council, *kiruoket*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

634 673 622 [186]

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

634 633 [182] 177

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kirnokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Keruoc walek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio clt ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kirnokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

/247 cont./

278 When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned
415 with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The
252 arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.
[411] The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El
224 dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only
[634] the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a
[631] number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances
[136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

h Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *adolut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *inotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *siuot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiphelinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

DK 174

Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee that there were no Dorobo there when their forefathers first arrived, but we have every reason to believe that to have been a political lie. There are certainly Dorobo or part-Dorobo in the District now, and we may take it as reasonably certain that there were Dorobo in all three districts of Kikuyu proper when the Kikuyu first entered them. We can also believe that the first Kikuyu immigrants into Fort Hall and Nyeri were still to a very large extent in the hunting stage of culture; there is a definite tradition to that effect and there appears to be no political reason why the Kikuyu should invent it. There were therefore different degrees of difference between the occupants and the immigrants in the two cases (North of the Chania and South of the Chania) in accordance with the nutritional aspects of their cultures. In Metume the occupants would be impinged upon by people very like themselves who wanted a share in the seemingly illimitable forest hunting-grounds; in Karura the occupants would be impinged upon by a people very unlike themselves whose mode of life would mean eventually a serious diminution in the type of land where they could practice theirs. It cannot be supposed that the Kiambu Dorobo were ignorant of this. They must have known that happened in Fort Hall, and probably among them were some of those (or some of their descendants) who had been ejected from the northern districts whether forcibly or by chicanery or simply by increasing economic pressure; there was almost certainly a southward crossing of the Chania by Dorobo families before the first Kikuyu crossing started (1). The Dorobo must have

D [619 641]

1. The Keriita Dorobo told me that they had no intercourse with the Dorobo north of the Chania, the "Dorobo of Karuri" or "Nguchuri" or "Tongiik" as they call them. They explained, however, that they meant they have no intercourse now, the northern Dorobo being, to them, so Kikuyu-ised as to be Kikuyu. Formerly Dorobo from the north had crossed the Chania and settled south of it.

had, if not a first-hand knowledge, at least a tribal memory of expulsion from their northern happy hunting-grounds by hordes of aliens who, starting as small bands of friendly strangers, hunters like

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kakuswa	Kokonga	60
Ulugum	Nasungum	60
Lotuvim	Lotuvim	60

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokonga (north of Kamoon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Lotuvim are each presided over by a headman (*paterfamilias*). 643 622

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Labwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Labwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Labwor. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Labwor practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDERET FOREST (KIPSIGIS)

HISTORY

193 It is clear from traditions of the Nandi, Masai, and Kikuyu, as well as of the Dorobo themselves, that the Dorobo (whatever their origin) were living in the Kenya Highlands when the Nilo-Hamites and Bantu arrived there. Since most of the Dorobo hunting bands are found within areas which under the British Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the western Dorobo, including the Kipkoromik, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became mostly Forest Reserve; hence their land rights were not considered.

498 About 1937 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dorobo, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by primitive hunters, who were considered to be Nandi Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months about 3 per cent of these transferred had crept back to the edge of the North Tinderet forest, there and hence, where they were living precariously when I did field-work among them in 1938-9.

[14]

DEMOGRAPHY

161 The Kipkoromik Dorobo of the western part of the North Tinderet Forest Reserve numbered 256 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the horde was on longer, or temporarily living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile or their lack, and this resulted in the distinction of four domicile categories:

163

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.

B. Forehand on the edge of the forest, mostly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.

C. Forehand on North Reserve (Land Unit), within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.

D. Distant areas, i.e., the Kipsi and Kamasian Land Units, and Lumbwa; in the first two there is usually similar to A.

People classed under C and D were still considered to belong to the horde, and were regarded as members of their original domicile (band), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by districts, with domicile categories, and (2) by districts, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Kipkoromik	Kamasian	Kipsigis	% of total	Totals
A B C D Unknown	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(2)

THE DANGER OF THE SOUTH VINDHYAT FOREST

Item	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Eighteenth	2	2	10	10	10	40
Nathan	10	10	10	10	10	40
Knight	10	10	10	10	10	40
	22	22	30	30	30	134

Sources: Huntingford, 1936, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Eighteenth Dundee, and except in the case of the Kaleq (p. 10 below) there is no material for a description of any other tribe; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Dundee Land Unit, which runs from [illegible] to [illegible], consists of two great rock-cut ridges reaching an altitude of about 6,000 ft. divided by the deeply cut river Eighteenth, "valley river," the ridges sweeping some 10 miles from the western edge to the high ground round Timbuktu which rises to over 6,000 ft. The region is three-cornered, "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick impenetrable undergrowth, growing to a height of 8 or 9 ft. The average rainfall on a long row valley from the edge of the forest was 54.08 ins. over a period of nine years. For within the last 20 years the Dundee Land by small isolated settlements, right inside the forest. Across two gaps by two parallel tracks across the south western corner of the forest, and cultivated paths [illegible] all from there leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent [illegible] the forest was [illegible] and wooden hunting ground, to [illegible] the Dundee used to hunt for [illegible] Knight and the Upper Lower Forest, and down to the Bob Valley. In 1937 they were [illegible] removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domestic occupation A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush [illegible] forest the upper edge of the forest which occupy the foothills [illegible] forest and the Knight Land Unit. But the inhabitants of the Government had been [illegible] consider the Dundee to the Knight Land Unit. This the Dundee did not agree to, but [illegible] settlement along the edge of the forest were not officially occupied, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters of certain landowners on the lands they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

The standard by European settlement, the Dundee had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 20 years they have been taking some interest in the [illegible] of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, [illegible] only livestock were bees and dogs.

Economy

The group was divided into two seasons, monsoonal, the dry season, when they [illegible] game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and [illegible] plains, and [illegible] the wet season, when they are [illegible] in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and [illegible] in the plains, trapped and dug pit and hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkey of all kinds; almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of lizards, snakes, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.5E --Analyst]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

AGRICULTURE

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Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret, pl. imbaresuk*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, *sheuion, pairik*, and *maize, tyendek*. Millet has not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *rajeuuik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, *shagwal* hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *adoliet*, and knives, *ratuet or tyendoiuet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *mogiuenik*, from October to March, and *mutiet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with pearling and burning of tree land. The seed of sheuion and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and sheuion are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Sheuion is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted entirely of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *mesemwet* (*rubus rigidus*), *kwanyet* (*solanum aculeatissimum*), and *sosyet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the same plant, and leaves of nettle, *sisot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipkwonik or kwonik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "*mosop*"

Lithuaingford R-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

ears," rubbed (thereby polishing) and worked, shoulder belt, made, though seldom, in the Masai way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lukumek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Masai, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Masai have been, on the whole, friendly, maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Masai culture, including language, clan names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Masai like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Masai women, as well as of Dorobo women with Masai men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Masai, and the Masai fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force or ruse-wisdom which they attribute to them.

From the Masai the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 91), and the word of contact for planting. The Masai get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest manyatta or putter or other persons who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Masai Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Masai. The exchange values in 1938 were:

- 1 arm for 1 basket of honey;
- 1 bundle of tobacco (about) } for 1 basket of honey;
- 1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
- 1 bundle of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
- 1 goat for a day's weeding in the owner's garden;
- large earthenware pot for 1 large pregnant ewe, also (usually both ewes);
- small earthenware pot for 1 small pregnant ewe, also (usually ewes);
- 3 bundles of wood for planting for 1 acre Dorobo.

The bag, *mutchot*, is made of skin and measures about 6 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Masai, but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. The Ilkiu have specialized about cattle (*ilmotiok*), and by 1938 had worked out definite rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were ordered from the forest in 1937 they were already combined with about 2,000 head of cattle, but no census of other people's stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the completion of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
Ilkiu of Kiptunich ...	80	60	4
Ilkiu of Sabatia ...	60	40	6
Ilkiu of Kaigat ...	10	6	6
	90	86	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Masai.

1:Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

that cow-dung be used for both the *hondo* and *koroiet*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 6	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Kipsigis women: 1	Dorobo and Kipsigis men: 1
Dorobo and Terik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ogokiyoriot*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*ariet*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

Children receive their first name, the *ogik*-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *kwak*, men of, eldest sons taking their

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinish*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] *or Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakenik* or *Kiptoumik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koruseek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kind ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the tarsus."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kwyagda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiot* tree (*lovilea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaila* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keñot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguat* (*emilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *orokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *euoriot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipūyec panyek, "Asis,* fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arasa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ceuowiñit*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *masambaasik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuat*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuperet* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOQ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoq in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 282.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93.
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Abese*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic [2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

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difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Logo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seen to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokandet* (Nandi); *Hombi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *koroosek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eitusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1929-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*kwet*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 59-69.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

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1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masai before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Mining used these words: *Ngot kejwa kun Obiot kwoy kondoiwe Kimalish, kejwa ab Ephrayim*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisers for the Uasin Gishu Masai before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kejwa* is plural, and the apparent subject *Obiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realize its significance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingorwiyo ol ok cept ap tilial, calaubin ne ne kol, anee meeome ahaliaich apt meeome caawilik*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tilial* (by which he must clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tilial*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *caawilik*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed the fact that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show as many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Reminder of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

At Kipaka and Kipkoros, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kajelar. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Jua. 3 children and 1 girl.
At Kapro; Moi and Kaparkol clans	1 Kimyiko. 3 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndarross and Ngaingkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipaka.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 3 Jua. 3 wives and 3 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

9:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

8. The Karet

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masai, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1938 I was told that no *karet* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *ajelilisiê*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *asiik*, boys. The *ajelilisiê* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *asiik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *ongishkisiê*, old women; *yeuvik*, married women; and *sipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relations. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be *major* participants in some affair, as for instance, where a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuik*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpai: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpai.
4. Kipkenura: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sondyo: east of Kipkenura.
6. Motoloi: between the forest and the Motoloi river.
7. Molompit: east of Kipkenura.
8. Pureet: east of Sirua.
9. Sengalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

or goat where the Dorobo are concerned); *mumit ap tongina*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi diviner of the kind called *sokoyot*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 2/— if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/— if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwoito par*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and sit bo-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mumit ap tongina*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kraal*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years; they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean,however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1939 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi diviner (*sokoyot*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *orkoik* are not, like the Nandi *orkoik*, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with *kwosuk ap kotik*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kiptorotwoik*. These *orkoik* (sing. *orkoiyot*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *lepyenuet* seeds (called *lepsowik* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mendet* tree, each about 3 ins. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

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the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to reinforce the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted to the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for eland with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, but the act should not put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, he call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter the barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipiti* and *kiptundon* or *kiptundon* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a belt of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Trust Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work.[1]

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of scrub, there (erecta robusta, the fist-nagged Aloe-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the Aloes and the forest are glades (ovoka) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, rough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and even on frequent, in the dry weather there is occasional heat-haze in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some moths stays before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cassia, Senna sp.	Bersama, englerana mackinderum
Kokwi, arnoseriform, lobongwet.	Cuphea, pallescens sp.
Kipsiyet, Olea sp.	Casearia, ossea sapota
Lowoiyet, olivetia stenotoma.	Croatoni, ovalis dictyoneuroya.
Kimbiriyet, polygonum senegalense.	Cretoni, erecta robusta.
Kiptagiet, Brucaea sp.	Cupkoiti, Senna sp.
Mwenjoni, olea chrysophylla.	Cassiyet, ornamentalis alpina.
Cassia, Senna sp.	Fork, podocarpus gracilis.
Podet, Dombeya sp.	

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were marked by narrow and hardly discernible paths through the undergrowth; somethese some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-hunting and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two motor roads, one running from Kijabe-town to Kwanza, the other parallel to it from Kijabe to Kwanza. These being the only through routes, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The farms are extensive, and only their home parts are actually occupied and worked, so that a small tract there is an interval of 1–2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

a himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cephasmoone was at that time about 30).

While the areas within the bands are interdependent, the bands as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Kundi. But only do some Dorobo now actually live with Kundi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cigandet, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Kundi: Arap Cigandet himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkomoss, sharing her hut, and growing a little shamba at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. Seligman called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Kundi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Kundi, the Dorobo depend on the Kundi for certain essentials, and the Kundi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Kundi, in the shape of the Kundi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Kundi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for his hunting and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(a) Wood: used for huts, implements, heavy-barrels, traps, fuel.
(b) Plant materials: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(c) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, rawls, etc.; thong, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(d) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(e) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kaiset (*cedrus sp.*): bows; house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kiwanda: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwenwandit: arrow-shafts.
Kwenyet (*Juniperus*): arrow-shafts; intermediate used as water jars.
Kimyenet: traps.
Kiwaldet (*Juniperus*): traps.
Kokor (*Leucosidea fulvinerva*): arrow-poison.
Lipaldet (*Dracaena sp.*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kipaldet (*Olea sp.*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kiyondo: house-building; heavy-barrels; fire-wood.
Kwonet (*Ficus*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Tinetet: heavy-barrels; fire-wood.
Ponet (*Ficus*): traps; heavy-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-1 (1926-1929) 1953 FLS Dorobo FLS

through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Kenté uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo by forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in the settlement,

Kopel lakak ap Kaplakeiat ewonik ap Cheiboinyon. Kakiromo
They burn the children of Lelakin family the grass of forest over. We do not like (it)
ane mutyik Okiik Cimdo ne Cinyo lakak ar Kimet,
for they do not burn the Dorobo the forest which it contains the things which we eat,
agul ne ani pasonet ap ochemik ngul kakiio kaptet ne
also where there is the honey-barrel of the bees; also it is burned the flower which
ewo ochemik.
they eat the bees.

(The children of the Kelelat family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest fault either in 1927 or in 1930 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Ochemik, social bees, *Apis mellifera*, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imotik, solitary bees, *Gania*, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kwamek, earth bees, *Halictus*, slightly longer bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptalamik, mason bees, *Chalicodoma*, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in huts below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kokomdenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *ochemik*, drones. The queen, *kwonat ap ochemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

Fig. 4. Plan of a Dundee dwelling at Kalpur showing a Kundi Shelter.

at Kalpur in 1938 its crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called Dwarsa, that the original dwelling had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dundee has a dwelling all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area between a town, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dundis share part of a fenced dwelling with Kundi (Fig. 4).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Tambarwa (or Tambarwa, as the Dundis call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging earth, (sarat), made of a shortpoint stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dundis lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who owned over that tract of land, and though we for some to have been paid it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dundis own this area, this could not be verified. To-day the Dundis sell coloured earth to the Kundi, who pay them at the rate of a shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, evidently is sent mixed with fat (or sometimes cheese oil) for rubbing on the body; white earth, mentioned, is sent as a magical remedy in cases of lumbago.

d. Cattle

Of the Dundis had not been in such close contact with a people whose ultimate interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have cultivated [illegible] have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are always ready to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

Kaffeehaus Bd 1 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dresden FLA

they have been much overseen for too short a time, and as too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle, and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Kotet acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kipsitibeny, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cheron and Tigerondo were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Tigerondo to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Kotet.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, usual, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Maina became the friend of a Nandi at Mbware called Kogilik, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fat cheek; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Kimaru in the south district of Kapsiyot to Nandi, and shot four monkeys, from which he made fat cheeks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Kimaru on Farm 1079: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Kimaru being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo expect it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi are willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for breed stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to own sheep, but in 1937 were possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that they were [illegible] numbers it will be evident that there were not goats, were very substantially

part of Ashelland to the neighbouring area of Lolowo in Kamonja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Longo and Ashelli was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Lolowo is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kabanani, in Dedeilan, I was accompanied by Captain F. Bracy, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, but it was from his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report relates could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Every Bluden missions for generous assistance. Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligmann, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Mr. Simon Fraser.

2.—Kamonja.

The administrative purposes the boundaries of Kamonja, enclosing an area of 1,110 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and Belgian Protectorates, being the source of the stream of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimuchwanga (also known as the Kibisi or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Glodon River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Salisbury; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 1° 0. Latitude due north of the highest point on Kimuchwanga mountain. From this point it follows the western boundary of Lolowo District until it meets the southern boundary of Dedeili Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel (lower) boundary of Dedeili Province; thence in a south-easterly direction along the Turkwel (lower) boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence in a straight line to the point of commencement."

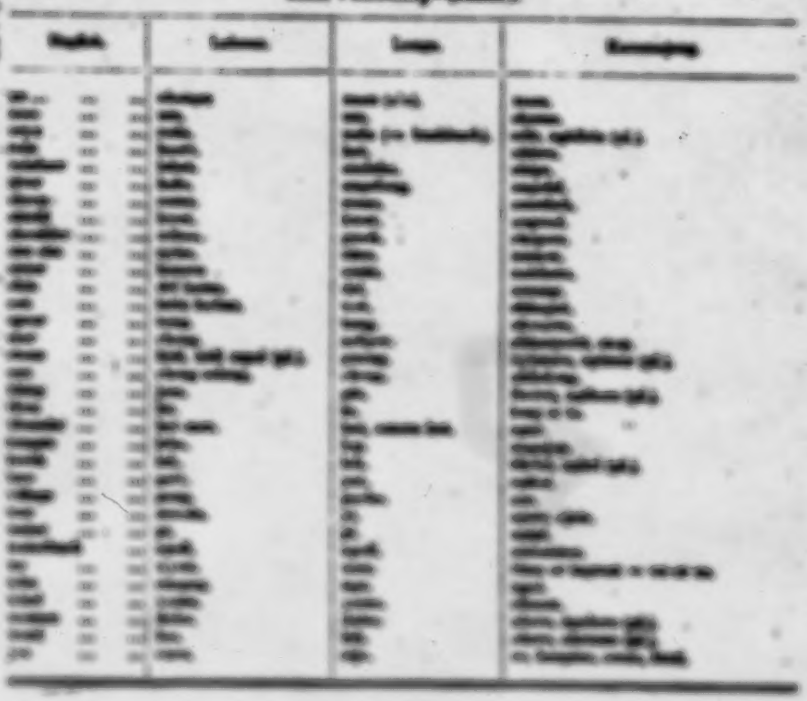
Until almost the middle of 1926 Kamonja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Lolowo which was treated as part of the Ashelli District. Kamonja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently to the vicinity of the mountains which must be mainly grouped as the western and northern sides. The watercourses, towards the Nile escarpment, is exclusively conglomerate. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" to and on which are generally occurring many beds of a very primitive volcanic (Fl. 1933, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of coarse crystalline rocks of various sizes except in the south-west where Tertiary lavas and volcanic beds are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Basement type.[1] They have been but they are not very extensive. There are also to be seen [illegible] plain [illegible] to the Tertiary hills where [illegible] occurs.

The area is drained by a big river, and it [illegible] to be treated a becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and during the dry months water is obtained from holes [illegible]

[1] The Basement Complex [illegible] is also referred to the Every Bluden missions for a great [illegible]

(Short Proceedings—[illegible].)



Tree Worcestonia.

Of all the tribes living in Kenmuir the Lahore are the best primitives and the Worcestonia the worst so. It will be convenient to deal with them next.

Environment. The Worcestonia are a hill people. They live in rough mountainous country on the edge of the Kenmuir Plateau escarpment, in the north-west of the district, in places [illegible] of across (Pl. [illegible], Fig. 2, and Pl. [illegible]). They are hemmed in by the neighbouring tribes who, however, make use of them in several ways. The very recently, the Worcestonia served as a "go-between" during raids, assisting the Dobbites by selling the [illegible], on the one hand, and helping the "Kobold" or Yorkmen with regard to supplying plants on the other. The Dobbites often refer to the Worcestonia as "speaking men" on account of their agility. The Worcestonia claim that they have never been raided.

[illegible]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kavirondo in 1920 I was told that on the occasions stone vessels, much the same in shape as the wooden ones described by Dr. Gerald Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who *made* them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient blue beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Kisazi Kigoa (Nasolot), on the extreme south-east of Kavirondo, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a pre-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Kimbo (a prince and brother to a ruling monarch) who during a sojourn in Budde (in the Buganda Province), constructed the remarkable earthworks known as *Kigge Kya Mugenyi* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what validity I know not, with the ancient buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Concluding Remarks.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, of considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the knowledge that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary, and more often than not even the Elders have any knowledge of the remote significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of most practices is lost in antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the Native troops of the K.A.R.) that elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say may in any way injure them support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that Europeans should be very curious behind long-established precedent; and if friendly disposed evince suspicions of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and customs that do not. Differences differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss their views among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is therefore doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which prove valuable, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was worked through, and the eventually incompatible results discarded. The issue is not very encouraging; however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kavirondo are deserving of fuller study.

As far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between the customs and ideas obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to drawing conclusions as to the origin, migrations, &c., of the tribes, especially as to their more pretentious ethnologies. But perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of clan (totemic)

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in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ani and the Kikuyu call them Aci. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Aci."

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from the north and east which forced the Bantu /61/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organised for war and rapine. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

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1. So one hears of Masai Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Commitee" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Goriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Goriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Committee remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Goriama in exchange for bows, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for hunting and service. The institution of "Sheger" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inferior status and dependence of the Sheger section, who have the less remote a theoretical freedom to the body politic.

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[7]

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freemen in theory but only while the tolerance of the far more powerful tribes who were their neighbours could be gained by service and their power to appease - service as hunters and possibly as spies on other peoples, potentially the rivals of their hosts, and appeasement by their readiness to seek protection, to renounce their tribal pride and unity in favour of adoption[2] into other clans. They would become, if not the parasites on social orders different from their own, at best the junior partners in a symbiosis which, while to them it meant individual preservation at the risk of tribal death, would, to their seniors, mean no more than a corps of military intelligencers costing nothing.

And as to those electing to continue their former mode of life or to re turn to it, not among Africans alone are people[3] who find the "madding crowd" so irksome that they readily go back a stage or two in cultural trends in order to avoid it. To many a member of a "highly cultured" race a back-to-nature substitution of a complex, regimented, shoulder-rubbing life by pasturage or venery connotes no retrogression, but rather the reverse. For though the "noble savage" may have been discredited by later study, modern humankind, still ill-adapted to a repetition of itself in every acre, is prone to envy him.

/82/ 88. Dorobo and Kiora

We must now see to what extent these Dorobo peoples - whatever they were - impinged on the tribes of the Land Unit when the latter entered the countries they now occupy. The Kiora people

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1. In the case of the Dorobo from whom the Karuna Kikuyu "bought" their lands, it seems that it was often the Dorobo who sought adoption. No doubt the Kikuyu in such a case would make the right to cultivate a condition of compliance.

3. I have heard the Embu refer to professional big-game hunters

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It would seem that the Il Imwesi, though known to European settlers as "Meru Dorobo", affected the Meru very little. They were squeezed out of Kathiri by the Meru and then out of the Loldaigas and the Lewa area by Europeans. They were moved back to the Meru District about 1925 and out of it again some twelve years later. 194

71. Dorobo and Mwimbi

The Mwimbi told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo used to come and go, and the implication was that there was little contact between the two tribes. It was, however, generally believed that their spokesman himself, Mbogoe, had Dorobo blood in his veins. The Mwimbi failed to mention the Mwoko (Mukoko), who were possibly, according to Mr. Gurney's account, connected with them. They are noticed here because it does not seem too far-fetched to identify the "ancient Mukoko" of that account with the present Mukogodo of Nyeri District, and these Mukogodo claim, according to Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum to the Land Commission, to be pure Dorobo, though the "Dorobo Committee" reported that they were said not to be Dorobo at all, but a separate tribe living on and around the Mukogodo hills and believed to have been there from time immemorial, and that there were two sections of them, a stock-owning section who lived on the plains, and a stockless section who lived on shelves in the hills. The former might well be of the type the Meru encountered on the Tigania plains and fill Mr. Lindsay's description of the Mukogodo as "probably of Galla origin", and the latter may be true Dorobo hunters and identifiable with the Mukoko of Mr. Gurney's account. If so, one must suppose that the Mukogodo afford another instance of a symbiosis between a pastoral Hamitic tribe and a forest-dwelling hunting Dorobo type. Mr. Huntingford[2] expresses doubts about the Mukogodo similar to those of the "Dorobo Committee" and remarks:

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1. Memorandum submitted to the Land Commission.

2. Ibid., p.[illegible].

/83 cont'd/

"There are nine gous of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi have a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mwoko or bth than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be edicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi wit the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes cal Mokuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbiwho went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in openbaraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to theMwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was amed Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the nort with most of his people. [439]

/84/ 72. Dorobo as Chuka, etc.

There is very litle evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Muthambi Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contat in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the nieor tribes know of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, hat there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lating impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. Some the are there is credible evidence (not advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement on Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of th present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mbere, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gichugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

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a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country".

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [ETS]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Commission that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. E.C. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

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"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Aboni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plain within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olemondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[2], that being the common Kikuyu word for "donkeys".

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Hemingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gabi Kikuyu also call the river Ikeni. Aboni in Kikuyu means "the Ikeni people", and boni may be related to an original Nyika stem boni (? bilabial) which, prefixed by ki, would give mboni in Ndia and boni in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Chuka Ikeni might possibly be indicated.

2. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the East until comparatively recently. A Dorobo elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

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The Ndigiri may have been on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An old man from Igoji told me that the Dorobo formerly thereabouts were known as the Ndigiri or Mukuru, and there is a place in Imenti called "Muromo-Ndigiri" - "Doorway of the Ndigiri" - said to be on the track by which the Ndigiri migrated northwards, though the name might possibly refer to nothing but a path once used for donkey transport.

It is possible, indeed, that the Ndigiri are (or were) very widespread in the eastern half of Kenya, for it seems unreasonable not to identify them with the Wadegere of the southern coast, of whom Captain C.T. Davenport, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, says:

> "The Aboriginal inhabitants of the (Duruma) country were a tribe of hunters called Wadegere, who, but for two or three small settlements where their language is still spoken, are extinct, either through disease or through absorption by the surrounding tribes; probably the latter".

Possibly the Ndigiri "clan" of the Taveta are also Ndigiri Dorobo in origin.

53. Dorobo and Waruma Kikuyu

The Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Commission:-

> "There were no Loodis here" (i.e. when the Kikuyu arrived)
> "the nearest were on the West".

Sir Commander Lawford appears to have been informed a good many years before, when he was District Commissioner, Fort Hall, that "in years long past" the Kikuyu cousins, then living somewhere "in the mount of Wandorobo"[1], and, earlier still, Mr. E. Taylor Smith, who was District Commissioner from 1908 to 1911, recorded in the Political Record that

1. Quoted by Routledge, loc. cit.

"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Andorobo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu country by stress of famine and found it occupied by Andorobo. The Andorobo seem to have received these emigrants hospitably and to have sold them sharples which were originally demarcated by planting 'mbaria' trees and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the sharples to the day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu sharples the bulk of the Andorobo were driven from the country".

16. Dorobo and Kaveye Kikuyu

In regard to the territory south of the Chania River (the present Kiambu District) it may be said with confidence that the forest areas (much more extensive then than now) were in the occupation, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dorobo people at the time of the Kikuyu influx. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Commission that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wandorobo who were hunters.... There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania".

The Commission recorded the opinion that "the Kiambu District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dorobo were hunting even it."

Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dorobo with whom the Kikuyu came into contact. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Wandorobo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of that part of the country" i.e. the Fort Hall area, "and the only previous inhabitants seem to have been a tribe called by the Kikuyu Gumba, or Mumbi a Ciamp. These people, from all accounts, must have been a pygmy race, few in numbers, and having no organised land occupation even for hunting purposes.

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wandorobo are left to represent the tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was ever more numerous, as in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant pa. The reason for the decrease in these numbers is due, not to starvation, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought the land many Wandorobo families gave up their hunting and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wandorobo [the Kikuyu] ... to live in fairly large villages where their rulers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organize their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of the type ...

[illegible] Social Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo woman told the [illegible] initiation is a very important "[when a Kikuyu we had our ritual]". But this does not in itself mean by much as other [illegible] extended family and the extension is by no single [illegible] all we can infer from the remark, if we believe, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the word [illegible] the same statement, said: "The name 'Kikuri Chelos' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for other Kikuyu tribes. Within the Kikuri ya Chelos there are other [illegible]", and the remark[illegible] suggests a recognition of the [illegible] as part of a clan, though the [illegible]

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo who are living at Karima on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the statements of two others, Barbuda ole Lesemo, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Dorobo ng'ati Nderitu, who lives at Karima.

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Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and commemoration, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dondo reckoned as joined in the mutiko of the Kikuyu and the ruanda of the Maasai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is kuumiana. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as mori ya-kia (the right hand) and mori ya-kenji (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to kiama is the former and kiama the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Maasai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Each an elder is called kiraguindo (pl. kiragiti). A kiraguindo has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is an ieiben but formerly the Dondo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Maasai.

They recognise one Supreme Being, called Tararit (compare the Sub Tararit). There appears to be no cult of ancestral hut worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tararit, are, as with the Samburu (a military clump), for keeping the mutego, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the mutiki and the mutethiaini.

N. Little is nothing is known of the relationship of the Dondo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dondo sections. The "Dondo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Development group, and remarked that they were first found in the plantations but left them and went to the Maasai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee met this group was living on forest squatters in the

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Aberdare and at Kisale. In Mr. Huntingford's classification they are presumably included in the Nandi group, called Kitosh, or in the Kikuyu group, called Digiri.

78. It is probable that the Dendo who lived well inside the forest south of the Chania were entirely independent of any other tribe until the Kikuyu arrived and occupied their country and gradually forced them into the half-starved, half-expelled people now known as the Kikuyu Dendo, but that those living in the fringes of the forest and carrying their hunting expeditions into the plains were already under the influence -- almost under the reign, if not the suzerainty -- of the Masai. We find them referred to occasionally as the Kapotei Dendo and it is not altogether an exercise of a strain on the imagination to suppose that the /99/ relationship was really not so much one of symbiosis or even dependence as one of common origin but different culture, the Dendo and the Kapotei representing respectively the section of a tribe which had preferred to remain in its original state of untrammelled freedom and the section of the same tribe which had assumed a pastoral life and had had a Masai civilisation thrust upon it, and had as well perhaps absorbed a modicum of the Masai blood. Such a flight of the imagination could merely be meant to be. Carbutt Lord's hypothesis that the "Kabi" Masai were originally Dendo, and possibly serve to explain the Kikuyu name of "Kabi a Kuleru" for the more southerly section of Dendonians, of whom he says, "There is a third group generally called the Kuleru Kikuyu ... who have intermarried with Masai, mainly Kabi, and with their Dendo". The word Kuleru (or Kapte) certainly has more of a Masai (and consequently, perhaps, Dendo) than Masai flavour, and it is among the Southern Kikuyu that the two guilds, to which history called attention and which in turned the Kikuyu and the Masai, with differing results to certain aspects of the social life, such as initiation, are particularly prominent. The Kikuyu call the latter the Ilutio guild, wherein we see perhaps a recurrence of the same root lug, though the word Ilutio is generally been related to the English stupid, derived by Dundas from the Masai root ugog. The Rev. Canon Leakey, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, said:

01. Within Kerma area we find the arrival of the Cal impinged upon by Dongola people only where comparatively recent movements have brought the two together. Elsewhere the Dongola people had either been expelled or else absorbed or both. The circumferential movement of the Kerma brought them into touch with the Ji Ground, the northerly extension of the Cal Kibuya with the Ndigir, and the southerly invasion of Kibuya from Kerma into Kurma with the Kalma (or whatever they should be called). In the last two cases there was, at the time of the British occupation, a relationship between the impinging tribes involving expulsion of the Ji-Nandi (not by war but by continued pressure), symbiosis in groups of two degree, and absorption still in progress but so far incomplete.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

(a) Apart from the Kipsen, the Marakwet, and the Masai, who were all cattle-keepers on the plains, the names of peoples believed to have been in previous occupation of the Land Unit are Cumba, Okiek and Dorobo.

(b) The Cumba were a Bushman or Pygmy tribe, probably the latest.

(c) The word Okiek probably denotes a [illegible] rather than a separate people.

(d) The Dorobo possibly represent an early Nilo-Hamitic invasion of a Hamitic type.

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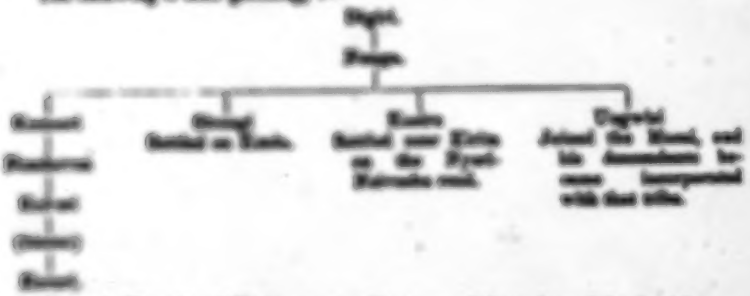
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Akikuyu Informants and others. By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.

The true Dorobo people are called Aa by the Elkuyu people and call themselves Aaguk (or Ogaiak) or Ogiaiakua.

Mr. Gulin tells me that the Ruath call them Chirk (singular Chiru), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Torobon).

They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Kenia to Kavirondo before the Kikuyu invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiak is the Digiri (see Man, 1908, 87), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by name is one Dongo, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiak are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy:—



Kenani, Chong'i, and Kenia are now the names of three clans of the Aggiak.

Before the Masai came some of the Aggiak circumcised and they all spoke one language. The name of the Aggiak in the northern, which is called Digiria, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a curious legend of the formation of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Kenia Ruath saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE DOBUANS

By C. G. S. SELIGMANN

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1933, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Trans Nzoia. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an excised but landless group of nomads living a precarious existence on the forest which comes up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Trans Nzoia, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made my first acquaintance in 1937, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in 1938 showed a total of 370 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who stands [illegible] to him or relationship (except P. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an empire.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister, because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.Br., Br.W., or Si.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone to the effect [illegible] is forbidden; but with a classificatory cousin, though not approved of.

The marriage of women and the lack of wealth [illegible] have resulted in the Dorobo being largely cross-cousins, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The Dorobo [illegible] price is said to have been formerly 4 cows for daughters; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 3 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This holds in fact for [illegible] people who own little or no stock, but by custom [illegible] of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from [illegible] Thirsk (See below, p. 191.) Rarity of divorce is [illegible] mention much of this marriage, and does not [illegible] is something unexpected) [illegible] is seen by the [illegible] that it would among other [illegible] where women are plentiful. The inability [illegible] to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called wealth, that is, concentration [illegible] Some of whom were many) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as looking [illegible] and cultivation, without assistance.

III

[illegible]

A. [illegible]

The home of the Kipsigis and Dorobo is the eastern part of the high ground which occupies the country between Kisumu Nyanza and the Masai escarpment. The greater part of it is [illegible] covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the [illegible] by two parallel paths from Kisumu [illegible] to the north to Nakuru to the south. The former begins about the 6,000 ft. contour, and a small [illegible] from one side wealth a steep slope of [illegible] the [illegible] are "Mau-grass or sengeta," thrift,

[illegible]

[illegible] ft. to steep places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 2,200 ft. to 2,400 ft., through the main river, the Kipkaren, flows through a valley 1,200 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about nine miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 60.04 inches over 9 years from 1928 to 1937: the maximum was 70.22 inches in 1937, the minimum 50.01 inches in 1933. In the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry months it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather light yellow normally among the Cheridos. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of trees (yonde olkoeng), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, Mwaitwondi, the dry season from October to March, and Imet, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the main [illegible] activities, and the [illegible]

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Cheridos may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1906 when the Government started actively to control their lives, and (2) the present mingling agricultural life to which cultivation is [illegible] of increased importance.

The economic group is either the [illegible] family or the domestic family (or the [illegible] family). Social division of work overlaps in some cases, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and bee-keeping with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, bodies (work), and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging ditches (work), and putting mud on the fire to melt (though the women help after it has fallen to the fire).

[P. 192, 4]

[illegible] control by concerned action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[illegible] There seems to have been no very strict class system, as pig were considered to belong to the war creation, though sea often, since the former is difficult to consume when wet. There are now no lions or elephants, but they are said to have existed when the Town and Kingdom were very young ones, i.e. about 1800. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. Many are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is now bought, but searched for or made from forks. Sometimes, a trap made by one long forked stick weighs a leopard during one of its visits into said to be exceptional. Buffalo or ranger rise in the western end of the forest where the Kaiyukuyuni live, but they never ever trouble[illegible] a few cattle in the east.

Hunting parties varied from ten to eight men. If ten, eight went out, half would go along one track of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that no or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and ended the meat and an equal of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and other Pokot for their families, the accountable members of the tree receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (Chemorere) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat is under of priority, to—

Hunter. Share is

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (Chemorere).

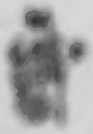
[illegible] law (or had till they were ordered by the government) as hereditary right over a piece of forest, [illegible] which included hunting, trapping, bee keeping and bird-catching. Other people who wished to hunt there asked permission to do so, [illegible] otherwise the right-holders might kill anyone [illegible]

[illegible] hunting animals.
[illegible] Full confidence given orally.
[illegible] Other studies in Kamasia-Pokot adjacent districts, the Nandi, Kipsigis, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



In these mighty mists that followed was another of long memories, the oldest people knew how the earth knew except the oceans. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different height of existence in the sea the [illegible] beneath, and the different shaping of their fins [illegible] by their underlives appear to us today as three branches of the oldest people.

The ancestors of the earliest immigrant band are the [illegible], more generally known under the name of [illegible] ('Anadromous') or Many Ascenders from the Greek word [illegible] ; the poetry of whose they have only a part.

Although the inhabitants of the Hall live nothing to say about a former population of Ancients, one most remarkable absence, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of large parts of the steppes. From among themselves, Ancient symbolisms, and, finally, the pressure by the Troops enclosed the Hall to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Ideas, the [illegible] the Ceb services of which were the [illegible], and the Ceb also the [illegible], when it came to, to drive out the oldest ones altogether. A part of these fused refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their opponents, who adapted them as ancestors of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where and today, in great poverty, they scale a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Hall, however, was not to be spared the [illegible] bush settlers. After a rather long period during which they coexisted with the Troops the descendants of the steppes, the Arabaspes appeared again around Ideas and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the new settlements did not exceed ideas. The third band, the [illegible] [illegible], immigrated from the north, and it lasted a though it would rarely [illegible], by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. Nor the presence of the Troops, who in place were just as powerful as they were heavily, thinned the fertility of the Ideas. They gained the [illegible] for the common fight against the Europeans.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(950) Clothing and adornment. — Cloth materials. — The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. — Head and body hair. — Ears. — Painting. — Tattooing.

Cloth materials, such as are the media of the exercise peoples to the Native tribes, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Ndi. The principal reason for this is that they will rarely come into direct contact with the Europeans either, under pressure from the Masai. Only they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a high barter trade the Masai buy here cows [illegible] with them, as the coastal peoples or gain bargains this type of trade.

The Europeans see the Ndi chiefs often to their original leather clothing finds evident one before, especially [illegible] which, in use and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but lacks pearls and other orgies. This person is particularly noticeable by the front and many capes, called [illegible] and [illegible] by the Masai, which the Europeans name the skins, and which here are also worn by older men because in bearing the [illegible] is the [illegible] because of its length. The following elements to be generally seen the [illegible] called [illegible] often as [illegible] made of red [illegible], which they bring from the desert cities and often have it made out of the [illegible] from [illegible] antelope. The manner of the women is here called [illegible], as in the upper part of it [illegible] of the desert to mark, while the lower one is worked after the Masai fashion [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] is of material is here called [illegible] and is considerably shorter than the female, only a little longer than the [illegible]. Several [illegible] worn from a [illegible], which, however, is general are not seen. To ornament the [illegible] of the Ndi is [illegible] among the following, though one sees also [illegible] that [illegible] in the [illegible] as [illegible], as a result of circumstances, very considerably [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] contain the camp to the evening, or even leave a dish piece of game [illegible] contain during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the [illegible] bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach. On the two not bird diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a wavy line, which, in the belief of the people, God himself ought down long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Hindus. Evil, supernatural spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore exploited; they are called [illegible], to which are recognized the least evil of sorcerers. Persons with the evil eye, who are called [illegible], are likewise feared and exploited. If one knows an enemy's name he or there or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

(2)

[illegible] Law. = General morality. = Property. = Sharing the hunting booty. = Things found. = Rumor. = Debts. = Liability. = Gift. = Blood friendship. = Murder and manslaughter. = Negligent homicide. = Bodily injury. = Innocent offenses. = Theft. = Inquiry about an unknown culprit. = Legal procedure. = Swearing. = Torture. = Ordeals. = Blue vue. = Women before justice. = Immorality (?).

The legal views and legal practices of the Fiji in general resemble those of the Hindus.[1] We find the same binding ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a [illegible] even chosen by both parties. If plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe, litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the [illegible] among themselves, but handed over to the chief of the nearest local [illegible]. A possession of punishable offenses by legal ways is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Hawaii, see Fiji Island, 19 Section, [illegible] category 114, pp.[illegible]—Australian]

/301 cont./

to peasant or elk. The heir of the warmonger is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobbo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol dombani often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Asa, but adopted.

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /302/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as pori-wedge, corresponding to the ol olkeiyani of the Masai. If an Asa kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

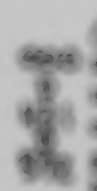
[illegible]

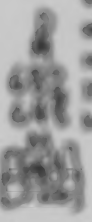
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]





[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Private delicts include trespass, that is, leaving an outsider's land to the town; theft, or unauthorized appropriation of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. There are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e.g. for theft, though it is then at his own risk any compensation for murder. Offences which concern tribal elsewhere are dealt with by the clan council. Offences come within the province of the town council, which may act in both cases, and both at council times, but only where there was a definite reason. Thus a person had some feelings which caused the calling of a council, he told the householder who passed such report the town that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a heavy sword, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he collected the debt for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Ibadan themselves was not very common, and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small town where members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of the clan (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a chief crime. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 107), which is the first case is carried out with the approval of the town council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Member. When a man killed a member belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*gan*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's head then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and became known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The head council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually collected at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever collected *, and if the murderer was a poor man with

* The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Yoruba procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kaparkui *	Kipkokoo Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipiekes *	Kipiekes	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkui	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toipui *	Toipui	Nandi clan	rain
Kurapur *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talui *	Talui	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kiponqui,* corresponding to the Nandi Kaswalka, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kopot, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or bitr, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kirwokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokwet* (p. 32).

The Kovet

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*koveseek*, sing. *kovet*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *kovet* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kirwokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *koveseek*, named (from north to south), Ceparur, Kelpui, Sirun, Kipkorom, Sociyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sagalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sociyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

623 live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a
[987] path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days
[36] shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution.
623 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men,
691 and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into
673 two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also
674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesoriloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

M D 682 648 M [824] [326]

/262 cont./
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682]

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,

D [847] [839] [674]

as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D 685

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said

D 683

not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to

D 689

charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 681

Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidoh, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614
[671]

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapsekui *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kogoc, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

[621]
[623]

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

[619]

[554]

The Koret

63
60
[623]

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sanalo. In 1930 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

● 681

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *kovet* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *kovet* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

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legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *posik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 39), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *saheyuot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to oil the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the African to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *comiet*, "affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution. Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesowiloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kirsokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

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681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognizes a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

5. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of men, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both horde and individual.

796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Arawa*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Arawa* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Arawa*, but pray to them for help:

Kipendi samak si kesakas kiilencin Asista, Asista, ipiiyec omdit, ngut Asis, ipiiyec kumik, ngut Asis, ipiiyec panyek, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Arawa Arawa, ipiiyec omdit*, etc.

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

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and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

I noticed that when Dorobo

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *koroset*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Keruoc nalek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kohas plk tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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682 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been
[614] agreed upon by both clan and *kerat* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were
754 reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepese*).

609 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo
682 and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the
[701] Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies
[727] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime,
[783] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man
[802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase tokat*) with stripes of white earth (*emoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

S:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*sawa* or *sowis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokwaro	Kokwaro	40
Ulupun	Ruabongora	40
Lotwero	Lotwelo	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokwaro (north of Kamaera). Chiefainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulupun and the Lotwero are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relatives. There are no official deliveries, as among the Lolwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lolwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lolwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lolwor practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

[P.193, A]

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Mogani which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkond' live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

224 [136] [193] [231]

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

[364]

Hunter: Meat to

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

423 [648] [428] [682]

[1] Saiset, Colobus guereza;
Chesowet, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis;
Tiriet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis; [136]
Kimokchet, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell [illegible] opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*inkuret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [839] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipoket, blue duiker (cephalophus sequatorialis). [136]
Mindet, red duiker (c. ignu-fumei.)
Karemaiit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Ketyalet, oribi
Kipoomwet, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

[P.197,A]

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come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead,

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5:Lambert--87 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
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Acquisition in lieu of blood-money

But there were other ways beside these two (adoption and security against a loan) by which the Kiambu Kikuyu, according to themselves, as recorded in previous studies of the subject, managed to secure a hold on land. Land, it is said, was sometimes handed over by Dorobo in payment of "blood-money," that is in compensation for a homicide. That compensation, in Kikuyu custom, took the form of livestock, mostly goats. The Dorobo had no goats, or very few; the Kikuyu would insist on goats—but would graciously accept a stretch of land in lieu. Payment in land, though rare, was not unknown where the Kikuyu came from, but there the clan would intervene whenever possible and find the necessary goats rather than allow any of its land to be alienated to another clan; somehow or other the elders of the clan would find the goats and keep their land intact. But the Kikuyu who had acquired Dorobo land in such a way could keep a quiet mind; the Dorobo could never accumulate the goats except by mortgaging more land. We find herein an instance of the type of culture-clash (obtaining years before the European came to native Africa) arising from essential similarities as well as differences of culture; from the one, assessment of the value of its members to the kinship group in terms of local currency, and, from the other, variation in the objects used as currency according to the alimentary culture of the tribe. In the present case—Kikuyu agriculturists impinging on Dorobo hunters—whenever compensation by the latter was required by inter-tribal law the clash of cultures meant in almost every case the loss to them of sovereignty in land. A vicious circle was created—land (instead of goats), goats to redeem the land, more land to get the goats, and so on—in the end the series might as well have stopped just where it started—land. We may be well assured that the land-obsessed Kikuyu would not miss the chance to utilize the clash to gain his object. In theory of course there were other ways to satisfy the claim for compensation. The slayer or his brother could renounce his clan and become adopted in the family of the murdered man in place of him, but the Kikuyu would have none of it—adoption not involving at least a share of rights in land was not an item in his programme. Another possible way to meet the claim would be to hand over a girl or girls in marriage. As a rule this method would find no favor in Kikuyu eyes. Dorobo girls were

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174 not addicted to the digging-stick, the use of which, Kikuyu husbands
425 thought, was what a wife, apart from bearing more Kikuyu, brewing
682 beer, and being generally a willing slave, was mainly married for.
But he might take her, being satisfied that long before the harvest of her first attempt at growing things was in he would have got more land in lieu of her, and she would be happily at home again. Or he could argue that, her father having failed to provide more land and she refusing steadfastly to stay, the marriage must be deemed a matrilocal one and he be given cultivation rights in her father's land and bring along a relative to do the digging she declined to do. One can imagine endless sophistry along such lines and understand how in the end the slayer's kin would have to yield the only kind of property they had at their disposal that their Kikuyu creditors would deign to take in compensation, that is, virgin land.

[p. 111] Payment in girls

174 Another way in which the Kikuyu have alleged that they acquired
Dorobo land is mentioned in the records; this was paying for it, not
425 in goats, but girls. The evidence before the Land Commission gave
583 instances of this, or at least of payments said to have been made in both, partly goats and partly girls. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee: "Sometimes he (the 'seller') accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of stock in which case he had to stay." They had previously (in 1920) told Colonel Ainsworth much the same. Colonel Watkins in his note of 1920 considered the arrangement similar to that between the Giriama and the Sanya, of which he said:

> "The Wa-Giriama, driven like most immigrants by the desiccation of their former haunts, are drifting to better watered and better timbered areas. They naturally clear ground first where timber is thin, on the outskirts. To the family soon comes a Sanya who through sickness or scarcity, complains of hunger and asks for a goat. This is given on condition he brings in ivory when recovered. Thus trade relations are established, and he becomes a hunter to the agricultural community, on no fixed wage, but friendly and vaguely attached to it. Later on perhaps he builds a hut near and accepts, in trade, girls of the agricultural community (1), possibly in return for permission to clear more

/261 cont./

000 D 431 O 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, D [177] [426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood-friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 628 [171] [672] As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably D [648] less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is D M 682 648 regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would M [664] [326]

M D 682 648 M [564] [326]

/262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682]

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674]

D 685

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 683

D 689

D 681

Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, " If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *koriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 682 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies [701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore [783] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [302] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase toket*) with stripes of white earth (*enoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [374] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

597 [848] Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on the rare occasions when it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the but", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". [848] [847] Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

5. Adultery and divorce

● 684 Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

586 When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kaail katunisiet kun kiil poroanni, ni ka, pakaktan* ("I have broken our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; [581] once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

595 In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the 587 occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614 to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually
623 do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the
684 man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is
[848] nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingoruiyo ci ok cepi ap tiliet, caluokto ne oo kut, amu mecome apaiitiek ngut mecome cesowilōk*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilōk*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

[M5]

614 Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the
648 time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi
162 in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

[561]

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At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans.	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognised area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognise it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama sussonge*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama ratuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespass can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

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Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kakamera — — — —	Kakamega — — — —	40
Chepsire — — — —	Shamalagala — — — —	40
Lakwabe — — — —	Lakwabe — — — —	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kakamega (north of Kaimosi). Chiefainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Chepsire and the Lakwabe 643 622 are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no 644 official deliveries, as among the Lakwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and his mother's if a girl. 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual 589 among the Lakwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lakwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the 585 contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After 591 marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married 342 couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial 764 ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, 684 and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lakwor 682 practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

16: Merker--916 G-4 (1906-ca.1908) 1910 PL13 Masai
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/339 cont./

IV.

600 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 1971 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /340/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [598] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [845] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gonâ ! ol lê, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the rank that belongs to its furthermore, two head of cattle, which

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosat*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind: *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *koosoosek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptalosik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *komet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapuresik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

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Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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have lived in the country of the Kitĕto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgai* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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I noticed that when Dorobo were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Keruoc walek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

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682 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been
[614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were
754 reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo
687 and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies
[701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime,
[721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore
[788] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man
[802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase tokot*) with stripes of white earth (*emoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [693] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [439] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are: [136]
Kipseket, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-issaci.)
Keremait, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uēd nge hawa, Uēd nge mai, Uēd ngeri' aga! and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uēd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (momeg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschá́á, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo waguruf, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol momai, as it is also called here, besides momeg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *nguret*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porousi*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littio*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *kwat*, pl. *kwosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Soociyo (bamboo, N. *tekut*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

623 [687] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms:—

Ke'ruoch ñgalek si kesich che mîyach ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] yach, si ko-kas piik tukul. Ingoesio chiit'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-oon, si kwa emet ake.
other any, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MAGIC, AND MEDICINE.

Religion.

771 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.
776 They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a
[782] sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[775] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiindet*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and
[782] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik che mîyach*) to obtain food and health, *e.g.*:—

Oiik, ipiiy'-ech omdit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiiy'-ech sapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[782] Libations of honey and water (*logomek*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipketîsik*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*komda*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiiy'-ech omdit si kiipiiye sapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Beech, *The Suk*, for the ideas of the Suk, Enjemusi, Turkana, etc.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

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623 [987] [361] live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution.

623 691 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in tribal cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 693 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also

674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *ceuwiki*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

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together. The ribs is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Gourds (Sotto, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no ~~ancient~~ [illegible] ~~remote~~, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Kenté.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Kenté honey, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for beer-meth, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Kenté, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwal*, pl. *kwonuk* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kiphoroon, Biwa, Kimwilingo, Sumiyo (location, N. sub-d), and Mokopiek. The majority of the present place-names are Kenté.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Mwret (N.). East: Ya-wwar (N. *ulia-dawar* = up). West: Ya-'nik-te (= where(the sun) descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kimwilio Kipchapkondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkpiroyo[3] arap Ngumdigun, who was chief at the time of the Kenté Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruspindet* (N.)—counsellor) was chosen for "*kpilyopin kitin*" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruspet ap pwinik*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Kenté one, since N.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of bows, see V., "Miscellaneous." These may hardly be considered as instruments of trade.

[3] N. = Son-killer.

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and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruktindat*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *kuret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgment is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with, like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *kuret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *kerut* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindat*, who passed word round the *kerut* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *kilet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *kerut* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *kerut* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *kerut* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

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few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mupase*).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase loket*) with stripes of white earth (*cworiot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

Theft. Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Keriita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

/243 cont./
551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
171 among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
561 Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of
561 the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
171 are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daɛ̄ma (sing. daɛ̄mog), corresponding to the el moruak of
[291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like
[223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes
[791] them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njīg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
• [692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds
[224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially
[555] on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1, [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [791] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe.

[648] Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 734 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

• 695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uēd nge hawa, Uēd nge mai, Uēd ngeri' agai and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uēd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (momeg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschāā, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo waguruf, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol momai, as it is also called here, besides momeg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 734 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

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undergrowth instead of following paths, as the bare-footed native not unnaturally prefers to do, and so getting stung on his legs by a vicious kind of creeping nettle, while he walked the boundary of the land which was about to change ownership. Can anyone be so foolish as to suppose that they made up stories of this kind on purpose to dupe the Europeans and make them believe that they bought land from other natives? I am told by well travelled men that land tenure is a practically unknown thing among primitive tribes before the advent of the white man. If that is true, and I have no reason to doubt it, then I venture to think that this particular characteristic of this tribe discoverable by a study of their folk-lore, should be considered a matter of extreme interest, and not lightly thrown aside because it happens to conflict with preconceived ideas, and in some cases does not fall in with what one wishes to prove is the case."

In a memorandum to the Land Commission Canon Leakey wrote: "*Turning now to the question* as to whether there is any truth in the statements made by the Kikuyu that they purchased their land from the Dorobo I can only say that I took infinite pains many years ago to try and find out if it really was a fact and I could [p. 917] never find anything to make me doubt it. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind that what they say about this is entirely correct."

Findings of Land Commission

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The Land Commission, like the 1929 Committee, found it difficult to come to any clear-cut conclusion as to the nature of the payments, if any, made by the Kikuyu to the Dorobo. The Committee had recorded:

"We need not define the exact implication of the claim that they 'bought the Dorobo out'. It is at least certain that payments were made, and that Kikuyu families are the undisputed successors in the occupation of areas over which Dorobo families once hunted. This, which is all that is important to our purpose, is common ground."

The Land Commission expressed its general conclusions as follows:

"The total number of claims made is 193, inclusive of certain claims by the Dorobo. There are 141 cases in which the claim

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is accompanied by a statement of the payment alleged to have been made. The average payment, according to the claims, works out at 1,729 sheep and goats, 130 rams, 19 fat rams (or he-goats or ewes), 22 cattle and a number of other things, while the whole total of recorded payments is 250,849 goats, and the rest to match. We regard these figures as fantastic and ridiculous, whether one looks at them from the standpoint of the number of goats that the Kikuyu are known to have possessed, or the goat-consuming capacity of the Dorobo, or compares them with the payments recorded in Native Tribunal cases ... We do not suggest that these claims are deliberately false. There may be some which are true. No doubt there are also cases in which the claimants, being ignorant of the true history of their land, were led away into extravagant estimates by the general spirit of exaggeration which is very evidently abroad ... We feel that it would be rash for us to record any decided opinion on the amounts customarily paid to the Dorobo for land. We have not yet admitted that, in origin, they were payments for land at all. We can only say at this point that we are satisfied that payments of goats were sometimes made by Kikuyu to Dorobo either for the purpose of alliance or propitiation; that marriage-price or blood-money was often included and may originally have been the essence of the transaction, and that the sum in terms of goats was far more modest than the Kikuyu have represented ...

"A Dorobo witness, whose father had been adopted by the Kikuyu, informed us that, while it is true that payments were made progressively as the clearing proceeded and these according to the amount of land cleared, yet there was a stipulated sum for the land, and, though the payments were spread over generations, an end was eventually reached, and the payment was irrevocable. It seems improbable that the subsequent payments can be regarded as the balance of a stipulated purchase-price, because native custom dislikes hard and fast arrangements of that kind. The suggestion that the first payment was for the land and the subsequent payments for the clearing is hard to accept, because we cannot conceive that the land would have been worth anything without the right to clear it. But a finding that the original

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payment was in respect of alliance or goodwill and that the subsequent payments were for progressive clearing would be reasonably consistent with the evidence and with what we can bring ourselves to believe. If that is true, there would be nothing essentially irrevocable about the transaction ...

[p. 92]

"In claims Nos. 155 and 180 the mbari of the alleged Dorobo vendor has submitted a joint claim with the mbari of the alleged buyer, and other similar instances could be quoted.

"In most cases, however, it is certain that the Dorobo soon fell into an inferior position and either left the country or sought adoption by the Kikuyu. In some cases it seems from the evidence that they were forced into the adoption ceremony by the fear that their lives would not be safe otherwise. Even after adoption they claim that they kept some land back for their own use.

"The time at which the Kikuyu ceased making payments to the Dorobo in respect of the land is uncertain, but in the southern part of the district the practice evidently continued until after Kinanjui was chief and we regard it as probable that the idea of a finality of purchase as a definite transaction was an innovation introduced by him and copied from Europeans. Nevertheless, it is probable that in the northern part of the district the Dorobo had already become absorbed, or driven out, and payments, if they were ever made, had ceased.

"According to the Kikuyu Land Tenure Report, the effect of these transactions has been that 'Kikuyu families are the undisputed successors in the occupation of areas over which the Dorobo families once hunted'. We regard that as an over-statement in so far as the word 'undisputed' is concerned. Several claims have in fact reached us from Dorobo claiming large stretches of the Kikuyu Native Reserves. In some cases the claim is made in these words: 'Being Dorobo we inherited the land from our ancestors'. These claims are not confined to the Kiambu district, but embrace also a large part of the Fort Hall Native Reserve.

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"Possibly the Kikuyu theory that their land rights in the Kiambu District rest on purchase from the Dorobo would not work out very favorably for them, if it were used as the only support of their rights. The Dorobo can reasonably contend: a) that the sales, generally speaking, are not proved, and that probably much of the land was not sold; b) that the obligation of protection conferred on these Kikuyu adopters was not carried out, and that, as soon as the Kikuyu had got his land, the Dorobo was sometimes 'de-adopted' as the Kikuyu themselves confessed to the 1929 Committee; c) that the alleged 'sales,' when they took place at all, were not final, but only redeemable loans, as the action of Chief Kinanjui proves, and that the alleged final payment was not generally agreed by the Dorobo and did not reach many of them; d) that in many cases they are still partners in the land; and e) that, when and in so far as they sold land, they frequently reserved a piece for themselves, as the Kikuyu Land Tenure Report admits.

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"We shall not take the responsibility of pronouncing on these assertions, but we think that, if the Kikuyu were fully to realize their implication, they would be less ready to insist that every land question should be decided on historical grounds and would be more willing to concede something to the claims of beneficial occupation.

"By a process which consisted, as we have seen, partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery, the Kikuyu had already succeeded the Dorobo when Count Teleki passed through Kikuyu land in 1887 . . ."

[p. 93] It must be remarked, however, that the Land Commission's findings that the process of succession consisted "largely of force and chicanery" does not entitle us, however fully we accept that finding, to reject at once the Kikuyu claim that the outright purchase of land was possible and in fact practiced. There is no doubt at all that today land can be, and frequently is, bought outright by one Kikuyu from another in the Kiambu District, but, as every District Officer who has served there knows only too well, to obtain it by chicanery or even force rather than by purchase is not altogether repugnant to modern Kikuyu ideas.

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683 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the murdered spoon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Kwoth in exchange for furs, which
meant, of course, that the cattle would be either cows or worn-out old ones,
and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell
to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan
council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good
deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been
847 agreed upon by both clan and local councils, the murderer was liable (in
theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to be low till
the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would
actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would
merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In
dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority
was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son,
father's sister's son.

683 Killing a witch. Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dwoko who were
1854 reputed to be witches (kwoth), such people certainly existed in the past.
Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have
been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who
were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's
death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (neljwai).

688 Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dwoko
687 and is believed or known to have performed any ordinarily act against the
Dwoko. The Dwoko have no sort of war organization, and their enemies
• 701 were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime,
707 killing an enemy even the law makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore
dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus
683 brought into the same category as homicide of a Dwoko, and though there
is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man
705 who has killed an enemy is painted (kwaca kiba) with stripes of white earth
(nyorot) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose.
The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have
to stay in the bat, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Kwoth
he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it
safe to return. In actual fact, Kwoth were seldom killed, but one who strayed
into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a
lonely place for the kinsmen to eat, and at any sign of Kwoth activity the
Dwoko would rush into the depth of the forest where the Kwoth would
have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 Theft. Stealing honey is the most kind of theft, and is almost com-
parable with horse-killed cattle-theft among the Kwoth. A man who steals
honey from someone else's hive is considered very low indeed, and if found

[P 189, A]

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are:

♂	♀
gotik: uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik*: girls.
Murenik: circumcised men.	*Tumik*: married women.
Apolonik: elders.	*Kipchipsiek*: old women.

Boys are *gotik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apolonik* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *muteinik*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior: *Chepsiek*.
Middle: *Tigarik* or *Kipsilyek*.
Junior: *Ramchenik* or *Kipsiliek*.

A man belongs normally to the age-set but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Elders are usually belongs to:	Women normally belong to:
Kipkuluer	*Kimojin*	*Nyogi*
Kapkiluk	*Nyogi*	*Mutai*
Kimojin	*Mutai*	*Jume*
Nyogi	*Jume*	*Sume*
Mutai	*Sume*	*Kipkuluer*
Jume	*Kipkuluer*	*Kapkiluk*
Sume	*Kapkiluk*	*Kimojin*

It may happen, as in Tumik, that a man will be classed with an age-set but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to. [191]

With these terminological features, the constitution of the Dorobo age-sets is the Tumik ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behavioristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently: [191] [192] [193]

[1] See J.R.A.I. loc. cit., for further details of the Tumik age-set.

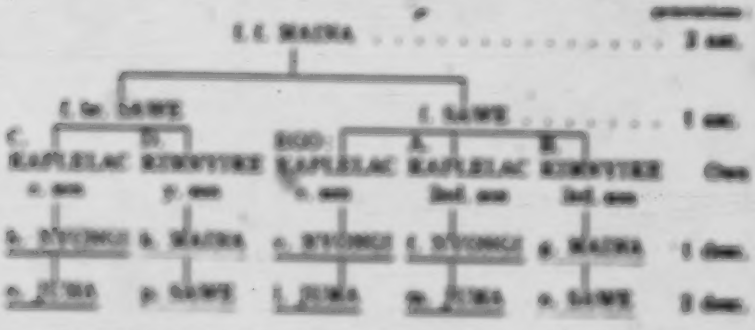
1908	1930	Ages	
7 *Sawe*	*Kipkoimet*	90	
6 *Kipkoimet*	*Kaplelac*	80	
5 *Kaplelac*	*Kimonjiki*	70	Old men: four sets.
4 *Kimonjiki*	*Nyongi*	60	
3 *Nyongi*	*Maina*	50	
2 *Maina*	*Jowa*	35	"Men": one set.
1 *Jowa*	*Sawe*	20	Initiates: one set.
		7	Small boys: one set.

In the third column are the maximum ages in years of the sets in 1930. By 1930 there were no *Sawe* alive, and the age-name started over again at the bottom as the name of the small boys' age-set. The times for changing are known by carefully watching the Nandi, and the Dorobo regulate their age-set periods and times of circumcision by the Nandi, having no method of time-reckoning of their own.

Each set is divided into three sub-sections called *mostiwek* or "*kwa*", a Nandi term, which the Dorobo call

Cengisiek, the senior sub-section;
Tayarik or *Kiyelkwayek*, the middle sub-section;
Kwenkenik or *Kiyenkeik*, the junior sub-section.

These '*kwa*' seem to have no particular function among the Dorobo, but to have been taken over along with the rest of the system when the Dorobo borrowed it from the Nandi, among whom the age-sets have first and foremost a military function in which the '*kwa*' have a definite part. To the Nandi the behaviour aspect, however important it may be in practice, is secondary. But the Dorobo are not a fighting people and have no sort of military organization, and the adoption of an age-set system means that patterns of behaviour may, under certain conditions, be transformed from kinship to age-set stratification, the function of the age-set being reduced to one of behaviour alone. A new stratification of the society is thus introduced, which has to work in with the existing kinship stratification:



In this diagram, Ego is an eldest son, and a *Kaplelac*. His two brothers are *Kaplelac* and *Kimonjiki*, and according to kinship rules all three

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *kowt* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 Killing a witch. Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*pasiik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepasa*).

689 687 Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [701] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore [721] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus [683] brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [805] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase sokat*) with stripes of white earth (*mooriat*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 Theft. Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with inter-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it. 000 262

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead, 789 825 [682] [848] [754] 789 [726] [823]

[P. 197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Irogi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kairau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Nathyuya in Kikuyu

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments
that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma =
sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ahotu;
chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema =
sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischungurgue;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu
or ajōg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damōg; lues, en ebitiro.
Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever,
kaēsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibēg; ascarids,
752 menána. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On bums one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandorobo, the midwife gascha-
hatta-hawa-kerint.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorenyon*, and addressed as *macokorosui*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tilist* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *kiiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Ceuikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *kiiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepisowani*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Ceuikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakom, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1929 they went to live in Soeniyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilaeya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Kwanie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

Between Pilo and his brother Cuimim there is a good deal of inter-

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevail as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. --Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 222 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill [with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found two dead buffalo lying in its

14.Huntingford E-5 (1930-1939).042
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[P. 194, A]

shares the inducer, each house having its own 241
strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence 223
which all help to make. Each is therefore a [961]
family or clan inducer, and the group is an [614]
independent labour unit.

The grain crops are stored either in granaries 251
of Nandi type, or else in the loft (ingot) of the hut; 261
but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon
after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large
owing to the small areas planted, storage problems
are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are [859]
got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging [916]

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In three mighty surges that followed one another at long intervals, the Idoni people came from the north down toward the equator. The long separations from one another in space and time, their different length of entidance in the new Ik-Kiron homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that realm does appear to be valid as three branches of the Idoni people.

The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Ariñ, more generally known under the name of Wandoobbo /Wandoobbo/ (a Swahi formation from the Idoni word Ø dwobbo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

Although the tradition of the Ariñ has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one most nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. When among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Teuso weakened the Ariñ to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Idoni, the Ø kwoth, the first sections of which were the Ø kwoloya, and the later ones the Ø wuli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined once altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they emerged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Ariñ, however, was not to be spared the Ø kwoth either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Teuso for dominion in the steppes, the victorious opponent again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the few survivors did not remain alone. The third band, the Ø ngikwi (sing. ng ngikwi), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Teuso, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, divested the belligerency of the Idoni. They joined the Ø kwoth for the common fight against the former.

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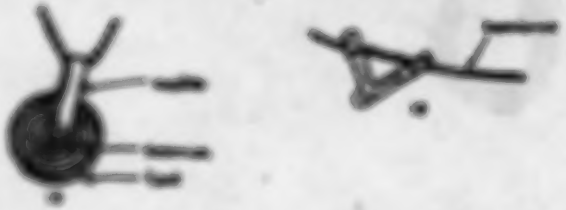

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3:Huntington E-5 (931-1523)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad milk (*yiik ake gook*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good obiokot has saved him. His offerings are made to the bad milk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koot ap miik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are *magicians* (*pondiokot*, pl. *pondi*, N.) who are bad, and who pretend people have gotten bad by means of their spells. There are also *diviners* (*ombigiet*, pl. *ombiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Kenyi system of "ordeal tests" as rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gods of the chest tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "*kemenyet*" (N.), and man's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "*ngoiyo*" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*yaiwa*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Kenyi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepyrowet tree (N. *kipsonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 24). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimokengot*, or *kerosin* (*kerosin*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the *simotion* tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 25).

V.—Social Customs.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, N.), warriors (*moronik*, N.), and old men (*getoiniik*, or *ngotoiniik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, N.) and women (*komoiniik*, or *chepiamik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriotet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kenyi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*paramour*, N. *mosset*), whereas in Kenyi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Kenyi, that is, they work on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kenyi, originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swynnerton, *op. cit.*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

an goat where the Dverdre are concerned); *mund sjø tangbre*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whale milk; *bøeny-vinn*; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an unnamed spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Fuedi diviner of the kind called *sabyssel*. Diviners used to charge the Dverdre a fee of 1/— if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/— if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *bøvsle jøn*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was *sabyssel* according to the methods employed by Fuedi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and all its evil-ness that he may recover". The sick person must then be *sibd* on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mund sjø tangbre*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and they flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the town.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dverdre for many years: they say, too, that they have never had female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dverdre was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dverdre are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Fuedi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dverdre go to the Fuedi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Fuedi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dverdre, and the witch is then dealt with according to Fuedi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dverdre against the Fuedi in 1939 was that they did not want Dverdre to live in the Fuedi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Fuedi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dverdre go to a Fuedi diviner (*sabyssel*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *sibdrå* are not, like the Fuedi *sibdrå*, diviners, but simply people who have how to cure illness with herbs and *sibd*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Fuedi would call *bjølbrevnnå*. These *sibdrå* (sing. *sibdryn*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from witches and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of bayonet seeds (called *bjønnnå* in Fuedi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mundsjø* cow, and about 4 cm. long, tied to their belts

the other world, and movement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion, which is based on disfavor or loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Aiza*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dwroho (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the ancestor, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Their protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the talisman against the evil eye, ornaments against ghosts, and perhaps the double spiral earrings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dwroho is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they are between man and the source as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which stands to the fore or 'extreme' is crystallized in the word *Aiza*[a], borrowed from the Nyadi with perhaps some of the Nyadi notions of its nature. *Aiza* is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Aroma* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Aiza* plays in Dwroho religious life, but he does the two perform the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for the actions of the spirits were seen (sometimes and are therefore much nearer to men than *Aiza* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dwroho, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dwroho that his ancestors[b], the evil spirits, are the same as the evil or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more evident than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the evil have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, to whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the evil in Dwroho life may in fact be exaggerated [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

3:Hastingsford E-5 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad ndik (still the *gnuk*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good ndiokit has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad ndik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap ntik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendindet*, pl. *pendi*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*ombolget*, pl. *ombolik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "ordeal-ment" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the Ghost tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kemenyet" (N.), and man's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "ngoiro" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*nakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyoret tree (N. *legenodi*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 24). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimolongot*, or *kwenin* (*kwenin*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the elmedak tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, N.), warriors (*nemwosik*, N.), and old men (*getoiosik*, or *ngoiosiosik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsik*, N.) and women (*kemwosik*, or *ekopsiosik*, N.). In circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *ngoiosiosi* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*nemwosi*, N. *nemwosi*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they work on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi, originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Nandi, *ngomgo*).

[2] *Kinyaletia ocuabbinus.*

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278 562 834 [388] arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a gener shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, crampllke muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 10 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asa nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [224] [221]

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X.

Illnesses.

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171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments
that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
191 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agéma =
sick head; toothache = ligé agema = sick teeth; cough, ohotu or ghotu;
chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = wala agema =
sick stomach; diarrhea, wala katidji, constipation, wala giechudjugwe;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol manchogge
or aiñi; chickenpox, simingi. Gonorrhea, dambi; lues, ee ebiiro.
Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever,
kallegonu; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, ptaihéji; ascarids,
752 menéng. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
726 dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
732 regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the ol gniatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asib-ase among the Wandorobo, the midwife gaecha-
hama-hawa-keriai.

/363 cont./

M 824

200. eí gélén gélé (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. oi gélélélé (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D [152 829]

202. eí gérgía (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. oi gér l oi sibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. oi géwlgét (Schrebera Hoistii Gilg).

205. oi gibumbu. Good fodder gram.

206. oi gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder gram.

207. eí gidoá on dare = eí gaiadjat.

208. eí g(h)ér (Indigofera suaveolens Jacb.). Good goat fodder.

209. eí gilglgíz (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M [151]

210. eí ghólé (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the oi sibori. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eí glinko. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. oi gólól (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. oi gúk (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. oi gúrá (Ficus fruticosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eí gúshi gúsh. The El kuofi give the small liverwurt, for diarrhea, a mush made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of wuppe salt.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[175 782 825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyom kan ingwil kakwat*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

[553]

[782 825]

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*sowet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

[304 782]

Cowechik, chikwe ilowy ne kiptwo,
Spirits, give us animal which we may kill;
chikwe kowsik ne kiptilyo.
Give us honey enough to satisfy us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokowek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowechik, ogiiyan emdit,
Spirits, fill us with food,
ei kiptilyo ungat.
That we may be filled with health.

[782 825]

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kenyon ei kiptilyo, koro ne kowa chu ne asiosi, ei kosap*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

976

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. [illegible] A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn right across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1937 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoren and Timogo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

or goat when the Dorobo are concerned); *mwaii ap tangina*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i. e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi *diviner* of the kind called *sakeyuat*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 2/ – if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *known for*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face of said: "Come and oil So-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat with *mwaii ap tangina*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kwat*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, a Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1939 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi *diviner* (*sakeyuat*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, or the people among them known as *orkoiik* are not, like the Nandi *orkoi*-diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with herbal *medicines*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kiplamwaiik*. These *orkoiik* (sing. *orkoiyot*), besides being able to cure herbal medicines, sometimes also to prescribe specific forms of diet, cure also the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kipsyonet* seeds (called *kipsonek* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *sarandat* tree, each about 3 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

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Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then rub their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omenda anyun, ateiyo ak kakak*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men etc.; after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukuyiat* (*Strychnos* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

I: Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

side, arbitrary, and unsafe. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the local council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, instances have already been mentioned (p. 86). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the local council, which can order payment of compensation. A more account of manslaying food many way. "If I see a thief, very fine grass eat me," and often a thief is given between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man bewitched another by something him, he must find him all he required. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though where the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Dorobi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo tribe consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Clothing

Dressing

(a) Forest type: the Arowngol, in use as late as 1937, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) Kraal type: the kraal has a circular wall about 6 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the hut is a hut of ordinary Bantu type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four Arowngol huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the furnishings are mainly copied from those of the Masai, as are most of the ornaments, which include, amongst other things, iron wire armlets and rigets, necklaces, and pierced ornaments in the lobes (lasit). The necklaces are plaited and elongated sometimes getting very in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., often it is sometimes covered with a shuttle cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Masai.

Food and Drinking

Nuts and berries are obtained from Masai cattle, the Dorobo making the exchange himself. Dorobo are made from old nuts and bits of iron which the Dorobo

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legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a drag-hoop, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *gwek* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 98), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1938 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Eldoret, Kipkaren, and Trans-Nzoia, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *oloiyot*, and on her identity becoming known she was required to sit the victim on the fore, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a drag-hoop rightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the Africans to whom hunting is an asset of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life around them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *ororiet*, affinity, with the beasts of the forest. This was described to a man, to which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the speech of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we said they all dwell in the forest together. The beasts' speech of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we are some cruel and others, because we, the Dorobo, and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have wood-hook horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-2
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have lived in the country of the Kitóto land, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Lumi in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better result. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mûsiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There is, however, certain custom and observance of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following the examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mûsiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a human of sorts, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its land is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there. No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake cross the path, he will never step over it without first kicking y the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is said to be the only effectious way of ensuring that the snake question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed i path.*

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the rat cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured one, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become responsible for a death of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Dalalîga* and no *Kimyakîyôgi* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Dalalîga* or *Kimya-*

* See Kikûyu: The Snake, p. 80.

* Ibid., p. 79.

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the man. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given beany-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him beany-wine if he has any.

5. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dierske in the following words: *Makinaipi gagwa ne bwaia a kagiva tabwal; makinaipi tabwaq gagwa; makinaipi tavkwi ali aiga valali ai wawia, awwa ga, ngwi valali ali tamdzwa; kiwawwaiwaiwai tabwal.* ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i.e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'close fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with regard to the father's brother and sons of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dierske ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps to rear the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a male or diarbedwaw child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not use a rude word to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *kwara vakai* (away you dog of kwaraiki), in case the spirit world took him at his word, he might go so far as *kwa gisi tavi tavi*, an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dierskes are fond of their parents, and even those in old age [illegible] living with their sons [illegible] the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Tito, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Most feeble, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped to and fro, and fed and looked after like a child, but it was all done cheerfully by Tumoia and his wife, to whose hut the old man lived, and if they could see amused to him. Tito and his wife did.

the other hand, there should be no avoidance, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Ledekitwa the mother of Kioy Mbing went to visit her daughter Lwangary who was married to a Kyungi called Nguwwa and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Nguwwa would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Lwangary would bring her children to see Ledekitwa, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Ledekitwa's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the shelter with Kioy Mbing. Little mating then (after father's mother stop) to her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Nzoo ndaka ndeeo a mwiwa wakwatiti* ("Hmm, the you children who have not brought me food"), a name which is not dangerous because it is overridden by the word 'grace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kyaau kyaitiko wasii, ko wendei, waa nwaiyeo wakwatiti* yesterday, she said, "Hmm, after they bathed".
Children:	*Wii, yeenyii waa ayyii ko kwaiyo kwiku, kiuka,* "Hmm, mother".
Mother:	*Ehaaaaaa, kiikwa, waaa wii kiiku kwaatuuli, a waa wa kyeto wiiniku.*
Friend:	*Eiiii, waaa wiiu, ai ko waa kiiku.*
Children:	*Eiiii, kiie kwaa, Eiiiyiiii wa, ai kwaa?*
Mother:	*Eiiyaali kwaa, a kiiyiiii nyeeyii ai kiiwaali.*

I saw at Ledekitwa's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Hmm, its, you children".

Alas! where shall I go, mother? Ledekitwa has cursed us and said, "Hmm, its."

Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you she loves you! [illegible] Ledekitwa she will go to her place to take her a present.

Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.

Yes, let's go to-morrow. What shall we take her so that she shall be pleased? We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and maize

Visit day the mother and the offending children home to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Ore kawaniki ako ne ajanjaniikoo* ("There, I spit on you and curse you with illness"), then both laughing there and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

Inay Shinji's wife's mother and father lived at Kijikonoto, and the children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Inay Shinji visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, sat on their mats, *e tawa kakai* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother-in-law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a quiet and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may stay in his hut, he may not do so on any occasion, and if he stays too long in the attic in which Inay Shinji sleeps, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father-in-law Kuntu went to live at Ushinoyuki in Yuzuli, a good two hours' walk from Kijonkoo, but in July 1936 he moved to Kijikonoto, as his son Lyli was working on Kijikonoto Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kuntu and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to owen Yuzuli, and the old people were allowed to live there in return for weeding it. Lyli, a Gisiwa in Inay Shinji's wife's brother, and therefore owes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kijonkoo to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being on all intimate with his sister's children, and Ujikomatoto taught her children to like Lyli, who would greet them by saying *hubei, bibere* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *tore, bibere* ("there, children") to which they would answer *Ejio, owwe* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Lyli never played the part in their lives that Inay Shinji's brother Kimoma did, and the alarm in their crossing was very small.

19. The Clan

The clan, *ank, plural ankinuk*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kinak ya ank*, or simply *kinak*, "the symbol (of the clan)". All the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the custom, the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each, the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group and not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Yuzuli clan names, the exception seems to be of Nandia origin. Some of these names are taken from the principal name of a Yuzuli clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Yuzuli clan has (1) a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which it

the relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-debited spirit as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Powrii in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the early wealth for either man or woman still rose, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to the relatives and dependants to make up the number, which created a new reason to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the avenger had been spared upon for both clan and land ownership, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by the victim's relatives, as he had to be (as the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would surely have had to return the spirits as compensation for their own act). In dividing spirits between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brothers, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1938 I could hear of no Dwrdo who were reputed to be witches (powrii), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been created as hunting — getting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (neglect).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dwrdo and is believed or known to have performed any ostensibly evil against the Dwrdo. The Dwrdo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy over the line makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dwrdo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man who has killed an enemy is painted (because killed) with stripes of white earth covered on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it fades off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual. Though if he had killed a Powrii he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. (In actual fact, Powrii were seldom killed, but one who stepped into the forest might get shot by accident.) His body would be taken to a lonely place for the ceremonies to set, and at any sign of Powrii activity the Dwrdo would vanish into the depths of the forest where the Powrii would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

Theft. Stealing honey is the most usual of theft, and is almost unknown except between Powrii and Dwrdo. A man who steals honey from someone else's hive/nest is considered very low indeed, and if found

Hollingsford R-1 (1918-1935) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

an goat where the Dorobo are concerned); *mwoi ap tangine*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi diviner of the kind called *ankoyoot*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lowey country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwoito pee*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was followed according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and sit by-and-by that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mwoi ap tangine*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kraal*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean,however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1930 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi diviner (*ankoyoot*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *orkwik* are not, like the Nandi *orkwik*, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with *kwosek ap kwik*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kipkwenindi*. These *orkwik* (*sing. orkwiyot*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kiboyoond* seeds (called *kiboondi* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mosonkit* tree, each about 3 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

R. J. Wenyon.—Preliminary Studies of Tribes of Kassanga.

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kassanga in 1949 I was told that no new societies were needed, much the same as those as the societies were described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Initially, it is said, boxes also made there, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient tree trunks that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme south-east of Kassanga, and that there are legends that seem to refer to an ancient maternity migration of a people from the region of Kiyanzara into Uganda some considerable ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Kintu to whom and brother to a reigning monarch, who during a sojourn in Kintu on the Uganda Province, constructed these remarkable earthworks known as Ziggo Bya Wayungu (the wrongers' fort). This legend, it may be added, was to unravelled very interestingly, but with what validity I have not, with the natural buildings of the Stanleyboro type in Rhodesia.

Conclusions Discussed.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is continuing, and even others have not even but the fullest have any knowledge of the esoteric significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. However, the origin of some practices is lost in antiquity. The Kikiru, too, are suspicious of their enquiry. They have learnt from the Native troops of the K.A.R.; that therefore to the Protectorate the Government is trying to look to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear this anything they can should receive them support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it safe that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, after questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and assurances them as fast that theories differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and is invariably lost by errors or results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was carefully revised, and the mutually incongruities results discarded. The task is a very interesting one. It is, however, better than nothing and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kassanga are deserving of detailed study.

So far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely insighting to draw comparisons between these and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to establishing cultural origins and migrations, etc. It is also, however, to have title to the gratitude attaching. One garbage are very good, but that some of the negative results are now entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of [illegible]

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cause sore and make honey sour." Then, Moses said that man can be made as the same day as honey, nor must fats of the lamb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Jewish avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Gentile say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

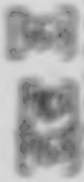
In the ritual treatment of certain animals the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus a homicide must be rubbed with clean fat, lustrated grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be rubbed with honey; [illegible] dislikes to a ground rift in the ground [illegible] and sweetness); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with clean; a widow previous whose illness is due to witchcraft must be rubbed with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must poke his face with [illegible] stripes of white earth-clay across the forehead [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one on a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut could not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it - (I) or says the regular formula, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been to the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.



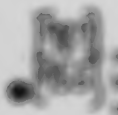
The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (small) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But to avoid no evil, we send to be afraid, for at such times the spirits do us harm.

Before setting out on food, a man asks the spirits to help him:

> Cows-milk, children many, to Kipkoi,
> Spirits, give us animal which we may eat,
> Afraid [word] of Kipkoi,
> Give us honey enough to satisfy us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, (above), are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

> Cows-(fat), children many, cattle,
> Spirits, [illegible] food,
> If Kipkoi sick,
> Then no way to [illegible] beasts.



When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take one towards the entrance. Groups of twelve lines as these are so seen, it (may), "He came to guard him, and by whom the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a bone thrown right across his path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1937 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoimen and Tiongo, with

or goat where the Dorobo are concerned), would up imagine, to the fat of one's udder, or better, i.e. solidified whole milk, honey-wine, and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, when they see for sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Kaalé diviner of the kind called *sakuyaat*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of [illegible] if the cause was witchcraft, and [illegible] if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, therefore *gisi*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Kaalé diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pelted him or his relatives with mud in the face and said: "Come and sit by us that we may recover". The sick person must then be rubbed on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with sweet up *angiroi*. If the witch refused, the position was especially if it was a woman, so he had to a cow by a thong the other end of which was thrown lightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till the consent to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the land.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women. It [illegible] is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years: they say, too, that they have ever no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Kaalé. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Kaalé who live near the witch and ask his help in dealing with him or her. This the Kaalé generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo, and the witch is then dealt with according to Kaalé procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Kaalé is that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Kaalé Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Kaalé witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Kaalé diviner [illegible] for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *sakuyik* are not like the Kaalé *sakuyik*, diviners, but simply people who have had to cure illness and become up with medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whose the Kaalé would call *kipkororosiek*. These *sakuyik* sing *sakuyat*, besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to prevent people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kipkoyaat* (wild cattle) [illegible] to Kaalé to protect them against the evil eye, and did also wear small pieces of the *mokoiik* tree, split down it are hung, hair to them [illegible] as a charm against thunderstorm.

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are mysterious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a heavy push, which makes him wake with a start. His body reacts, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and in some time, the chief of the family, the father, father's brother or other old man, must sprinkle heavy wine over the head, saying as he does so: (1), ai, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to be undisturbed in the hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of the family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the bystanders do not come and see it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives foretell on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are useless for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make heavy wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the cemetery, one of them bearing a gourd full of heavy wine. Each should be taken a little in the mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn. He either will have them all face down with the tip of a sharp or grass sprigs. (Several persons, always of both, "Go forth ever, and live with the children", meaning that you are now free to have more children, since you are dead. The old men then drink the heavy wine.

Before a body is laid out for the bystanders all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are finally removed, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat, and in preparation for the greasing the children make heavy wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, put some of it over the children and then drink what is left. The old men and women are buried in separate holes about 4 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children place a branch of sweetpea (Dracaena sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the living-room if there is one, otherwise they are laid out like the bystanders like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not disinfected, but remains occupied still, no account of actual circumstances to a disadvantage.

The death governs and enters the body of a bystander when the body is taken, and leaves the bystander when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land. Even when it remains comfortably in near the living.

Closely linked with religion, or closely linked that sometimes it is not easy to say where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things man can control

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[illegible] or goat whom the Vandia are suspected), small go laughter. On the list of ever's edible or fishes ( ) a published whole milk, heavy-white and white earth.

Ghosa is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives often see to see that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Vandi diviner of the kind called sakapan. Diviners used to change the Vandia [illegible] the of [illegible]. If the cause was witchcraft, and if [illegible] it was due to a spirit, the [illegible] was done in the same country where there is malaria, and after the wizard has taken with spun and knife, they have it was a natural illness, therefore plan, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was [illegible] followed according to the methods employed by Vandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her violently open to the face and said: "Come and let be well so that he may recover". The sick person made them to which on his face, shook and fully with the tail of a [illegible] or with wood-ash laughter. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her severely till the prosecutor to do other was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was thrown out of the town.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women. It can it is said that there have been no male witches among the Vandia for many years: they say, too, that they have also no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Vandia was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Vandia are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are [illegible] by Vandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Vandia go to the Vandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Vandi generally agree to, so they the witches as were from the Vandia, and the witch is then dealt with according to Vandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Vandia against the Vandi in 1928 was that they did not want Vandia to live in the Vandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Vandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Vandia go to a Vandi diviner (sakapan) for the discovery of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as pakpiti are not like the Vandi sakapan, diviners, but simply people who HAVE been to own illness and consult go with assistance from more and plants, herbalists whom the Vandi would not [illegible]. These sakapan play witchcraft, besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to prevent people from sickness and the evil eye. Children may necklaces of specially [illegible] sakapan to Vandi to prevent them against the evil eye, and [illegible] small pieces of the wooden into, each about 1 cm. long, and to them [illegible] or a charm against thunderstorm.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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the Bi mini also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Mimi and Wakaafi, whereas the Aaé and Bi mini have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Mimi people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Bi mimi, the Bi endelyan, and the Bi nenigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Aaé, as well as every Ci kaafi and Ci nenemi, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Mimi in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakaafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandembo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/11/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Bi gbiné lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feasts. -- The sorcerer. -- The Bi kibedin lineage. -- The rainmaker.

Every tribe (ni gbebeno) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ni gelete, ei gele). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ni gelete kinik)

[illegible] are [illegible] on the [illegible]. The only weapon in the box [illegible] other [illegible] Scouts have [illegible] from the basic bolt [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and the remaining [illegible] a small [illegible] gun of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are sometimes beings and take children or people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a dream with which comes fear and a shock. So Sotho people, and among animals, dreams are evil spirits that persecute him. So a dream tries to terrorize it, and a man feels the breath of the beasts that torture. Sotho's brother or other old men, most powerful human-eaters over the beast, saying as he does so: It, as, "It's go" ordering the spirit to leave him, and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die he is allowed to lie undisturbed in the hut until having the evening of the day on which he dies the body is taken out by the door at the back near the other side of the hut and laid on its right side with knees and wrists pulled well up to the chin and head resting over the breast, on the edge of the bone pillow. Here headrest gently stays from the hut. If the deceased did not wear and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left in one, and the bones are left lying there. (This of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives believe on the day the person dies. Those who were not the body are washed for three days and nights in their body, which their people made heavy wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the corpse, one of them bringing a great tub of heavy wine. Some people he takes a knife to the mouth and gets it over each of his men to have. His other old men then sit here there with his tub of a sheep or goat skulls. (Sometimes several sheep at once). "To bind men and one with the children" meaning that one can ever live in peace even children, since you are alone. The old men then drink the heavy wine.

Before a body is laid out for the funerals all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat, and in preparation for the grinding the children make heavy wine for the old men who, after grinding the ornaments, put some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 3 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried the children plant a bunch of eucalyptus (Eucalyptus sp.) on the grave and on it grass. Babies are buried in the living-hut if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not demolished, but remains occupied till, on account of several deaths, its abandonment.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whereupon it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is hard to say to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

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[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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(2)

Ceremonies at the corpse -- Hereditary succession.

The ceremonies at the corpse differ from the practice customarily among the Ibanag only insofar as the persons at the bed differ. They continue hold a funeral feast and do they accord the corpse with [illegible] Wealthy people, i.e., those well with numerous progeny, are have buried by women, men, or by both, in the house near the bed; so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the happiness of their words. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the house and put down approximately 10 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the 2nd night, which, however, is said not to happen very rarely, there is usually heard various voices about the weakly feet-smelling corpse every night. [illegible] Here are known as an offering for relief of the heavy load, consisting of raw particles, beside the corpse. A basket of copper coated for corpse is not necessary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a family father run here [illegible] age progenies, age hour - Oshi, father, give silver, give dear. After one and above them the dance holds for the deceased [illegible]

In the right of succession the same principle holds as among the Ibanag. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often causes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son of the principal wife receives the entire inheritance consisting of house, corners, and heirlooms. The latter have the principal part of the estate sold, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Ibanag. Just as the latter given each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the [illegible] leaves each of his wives a part of his heirlooms, which the wife of the wife is exercise then inherit. Widows or a male pile a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Manuel Pilo, 10-Series, Category 705--Analyst]

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are sometimes beings and take children or people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pain, which makes him cry a cry. He feels unwell, and during sickness, dreams that an evil spirit has prevented him. In a short time he becomes ill, and a sore falls. His head or the family, the father, father's brother or other old dead male ancestor comes over the head, saying as he does so: Ai, ai, "Ai, ai", pointing his spirit to have him, and then he will have a dream of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to be unconscious to the last, and during the evening of the day on which he dies the body is taken out for the grave in the late area, by other men of the family or clan, and laid on its right side there and wrapped about with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the deceased did not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left in the hut and the house put left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The objective however is for the grave also. Those who carry out the body are careful for three days and nights in their hands, while their people make heavy cries. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the cemetery, one of them bearing a great ball of heavy wire, three others to take a knife to the wound and girls it over each of the men in turn. No other old men then all their faces with the ash of a strong or grass burning. (Female wounds, except of infant, the body was just wrapped with the children", meaning that one can see how to have more children, since you are dead. The old men then break the heavy wire.

Before a body is laid out for the funerals all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with young's fat, and in preparation for the grossing the children make heavy wire for the old men who, after grossing the ornaments, put some of it over the children and then divide what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 4 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. If your other an old man has been buried, his children place a branch of eucalyptus (Eucalyptus sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the living-living if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the funerals like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied still, on account of normal inconvenience it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a funeral when the body is eaten, and leaves the funeral when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religious, or closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she sets up "where the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of the neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, ageabyanto, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's baby name is kept secret for several weeks after its birth, and only its real name is used, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (nyara) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in the same hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the mother may observe some several taboos ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The most unpleasant aspect of the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Ganda, omufumbo, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the step responsible or one of the male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the stew or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Ganda, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced with her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, sweet milk; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being stopped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called kwibwet (Ganda, kiwawuli). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd, and gruel made from maize or sorghum meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are sometimes beings and take shelter in people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a heavy pull, which makes him wake with a start. He talks wildly, and acting unlikely, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and is seen by him, the head of the family, the father, father's brother or other old man, most suitable honey-wine over the head, saying as he does so: *Ii!*, as, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to be embraced on the side, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with his legs straight and hands crossed over his breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from his hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left as we, until the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the corpse, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then all duly have with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omondo anyore, anisyo ol kiliak*, "Go forth now, and rest with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet your children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukagwet* (*Strychnos* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied still, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

Site code:

48.

Interment of the corpse. — Hereditary succession.

The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Wakwafi only insofar as the poverty of the Dui affects it. They neither build a tomb[1] over nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., those well-off with numerous progeny, are here buried by women, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling corpse every night, [illegible] does one hope as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of cow petroleum, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a wealthy father can have [illegible] as [illegible] the [illegible] - God, father, give strife, give cows. What one said above about the Wakwafi holds for the remaining [illegible].

In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Wakwafi. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and bowstrings. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Wakwafi. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the [illegible] leaves each of his wives a part of his bowstrings, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Masai FL12, 10 Merker, category 766--Analyst]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOÍ (KERITTA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keritta on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoi in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1907 when Tolebi passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kirumbindet*, as among the Kipkaruruk. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatat*, derived from the Masai *ol-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."[4]

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tarwit*[5] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] S1.91, p. 8.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 395.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 60.
[4] = Nandi *tarwa*, " slope."

Africa, East. Hobley.

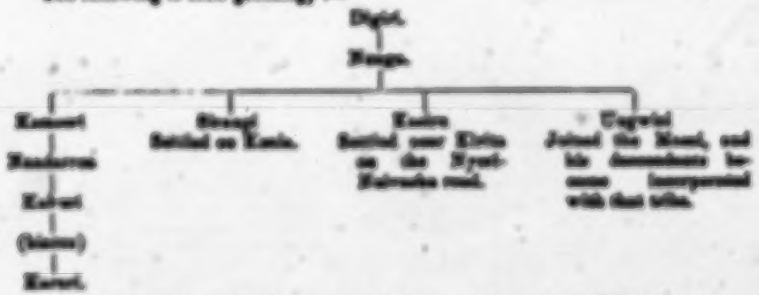
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Aat by the Elkuyu people and call themselves Aggish (or Oggish) or Ogiemboo.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Ureet), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Torobonot).

131 [698] 193 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggish is the Digirr (*see* MAN, 1905, 81), the name Digirr being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digirr, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nenga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggish are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] [362] 193 [698] Kamuri, Sirongi, and Kaiira are now the names of three clans of the Aggish.

Before the Masai came some of the Aggish circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggish is the ant-bear, which is called Ungwiri, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digirr have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai : they describe how one day a Digirr hunter on the Kinare Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north ; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a *Nandi* language*: but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Elkeyo, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Eldigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical: thus, for instance, the Aimbakwee clan in the Mokwon of the Masai: the Anjiro, the Tarsaro: the Ambui, the Molelyan: the Akhambiko, the Aisir: and so forth.

Their Masai name of ɔl Tarokʉt might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs: but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Mɔtik of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Masai Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence: in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Elkeyo and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

E. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north o/d Mount Kenya, and passed through the Elkeyo country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Suk, may have settled down in those fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been abandoned during, and subsequent also, such emigrations.

† Dorop, pl. doropin, means short in Masai.

‡ Eldigiri and Masai are different names for the same people: they are also known to the Elkeyo as Amitkwiskwon. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Aá. The name Aá itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Aáki, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Aá, the Elkeyo name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. Hinderquer, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amitkwiskwon means child-stealers. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived from —kwiskwa in the sense given by the Elkeyo to a *fierce people*—it, for instance, finds name for the Masai—the word Chinese means *children eat*, in a secondary sense, *little people*.

/68 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

C
715 souls of later generations of the dead find their last resting-place." (2)

2. op. cit.

We must suppose the Meru and the [p. 125] Mwimbi would have thought the departed spirits of the conquered tribes or, in the latter case, the blood of their dead remained to harry them. They probably arranged for some propitiation, and inasmuch as there was intermarriage between the conquerors and the conquered in each case the possibility of a final peaceful phase in acquisition cannot be ruled out.

C
715 So, as the spirits of the dead were believed in general to stay
626 just where they had lived on earth (though underground) and to retain in some degree (and possibly enhanced) the sanctions of the land-clan complex, we must suppose the cult of ancestors would operate to some extent to save the land from usurpation by another tribe by any means which left them unappeased. Exchange, adoption, intermarriage—yes; annihilation or ejection—no.

K
425 Implications of the cult of ancestors
769 But such exchange, if it occurred, would have to be conditioned in some way so that the seigniory remained unaltered or the new seigniory was adequately bonded with the old one in perpetuity. The Kikuyu say "we bought the Dorobo out, we did not drive them out." But though the cult of earth-bound ancestors affords sufficient reason to believe the second half of this assertion it gives us almost equally sufficient reason to reject the first. We must imagine the Dorobo had a similar belief (1); for otherwise we must not give it as

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[425
769]
1. The Dorobo of Kerilta, who are the ones with whom we are particularly concerned, have assured me that they always have had such a cult. The ancestral spirits are known as oii(k). Some are doubtful where these spirits live; others say they live in the ground. A man "sacrifices" to his deceased father.

our reason for Kikuyu non-belligerence; if the Dorobo living disregarded them in land transactions any Kikuyu fears of immanent
[i.e., the Kikuya acquisition of Dorobo land. - Analyst]

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitêto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

623 [587] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms :—

Ke'ruoch ilgalek si kuich che mlyach ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] yuch, si ko-kas pûk tukul. Ingoonio chiit'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-oon, si kwa emet ake.
other any, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

[" We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

● 771 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.
776 They believe in a god Aaista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a
[782] sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form :—

Aaie,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[785] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiindet*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and
[782] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik che mlyach*) to obtain food and health, *e.g.* :—

Oiik, ipiiy'-ech omdit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiiy'-ech sapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[782] Libations of honey and water (*lagomek*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipkelsik*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*komda*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiiy'-ech omdit si kiipiiye sapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Maasai and Nandi). (See Beech, *The Suk*, for the ideas of the Suk, Enjemusi, Turkana, etc.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognises a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

8. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of men, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both horde and individual.

796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Arusa*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Arusa* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Arusa*, but pray to them for help: *Kipendi samak si kesahas hiilencin Asista, Asista, ipiiyec omdit, ngut Asis, ipiiyec kumik, ngut Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Arusa Arusa, ipiiyec omdit*, etc.

Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while politics organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*usan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 F16 Dorobo F16

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

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A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [1], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[1] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1954.

/68 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no

D M 771 304 619 [197] other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for

D M 174 [84] [96] the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the El aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meŋgana, each of which is

D M 614 613 made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol mamasi, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi,

D M 128 we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chiefs his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborõn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (eŋ giachomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called legin or legilia, tomorrow lepe or lebe, yesterday areach; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, milek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uɛd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uɛd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uɛd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uɛd sigima gemischin; for children, Uɛd nge hawa; for wives, Uɛd nge mai; for meat, Uɛd nge aga; for honey, Uɛd nge agung; for food, Uɛd nge e haiug; for health if 775 one is sick, Uɛd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- [171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

The thunder, *Ilat*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cewaiwiriat*, is his arm, *se aaiyo pik*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilat* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilat* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilat* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilat* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *koliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilat* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilat* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilat* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *koliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Aruma*, and *Ilat*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cewoiliai* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *masambwanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *masambwanik kapatak oiik, akenge tabai, kikere cewoiliai*, "the *masambwanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cewoiliai*", because though the *masambwanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *masambwanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *kwot ap cewoiliai* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Ceptoiko, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Aaam, i ninder*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 440 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 304 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cewoiliai* (*cewoilik*), pl. *cewoiliai* (*cewoilik*). It seems to be the same word as the *ewoiki* which MAHAN gives as the Kayo word for both good and evil spirits (Still Dwellers of Kenya, 1937).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *omusambwa*, "spirit".

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412 411 [439] 378 And lying about on the horns. The only weapon is the bow, *kenyogda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwisi* tree (*Acokanthera* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *tant*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *kondo*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kotwamandet* and *mamalo* trees, or from bamboo, *sendyet*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *Acokanthera Schimperi*.

Baskets

415 [462] [124] 385 Making baskets, *kwopet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *pikwesia reclinata* palm, *sonet*, and sewn with heat made from a plant called *tuiyonwet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and low-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

310 [63] [439] [302] 415 483 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tuiyonwet* (*acacia hamiltoniana*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *ewkoit*, is mixed with fat or similar oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *ewowiet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *kokwiket* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of lions stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of lawn-tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Rites and Beliefs

Religion

996 *Asista*, the sun, is recognised as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, tiyiyet pawyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Tiet*, the Guarder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ewomdet*, a word which includes the *mik* (ancestral spirits) and *mesembwanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *kokwanek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

995

Divination

787 [48] 959 789 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *soleyonet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 3 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuyuet* (*Ficus* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

that continued disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their ethics in the following terms:—

Ke'rumik kpâkit ai kumik ako ndyuk ak ako
We take counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

ruch, ai ke-kee yâk tukul. Ingomin chûk'
bad that they-may-understand (-they) the-people ak. If-he-refuses the-man

ako tukul, ke-ere, ai kwa enut ako.
other say, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi. They believe in a god Asista (K.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a sister Aruwa* (K.), the moon.† No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* kpây'-ech emâk.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

or,

Aruwa,* kpây'-ech emâk.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

They believe also in ghosts and spirits (ntinda, pl. mik, K.) which are good and bad. Prayers are addressed to the good ntik (not the ndyuk) to obtain food and health, e.g.:—

Ntik, kpây'-ech emâk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food,

Ntik, kpây'-ech ngoit,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

Libations of honey and water (*ngomik*)? and of honey-wine (*kipkelkel*, K.) are offered to the good ntik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*kumbe*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

kpây'-ech ntâkit ai kîpîyo ngoit,
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

* I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the Lotuko Nilote and Nandi). (See Nandi, *The Ark*, for the ideas of the Suk, Dajoland, Turkana, etc.)

† The Nandi also talk.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silik (still the good, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oloibiot has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad silik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *kwet ap nik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendindet*, pl. *pendi*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoiyotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tilmet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kemmyet" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epsito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakat*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the *kepenyweet* tree (N. *kepenuik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimdwogot*, or *kwesito* (kwesito), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the strawberry tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kpetik*, N.), warriors (*moroonik*, N.), and old men (*pwiinik*, or *epwiinik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kpeti*, N.) and women (*kwenik*, or *ekpeinik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriniet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*morreiat*; N. *moreet*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Hagenia abyssinica*.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *kainat ap cesserilak* (or, *aisik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (*a*) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (*b*) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (*c*) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipoo	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimopo	Kipoo
His son:	Tiongoi	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet born	Kimopo (will be)
		Tiongoi

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*kainat am musarek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikuria Sioncu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (*a*) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (*b*) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetuny, "lionkiller".

S:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614 to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually
623 do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the
684 man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is
[848] nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingorsiyo ei ok cepi ap tiliet, caluakto ne oo kut, amu mocome apaiisich ngui mocome cesowilôh*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilôh*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

[M5]

614 Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the
648 time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi
162 in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and [561] most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan
614 settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:
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At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans.	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

I noticed that when Dorobo

were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kerwoc walek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemuisiriet*, is his arm, *ne naiyo pik*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arowa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by Hollis, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and Hollis, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilet*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilôk*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which Massam gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit".

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[775] [782] [825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii laknet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name [553] of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day [782] unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear. [753]

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*urnet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

[204] [782] Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilök, okónec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okónec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

[787] [755] When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si koritpe, korn ne korne cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

776 Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

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Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. Tho old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then oil their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omanda anyun, oluiyo ok lakok*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet ever children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (dracaena sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuynwet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arasa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

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A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [12], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[12] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

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Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. 591 595 The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by 613 769 the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, [775] the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital 881 rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male 561 initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the [177] Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature 622 being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. 623 kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu [171] muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed 648 allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare 776 the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun 771 Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain 778 the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, [881] the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo 101 of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo [628] Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and [166] went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

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775 the case of the Kikuyu we might include unlimited spiritual forest ripe for hacking.

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423 [p. 122] Land in relation to the spirit world
775 One aspect of this belief in personal spirits who retain an interest in the welfare of their relatives on earth—and apparently a very human interest at that—is that the occupiers of the land go to reside beneath its surface when they die. It seems that some priority or extra potency is accorded in this belief to early occupation. The 1929 Committee said:

> "... the immanence of ancestral spirits appears to find illustration in the Butaka system of Uganda, where it is said that the graves of from three to five generations of ancestors are held to constitute a claim to the land."

Roscoe, indeed, in The Baganda, had written:

> "Chiefs had to be on the alert to prevent people from burying their dead in good gardens, because the gardens thereby became freehold lands."

Dr. L.P. Mair disputes this statement, qualifying it as follows:

> "... the graves of previous occupiers would be pointed out as evidence of the claim, but it is important to note that they were merely evidence, the claim itself resting on the original grant and the fact that successive kings had not interfered with it" (1);

1. "Baganda land tenure," Africa, April 1938

even so, early occupation was of great importance and apparently connected with some priority accorded to the dead.

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We might perhaps find in some such principle a partial explanation of the Dorobo attitude concerning "sales." Karanja wa Waweru, a Dorobo, giving evidence in the Kiambu District Commissioner's Appeal Case No. 1 of 1931, affirmed that the land in question had been sold by his grandfather and was Kikuyu land, but that he, and his son after him, were entitled to receive goats in respect of it. He therefore admitted that the land was lawfully occupied by Kikuyu, but perhaps intended to intimate that the occupation could not be deemed complete until at least four generations of Kikuyu dead were

DK 423 775

underneath the soil. That was not in fact the explanation that he gave but there may have been at the back of his mind some feeling of the sort. For otherwise it is difficult to understand, on any principle of direct purchase, how he could reconcile the statements that the land was Kikuyu land and that his family was entitled to receive goats "to balance the profits." His previous statement that "in the old days there was no outright sale," though it confirms in some degree our contention that the Kikuyu brought their Metume customs with them, is no sufficient answer because all that could mean is that the land was still Dorobo land. There is, however, another possible explanation which will be noticed later.

However that may be, there was no doubt some consideration of the rights of disembodied early occupiers at the back of the reply an old Kikuyu gave me to the question as to why the Kikuyu immigrants did not drive the Dorobo out but "bought" them out instead. Like all the others questioned on the point he first of all replied that it would never have entered a Kikuyu head to do so dastardly a thing, but when invited to explain he said, "the earliest owners of the land were Gumba. They lived beneath the ground and when they disappeared they vanished into it. Our fathers, when they died, would go there too. And so they could not drive the Dorobo out by force." At first sight there is [p. 123] something of a non sequitur in this reply, but examination probably reveals the line of thought. The Dorobo who succeeded them in occupation of the land had presumably already made their peace with living Gumba or with the spirits of the Gumba dead. They were probably blood-brothers of the Gumba or the latter had expressed by ritual their acquiescence in the occupation following theirs. To drive that occupation out would rouse the Gumba in the spirit world and call forth spiritual opposition to the new invaders. In any case the Gumba were still there—beneath the ground—and any rapine of the land, still theirs within the spirit world in partnership perhaps with the Dorobo dead, would certainly offend them and be liable to undermine (the very word) Kikuyu operations in a stretch of land the like of which, for agriculture, they had rarely seen. Not only that, but what a reception would they get as guests when in their turn they ceased to live on top and joined the underworld!

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805 192 Today is called legîi or legîila, tomorrow lâpe or lâbe, yesterday aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mîlek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uêd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uêd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uêd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uêd sigima gemischin; for children, Uêd nge hawa; for wives, Uêd nge mai; for meat, Uêd nge aga; for honey, Uêd nge agung; for food, Uêd nge e haiug; for health if 775 [171] one is sick, Uêd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *kumdo* and *koresiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 648 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women:	5	Dorobo and Nandi men:	10
Dorobo and Keyo women:	1	Dorobo and Keyo men:	1
Dorobo and Terik women:	1		

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [224] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [716] [883] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called " porridge name " in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

412 And lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyeyuda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiset* tree (*Grewia* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iset*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *kumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *kerenundet* and *mamite* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kabot* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kereyet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from
[824] a plant called *taberwiet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *teperyuet* (*acmella Integrifolia*).
[268] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *orokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
482 earth, *eworiet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
1 carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

● 776 *Asista*, the sun, is recognised as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ipiyos ponyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Arawa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ereuwiki*, a word which
includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *mumumbwanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *lokowark* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

787 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
789 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
of the type called *sakeryuet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
759 called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
789 reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOI (KERIITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kerita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Lumbwa, is that classed as Kidoi in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Dorobik as Mawaisi (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling land bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the Nandi.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1907 when Tribal passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of silence and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkoimek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-ghatani*, derived from the Masai *ol-gatata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gotin*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

●716 A so-called supreme being called *Torosi*[4] is recognized, and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

969 Source: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

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[1] KLYI, p. 5.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 343.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 68.
[4] = Nandi *toror*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

that emotional disturbance is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their ethos in the following terms:—

Ko'nech kpâsh ol kwâsh che ndjwah ab che
We take counsel the-matters that we-may-go which-are good and which-are

nech, ol ko-kwa gâk tukul, Ingombe chûk'
bad that they-may-understand(-obey) the-people ab. If-he-refuses the-one

che tukul, ko-ura, ol kwa ceret che,
other say, we-expel(-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of one country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi. They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a sister Aruwa* (N.), the moon.† No offerings are made to either, but they are prayed to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* kpây'-nch cmâk,
God, fill-us-with the-food,

or,

Aruwa,* kpây'-nch cmâk,
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

They believe also in ghosts and spirits (ntindik, pl. ntik, N.) which are good and bad. Prayers are addressed to the good ntik (ntik che ndjwah) to obtain food and health, e.g.:—

Ntik, kpây'-nch cmâk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food,

Ntik, kpây'-nch ngwâk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

Libations of honey and water (kpomok)* and of honey-wine (kipkutuk, N.) are offered to the good ntik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (kumbi), and while they are poured out, the formula,

kpây'-nch cmâk ol kâpâye ngwâk,
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

* I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Nandi, The Ant, for the ideas of the Sun, Supreme, Turkana, etc.)

† The Nandi also wife.

3:Huntingford E-1 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Where a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silk (*silik che gook*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good *silindet* has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad *silik*.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *kwet ap nik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.[1]

Magic.

There are *magicians* (*pendindet*, pl. *pendik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also *diviners* (*arkoiget*, pl. *arkoik*, N.).[2] There is no equivalent of the modern Kenâ system of "arbitrament" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tilmet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kwenyet" (N.), and man's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "*ngoiyo*" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Kenâ children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the *kapyawet* tree (N. *kapsosiâ*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 9b). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimolongot*, or *kimoiin* (*kimoiin*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the *simotiet* tree,[3] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 10).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiâ*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*pariotik*, or *ngariotik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*tipsiâ*, N.) and women (*korosiek*, or *chepisiek*, N.). As circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the adjoining (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kenâ, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*, N. *murani*), whereas in Kenâ they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Kenâ, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kenâ; originally it seems to have meant simply "*mysterious man*" (*kwenik*, sp.*ngo*).

[2] *Kipkoiko arokindinoon.*

S:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognises a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

5. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of man, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both hordes and individual.

● 796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Aruus*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Aruus* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Aruus*, but pray to them for help:

Kipendi nemak ni kwakwa kilimoin Asista, Asista, tipiyor sendit, ngai Asis, tipiyor kamik, ngai Asis, tipiyor pamyak, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Aruus Aruus, tipiyor sendit*, etc.

Schottingford K-5 (1936-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo, *Ilat*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *emoimoiat*, is his arm, *ne nanye pith*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilat* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Timboret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilat* with a poisoned arrow, and as *Ilat* fell thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilat* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *kelee* bush*. In the night he struck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilat* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and then had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilat* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilat* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asiata* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *kelee* poison, like that man of old*.

Besides *Asiata*, *Aruwa*, and *Ilat*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *ememba**, and this term includes the beings called *nik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *mesumbwanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *mesumbwanik kipisie nik*, always *kobeg* follow *ememba*, "the *mesumbwanik* are not different from the *nik*, we call them both *ememba*", because though the *mesumbwanik* are always bad, the *nik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo drew a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *nik* (the good) and *mesumbwanik** (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *kwet ap ememba* which is under ground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepaaker, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Eli, Asaan, i ainabi*, "Go away, In-and-on, for

* *Acocanthera Schimperi*.

* It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by Hobley, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57, 1927, p. 444 and Hobley, Masai, p. 264 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

* The full form of this word is *ememba* (*ememba*), pl. *emembai* (*emembai*). It seems to be the same word as the *emoit* which Masters gives as the Kaya word for both good and evil spirits (*Old Dwellers of Kenya*, 1943).

* This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the tribes from the Basin Kavirondo *emoomboo*, "spirit".

5(3)huntingford E-5 (0938-1939) 1954 *FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ*

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ut si oyon tun ingori lakwat*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*wrut*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cemeliik, okkwe tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okkwe kwenik ni kitipiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokwenk*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cemeliei, epiiyat emdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
ni kitipiye aapat.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realises that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kweyon ni kotipe, kwo ne kwese chi ne mimi, ni kwaap*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realises that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timoyo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*ssaa* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then oil their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omanda anyun, otuiyo ok lakok*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (dracaena sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *oiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *musit ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense groupvalue, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuyuwet* against the evil eye, *revendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arasa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [18], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[18] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Nakwitt*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Otiose as he is, he can on occasion [782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Ngimaroni*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajolu* of Labwor, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longalesi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dodotho, the Jie, the Karamojong and the Turkana peoples, but not, however, by the Dodinga of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longalesi, who would sit quietly smoking, so it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would bestir himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalopeto, in a ravine that runs down into the Rift valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be ducked in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach could be extracted without destroying the receptacle, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat to the top of the fig-tree, while Longalesi called upon Nakwitt to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's beseechings, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longalesi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a king among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longalesi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[123] I secretly contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

D J 197 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. These seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Karamojong," the tongue which,

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [887]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

African, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

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Some Dorobo Buttons. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

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The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain offered threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

197

It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P. 177]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiiyech panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilök, okönech tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

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805 192 Today is called legîl or legîlla, tomorrow lâpe or lâbe, yesterday aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mîlek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uēd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uēd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uēd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uēd sigima gemischin; for children, Uēd nge hawa; for wives, Uēd nge mai; for meat, Uēd nge aga; for honey, Uēd nge agung; for food, Uēd nge e haiug; for health if 775 [171] one is sick, Uēd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

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843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, [301] too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. [171] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. 844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric [171] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words: "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (os sotua) is severed with a razor-knife (herera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded • [777] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower [856] ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family. 846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious 853 reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

845 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the 847 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me 163 /243/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 27 aged Asá women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were 165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths 591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes [825] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it [777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [778] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorde, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [225] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdg, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in [574] a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

Schoolmaster B-3 (1930-1931) 1934 FIA Dundee FIA

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dundee that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with these powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and ordinances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

(c) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status.

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboos on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that within the pastoral tribes, the Dundee do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. eyes, and fat, as well as 'butter' or wood ash (ought from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dundee, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

Schwerdtfeger B-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dembo FLA

[illegible] Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of the man who draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and drought rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 30 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of [illegible] crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tinderet forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relations in not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable paucity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent few talk about it; but it is clear that where the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural industries and knowledge, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Part :	—	Part : — Total :
[462] [594]	Family	Men :	Trapping game in the forest Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc. Some : working for wages		Cultivation of shambas
		Women :	Preparing the results of trapping Making baskets, skin clothes, etc. Housework and food collecting		Cultivation of shambas
[857]		Children :	Minding Hunting Housework		
[845]		Man living Alone :	Trapping Making clothes Preparing the results of trapping Cooking, housework		Cultivation of shambas

[856] Dundas like Cranham converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dundas (in 1939 at least) had a fundamental economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

5. Economic Activities

a) Beekeeping

462 Honey is to the Dundas what milk is to the Kamâ. It is much-sought
[594] food has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be
observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same
[291] day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating
[464] honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be
hidden in the undergrowth. Army Mbiti said, somewhat unsatisfactorily, that
the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to
your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be
[791] either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully
the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

succ cont'd

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the moiety of the Kikuyu and the moiety of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is *muomati*. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as *ruoi ej-tai* (the right hand) and *ruoi ej-kerop* (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to *Mwongi* is the former and *Mwiru* the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Each an elder is called *kiranguinde* (pl. *kirungit*). A *kiranguinde* has much the same function as a Kikuyu *muthamaki*. There is no *kiboro* but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the *kiboro* of the Masai.

They recognise one Supreme Being, called *Tororit* (compare the Suk *Tororut*). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tororit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the *mukoo*, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the *mutiligi* and the *mumetuiyo*.

79. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Development group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living at forest squatters in the

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

side, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to have the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 56). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living above the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-Dorobo.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which run across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(a) Forest type: the *kororgwet*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) New type: the *kotet* has a circular wall about 3 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kororgwet* huts, were situated to discharge just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the bows are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire anklets and bangles, necklaces, and assorted women's ear-rings (*kwik*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is burnt in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a leather cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo re-

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

623 [587] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms:—

Ke'rsoch lgalak ai kosich che mlysch ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] ysch, ai ko-kas piik tukul. Ingoosio chilt'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-con, ai kwa emet ake.
other say, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

771 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.

776 They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray

● [582] to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* ipiy'-ech emilit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiy'-ech emilit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[583] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiinde*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and

[582] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik ake ndyuek*) to obtain food and health, e.g.:—

Oiik, ipiy'-ech emilit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiy'-ech aapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[582] *Libations* of honey and water (*kapsuki*?) and of honey-wine (*kipchiuli*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*kondo*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiy'-ech emilit ai kipiiye aapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group: though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Sun, *The Sun*, for the ideas of the Sun, Enjemut, Turkana, etc.)

* The Nandi *other* oiik.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad oiik (*oiik che yach*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oiindet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad oiik.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oiik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pondindet*, pl. *ponik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*orkoiyot*, pl. *orkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "orkoinotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tiinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "opeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepuyuwet tree (N. *lapuonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakunyet*, or *koroiito* (*koroita*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the rĕrendet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*ñgetik*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*poiisiek*, or *apaiisiek*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*ilpik*, N.) and women (*korusiek*, or *chepiosôk*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the sigiroinet (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*mureriat*; N. *mureret*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kimiñiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *simbuisiek*) made of the skin of the tiniet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Cham-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tâkwenya*"; answer, "*Igô*."

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Cham-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kuiset ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemsisiriat*, is his arm, *ne naiyo pûk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotoh oiik, ahenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilot*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowillôk*). It seems to be the same word as the *esoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *musambwa*, "spirit".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[175] [782] [825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii laknet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name [553] of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day [782] unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear. [753]

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*urust*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

[204] [782] Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilōk, okónec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okónec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

[787] [755] When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korlpe, korn ne korne cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

776 Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

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a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the *performance of certain ritual actions which may involve* some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*unan* or *somís*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Money is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuyuwet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arana* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Nakwitt*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Otiose as he is, he can on occasion [782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Ngamarosi*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajobo* of Labwor, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longalesi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dodotho, the Jie, the Karamojong and the Turkana peoples, but not, however, by the Dodinga of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longalesi, who would sit quietly smoking, so it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would bestir himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalopeto, in a ravine that runs down into the Rift valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be ducked in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach could be extracted without destroying the receptacle, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat to the top of the fig-tree, while Longalesi called upon Nakwitt to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's beseechings, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longalesi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a king among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longalesi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[123] I secretly contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

D J 197 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. These seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Karamojong," the tongue which,

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

101

Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain oftened threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P.196, B]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have 224
been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons,
and while trapping is still carried on, I could see
no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the [124]
description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of
a government which forbids hunting, and has of [248]
late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effect-
ually sealed the lips of one or two who would
normally have spoken on the subject. My infor-
mants, however, did say that sexual intercourse
was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though [834]
not before or during the process of trapping. In
hunting there is an element of personal danger
and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to
give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck.
In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a
matter of technological skill, and with little danger
to the trapper, who is sure to catch something
sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Ásis* [776]
(god) and the chesumiik' (both the good ancestral [782]
and the bad elemental) can influence a man's
hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he
will say:

Ásis, ɓiiyech payyak,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesumiik, chhaach tiiny ne hiiyare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*hamiat*) is an important article of Do- 222
robo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: [262]
it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. [273]
It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but
requires a certain technique, and, above all, the
presence of bees in a suitable place. As, there-
fore, it has an actual social value, so it has
acquired a ritual value, and certain observances [988]
are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail.
First, you must have your bees, and a man who
has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to
ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by
calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice,
"Bees, bees, all you who are in this country,
come now and make honey here."

[illegible] [825]

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [177] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere.

[1182] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Ûât, nge gurguta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1]

765 [171]

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428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol dawidani leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[171]

768 [563]

1. [See Masai FL11, 18 Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called ígíti or ígítia, tomorrow íípe or ííbe, yesterday aremch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, míliek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 191 776 [821] The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai, except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uíd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God. Uíd kabtama; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabeka, the latter adja kaboma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uíd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way. If they are afflicted by trouble or illness in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs Uíd sigima gemiechin; for children, Uíd nge hawa; for wives, Uíd nge mai; for meat, Uíd nge ngai for honey, Uíd nge agulgi; for food, Uíd nge e haingi; for health if 795 [971] one is sick, Uíd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1. [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

18 Merker--643 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL13 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/230 cont./

• 782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for ilk. which they call kuroŋg or koroŋg. For a koroŋg a kave, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Ilk ngo kawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which cattle and honey beer are consumed. At a koroŋg e ngo they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing: Ilk ngai nagai (nagai = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Ilk ang kaiŋ ang which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Ilk ngai nagai. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroŋg e ngo they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to the ol ngoi ! ol gawuti. Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The Kalosi use only one, which they called tarara and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spoil the right

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Amal yet]

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[783 cont.]

783 them under his head or night; the next morning he throws the cowrie again, this time five times, whereupon he knows that the guilty one took this and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks of a dead elephant are stolen (the hunter does not recover them immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying of the gums), the one who killed the animal casts magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-swirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandobélbo, this magic is so effective that the thief must inevitably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

785 786 787 [Only in colonized areas are there legal proceedings, which also take place in the same manner as among the blacks. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The one seeking grace the one granting, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplicative prayers. Ubí ngo kawa, Ubí ngo wat, Ubí ngo' ngo' and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

788 A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the blacks. Besides the latter, the formula, Ubí kwiba = may God kill me, is also customary.

789 To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the blacks, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandobélbo call it ambogo ramg. In their court sessions the Ané are not acquainted with any ordeals (ramag) other than the ones discussed for the blacks. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gwi wambiá, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kambingo ungurú, and that of the mud cools of earth, which they designate the same as the blacks. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandobélbo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol ramag, as it is also called here, besides ramag, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is undoubtedly established in the minds of the people. For example,

[illegible] other occupants. Elsewhere, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make spillages. Spears have never been used. The Dorsden used to have hunting dogs, but in the Early Dorsden Period the local canines became shy and, through a mutation in 1967, they have now blunt of fang. (1) The gut bag, spears, hunting and fur trades, consisting of a gut 2.5 long, 1.5 wide, and 0.5 deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (2) The spillage of many animals, which contains, briefly, of a spillage with bird nest, with a knife attached to it, connected with a platform; the entanglement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its hind comes the snare, and the pressure on the platform releases the spillage stick, which flies up, tightening the snare, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. They work well, chiefly by catching hares, but leopards have been caught in them. (3) Bow trap with a drop-spear often used by the Kipkorosek Dorsden.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must avoid contact with certain menstruants. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, [illegible] of Arrowsmith, and in the district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey hives, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's hunting area, i.e., [illegible] except in order to shoot hunting without permission or the possible of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation to [illegible]. Theft of game from a trap is held worse in Dorsden Arrowsmith, and only because the thief might be killed, but because the lady would result in a great deal of trouble from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorsden what milk is to the Dorsden, i.e. "sweet," and he usually takes his pleasure by the afternoons of [illegible]. Fruit and bread meat are by taken on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten) when a meal is completed. A meal is carefully [illegible] to the ambrosiacs, and after eating honey a Dorsden shows his hands in water, and then the Dorsden by wiping them with herbs.

The Dorsden recognizes four varieties of bee: [illegible], the honey-producing bees; [illegible], which [illegible] live in trees; [illegible], which live in the ground; and [illegible], which live in [illegible] made of earth and particles of dung cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorsden divide the honey bee, [illegible], into three kinds: the queen, [illegible] of [illegible]. The workers of the bee, the workers, called simply [illegible], cooperate in the swarm, which under honey by using the "[illegible]" [illegible] of flowers and then regurgitating it into the empty honey cells; and the drones, [illegible], considered by the [illegible] Dorsden [illegible] the [illegible] cells.

Hives or honey-bowls (Dorsden) are made either of [illegible] of wood and together, with circular wooden end-pieces, or of the two halves of a piece of log split lengthwise and then together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up the owner calls the town, or a neighborhood feast, to come and occupy it. [illegible] feast, from all the country, come into town, and prior to having [illegible] to honey. Bees are said to recognize their owners by their daily work, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorsden owner. Theft of honey from a hive is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for [illegible].

Honey is an important article in Dorsden economy. It is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purifications, and is known as [illegible] of consuming

4:Huntingford H-5 (1938-1939) 091 PLA Dorobo PLA

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she cuts in, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaibenyoni*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaaree aawo waanit kamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he cannot steal) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *cwenpuut*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *nomoi cake*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kenkeni* (Nandi, *kotmoot*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

the relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-debited spirits as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Dumb to exchange for hers, which meant, of course, that the unlucky would be either more or more and still wrong, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and dependants to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balances among them, and often involved to a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the account had been agreed upon for both clan and kind accounts, the murderer was liable for misery of himself to be killed by his victim's relatives, as he had to be too till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to ensure the same as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brothers, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1936 I could hear of no Dumbs who were reputed to be witches (*pwoli*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been eventual on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a division to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*pwapwa*).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dumbs and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dumbs. The Dumbs have an sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy were the law makes the killer morally unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is then brought into the same category as homicide of a Dumbs, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The law of a man who has killed an enemy is *pwapwa* (human killed) with stripes of white earth painted on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it fades off, and the man does not have to stay in the hut, but goes about as usual, though if he had killed a Dumb he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Dumb were seldom killed, but one who acquired this the forest might get shot by accident. His body would be taken to a lonely place for the lyaweng to eat, and at any sign of Dumb activity the Dumbs would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Dumb would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

Theft. Stealing honey is the most kind of theft, and is almost unknown with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Dumb. A man who steals honey from someone else's hornets is considered very low indeed, and if found

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a clear, windless day. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Ewondo professed complete ignorance of it. A Fang who had lived there before the Great War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest. "So we used to hear them whistling in each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Rubrics and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and duties, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the lineage in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the lineage also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (nvus) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and soot over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Ewondo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (mam or evem) and a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must often involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The goat or fat must be from a domestic animal. If the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Ewondo usually means that he has to steal it, and then risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when rites are over, and in cases of incest only, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

S.Shuttleghood R-1 (1934-1935) 1934 FLA Dembo FLA

or goat where the Dembo are concerned); *mwadi ufi tangitwa*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nsadi diviner of the kind called *ushipuwi*. Diviners used to charge the Dembo a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwaka pwi*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nsadi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and sit by-and-by that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mwadi ufi tangitwa*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kwat*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dembo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dembo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dembo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nsadi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dembo go to the Nsadi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nsadi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dembo, and the witch is then dealt with according to Nsadi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dembo against the Nsadi in 1930 was that they did not want Dembo to live in the Nsadi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nsadi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dembo go to a Nsadi diviner (*ushipuwi*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *ushipuwi* are not, like the Nsadi *ushipuwi*, diviners, but simply people who have how to cure illness with *kwisuk ufi kalik*, medicines from trees and plants, forbidden where the Nsadi would not differ-with. These *ushipuwi* (*sing. ushipuwi*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kpwanat* seeds (called *kpwanat* in Nsadi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mwadat* tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

1:Huntingford B-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take children to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man where he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which makes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and he sees him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: Ii, ai, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

Where a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives harvest on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then rub their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: Omondo anyom, ekinye ak kokak, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukogoi* (*Brucea* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, as closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, men can control

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipténdi* and *kipénakee* or *kipénakee* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 F16 Dorobo F16

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent few talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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have lived in the country of the Kittŏ Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mdoiyo*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mdoiyo* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, so the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balakpa* and no *Kisyalakpai* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balakpa* or *Kisya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Masai*, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*sirjat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *sirjat* over her face, breasts, and body. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*saare or sonik*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *sirjat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *sirjat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

/340 cont./

583 are bought from th Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female lion of game approximately the size of a zebra. The
mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bride-
groom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law
in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[40] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the
bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-gesed,
bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers
of the bride ba-soba, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties a higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is pid, but only after the birth of the first child and
after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband
the price received or her before her first marriage. For a widow
who gave birth to gis only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the
bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons
dissolve the betrothl, the portion of the bride price already paid
is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the
full price serves th father-in-law for a few months as hunter for
the remainder ewes.

584 If the father othe girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship,
he is finally forcede consent by means of a divine judgment.
The lover stealthil creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[584] rope of grass arou the wooden honey pot. The father is said /341/
[584] to give his consentegularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[584] of God would kill im. In place of this custom, it also happens
[571] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among
the Masai -- flees him without her parents' knowledge.

[584] With exchangeovers, but legal marriage does not arise from
it. The woman do not remain with the other man for longer than
a half to a whole ye. If she feels pregnant before this time, she
returns to her husband.

584 Among the Ardhe same marriage obstacles hold as among the
[571] Masai, but the gre distances between the individual tiny camps

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Über Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Gadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

276 324 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the Wakuafi of Aruscha (whilst east of Meyerberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (mafi) or in a leather bag /bat/ (ngoko), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

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and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, kongoito, which the Dorobo make themselves from the hard bow (Dorobo ap.) (c. 5 ft. about) (c. long, and the hunting, rest, is made from part of the plant (sp.) Dorobo. Arrow-shafts are made from the hard-wooded and smooth trees, or from bamboo, sometimes arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi pattern, arrows are rubbed in various kinds of fats. Arrow poison is made from the Lobel bush (pronunciation doubtful).

Pottery

Making pottery, kongoi, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from four of the following ordinary pots, moist, and even with hard seeds from a plant called ngaroriet. The technique is a spiral foundation with a fast then gradually ascending coil, of the straight even-work type and two-step variety, the sides being smoothed out and not rubbed together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant ndongoret (senelio kongoitoki). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the west of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, usually in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1938, gave them (c. c long. Red earth, ormoret, is mixed with fat or ngaiton oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, ormoret, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called kibukiet is used; it is made of a piece of cord about 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of bone stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handcuffs across wrists. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Ajiken, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people. Ask, ngiyan paiyoit, "Ask, fill us with rain," is a common prayer. Some say that Ajiken is the sister, others that she is the mother. Besides Ajiken, it is believed that there is a being called Ilat, the Creator, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called oiwandet, a word which includes the evil (ormoret ngishte) and ancestrepath (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of blackbirds (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called oiberyet, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called orkoyot (pl. orkoik) among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length, wearing their clothes, and your after an old man's death his children place a bowerik of undergrowth (Ehrenbergia sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

[illegible] 754

Witchcraft

Witches, dorobi (defined as among the Nandi, p. 89), may be of either sex; females are said to be more commonly thought to [illegible] 754 witches or all to the three districts of England, Ergenzeim, and Sweden, and certainly no cases of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, witchpoet, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to sit the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a sheep-goat. If the witchpoet, she was said to a [illegible] by a Dorobo tightly round her forehead and fingers till she agreed. [illegible]

Affinity with Wild Animals

Presuming a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is quite that of the African to whom hunting is an event of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild [illegible] and themselves. The conversations of Dorobo going through the forest were quickly to the wild life there, for they knew what they and the forest and contain, " affinity with the beasts of the forest. This was described to a text, to which a Dorobo said: " The Dorobo know the speech of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The bodily power of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we are some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They [illegible] 53 used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the [illegible] forest.

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) [illegible] name, (3) nickname, (4) praise-name, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, [illegible] with, may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child answers, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family. These spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

Father's father:	Kipsa	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimnyo	Kipsa
His son:	Chesgei	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet [illegible] born	Kimnyo
		Chesgei

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method [illegible] described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed [illegible] the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given [illegible] when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (boiled and ground). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her [illegible] and says, *Kiberis Kimnu*, "we call you back and such a name", [illegible] a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the case of Say above if not born, or some recent action of the father's, or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when [illegible] are not found on the ancestor genealogical system.

(3) Nicknames. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived [illegible] some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkorum, "left-handed", Kimnyolion, "he eats", Parkitiyan, "hunter".

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: (1) *si ayan kon ingoti labunet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*arnet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just came up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cowa-ilili, chilosi kony ne kiptet,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill,
chilosi kwanik si kiptirjo.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kiswani*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowa-ilili, apiijo emiik,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiptijo sajet.
That we-may-be-filled-with hunts.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness. *Kimyon si kuriju, koro ne koros ole ne ariani, si dongi*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people whom they envy and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a long-drawn tight noose across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timaya, with

or goat where the Dambo are concerned), wood ash (maphiri, Sh. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk), honey-wine, and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nyadi diviner of the kind called sakuyani. Diviners want to charge the Dambo a fee of £[illegible] if the cause was witchcraft, and £[illegible] if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, hereto fee, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nyadi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and lift he-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with wood ash (maphiri). If the witch refused, the position was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the kraal.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dambo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dambo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dambo are entirely free from the evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nyadi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dambo go to the Nyadi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nyadi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dambo, and the witch is then dealt with according to Nyadi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dambo against the Nyadi in 1939 was that they did not want Dambo to live in the Nyadi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nyadi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dambo go to a Nyadi diviner (sakuyani) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as sakuli are not, like the Nyadi sakuli, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with herbal up lotch, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nyadi would call sipherezwak. These sakuli (pleg. sakuyani), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of sphyrenet seeds (called lubwenti in Nyadi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the versatile tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

the bones of sailors, a belief which, if not overcome, does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an hopelessly confused world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough satisfactory result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Trobriand men (omitted) this is one of the things we have been told about. Because owing to ancestral prowess the Trobriand have had to give up coral fishing and now confine themselves to shipping. It was therefore impossible to get both of anything more than a few allusions to the fishing magic of the old days. On the one hand, few of the gossipmongers had undoubtedly sailed the lips of many of the other islands, for fishing is very forbidden, and they were afraid, quite rightly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still fishing; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never fished in the real sense of the word. But there was fishing magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of fishing activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people went to hunt for shell with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps down in holes. Even from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that counts badly, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In snapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait - sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the snapper. So often a man was going out with bow and arrow to hunt in shallow water around lagoonward immediately before setting out on his expedition, but he will should put into take mystical charges. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a new further confidence. But often getting bigger fish shallowness is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of protection when sailing people, for instance, are magical as well as religious; so is the charming of waters after childbirth, and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man goes [illegible] into [illegible] his wife will to the bush to cook it, the wife is an much a magical ceremony as a mere institution to cook the food.

(Some include the following:)

If the body called Kipatili and Kipitoulou or Kipitoulou (both spoke of counterparts) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a good will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

A consent is a sign of existing fashion, and exactly for the purpose who were to, nor for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general mood of knowledge of the Dandas that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after childbirth and after the loss of status is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (cases 2 & 3 harmonize to that of the investiture by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood); illness and other disharmonies and misfortunes are all magic, and are there because people believe that by doing these they will be enabled to go on existing.

(c) Analysis of Beliefs

(1) Good Fortune. Things which have ritual value fall into three main groups: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status.

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk in the Punjab, and in addition to the value as eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last entries means that within the pastoral milieu, the Dandas do not have grass cure honey.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

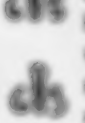
(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i.e. milk and fat, as well as barley or wheat as staple food. (4) Many cures from sickness which formerly were hardly practised at all by most Dandas, and even to-day only as a small scale. Happy wives to want a good look, as well as white teeth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumstances, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to trade is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i.e. just before he starts on, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) involving a simple means deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) means suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, in a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

(Def. cont.)
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ami is killed by a blacksmith, the blacksmith immediately place themselves on the side of the man injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wanindiku, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the blacksmith do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the ol bosom.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of bushkiwe. For the destruction of a finger one bushkiwe is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wanindiku who live in close contact with the Ami the assessment for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far-called many. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, or does unknown unmish. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion are to occur. Kidnapping and rape are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a bushkiwe hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a bushkiwe pays five bushkiwe. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his countrymen.



Unknown are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, mutilations, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one runs -- [illegible] as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called at general among the Wanindiku. Instead of the manipulations with the [illegible] he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him: eight times, then picks them up and puts

[1] [illegible] is a Bunsi word also meaning [illegible]

/303 cont./

787 them under his head at night: the next morning he throws the medicine again, this time five times, whereupon he knows that the guilty one lives thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks 789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them 685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying 754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal raises magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must involuntarily die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take [171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The case arriving goes to the one [782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplicative prayers. Ulé ngo kowa. Ulé ngo nai. Ulé ngai ngai and closes it at the end of the deliberations in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Ulé kiwita - may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it sodoga ranga. In their court sessions the Aak are not acquainted with any ordeals (moroga) other than the ones discussed by the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bee, kaa gori waakaa, the ordeal of the dry wood, kaa kaakinga ongoroi, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol moroi, as it is also called here, besides moroga, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next

[illegible] ascribed to the minds of the people. One murder

[illegible]

[illegible] long alone on the forest. The only company is the two [illegible] called the Ulfhednaghund from the forest they dwelled in. [illegible] and the remaining half is made from part of the great [illegible] coats-of-arms worn by the Ulfhednaghund and adopted since. [illegible] coat-of-arms [illegible] on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Schoettingford B-S (1936-1937) 1954 FLA Dresden FLA

a clear, windless day. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was evidently no human or machine-made noise, and the Dandu professed complete ignorance of it. A Dandu who had lived there before the Dandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling in such other like that in the forest where I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connection which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Rites and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the lands in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the lands also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (cud) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and cud over her face, breasts, and body. (3) A man who has killed a Dandu must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (pawo or awo) and in a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must often involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The cud or fat must be from a domestic animal. If the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dandu usually means that he has to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a [illegible] but that will involve [illegible]

[illegible] the substitution of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, namely: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when taboo are lifted, and is made of cud, viz. the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant by doing

or goat where the Dundee are concerned); sweet oil; tongue, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Yuudi diviner of the kind called *sakpanel*. Diviners used to charge the Dubulu a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lowery country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *bwisia jan*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Yuudi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and eat human flesh for many seasons". The sick person must then be rubbed on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with sweet oil (*sogbwa*). If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the town.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dundee for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dundee was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dundee are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Yuudi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dundee go to the Yuudi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Yuudi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dundee, and the witch is then dealt with according to Yuudi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dundee against the Yuudi in 1938 was that they did not want Dundee to live in the Yuudi Local Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Yuudi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dundee go to a Yuudi diviner (*sakpanel*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *sakpanli* are not, like the Yuudi *sakpanli*, diviners, but simply people who have learnt to cure illness with herbal *sog* (*sogbwa*), medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Yuudi would call *kpiberyuudi*. These *sakpanli* (*sing. sakpanel*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of [illegible] which are believed by Yuudi to protect them against the evil eye, and all men wear small pieces of the wooden tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

Schlesinger B-3 (1936-1939) 1954 JFLA Dorobo JFLA

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are supernatural beings and take shadows to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which makes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and he sees him, the head of his family, his father, father's brother or other old man, must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: Ee, ai, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to be undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are undone for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carcass, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then all dip their hands with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: Omondo anyore, ekinye ak tabuk, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 4 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children place a branch of euphorbial (*Euphorbia* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the living-living if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not disinherited, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and thereby [illegible] goes to ground, whether it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, as clearly indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, men can control

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough consistency to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dundee was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to constant pressure the Dundee have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dundee, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite unnecessarily, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for whild with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait - sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, but the act should not take him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But often setting traps did abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the shooting of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a sore heavy-haired into a tree and calls out to the bear to come it, the call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter the bear).

Omens include the following:

If the birds called Kaskiki and Kiskiskee (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful. But if they are on the left,

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance. "For it also is travelling".

A vessel is a sign of cooking function, and exactly for the person who uses it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general mood of knowledge of the Dworkin that the important parts of their life are helped and completed by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with these powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (once it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and ordinances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

9. Analysis of Taboo

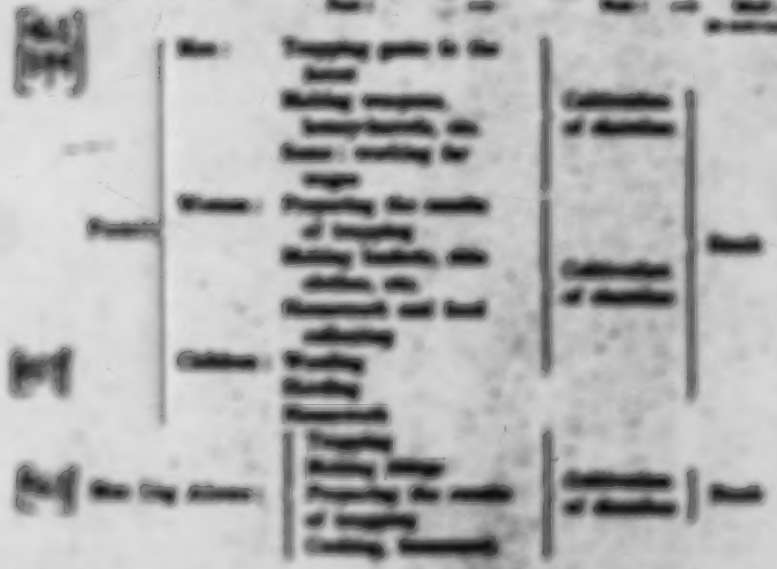
Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three main groups: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status.

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk in the Dweeb, and in addition to the rules as eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the production of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is harvest. The last section explains how within the preserved tribes, the Dweeb do not have grass over honey.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that they are a channel to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include grain and honey, and extracts of their products, i.e. mead and fat, as well as 'tastes' or sweet up magics from trees. (4) Many trees from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dweeb, and even to-day only as a small scale. Honey-wine is such a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each person at birth has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumstances, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults in normal social contexts conforms: (1) a man acting sex to bed is not in the same ritual state as when he is acting calmly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time; (2) just before he starts on, should he have an opportunity, while away; (3) [illegible] (4) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (5) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (6) sickness affects deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and also, in a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.



through the glass of words. After writing honey a Dandes wipes his hands in the earth to show them; whereas a Dandi uses honey.

One of the accusations often made against the Dandes by lower dwellers is that by burning grass and living trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dandes do not have trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dandes who said, with reference to some people in the settlement,

Right behind [illegible] they have the children of Kolobe family the grass of forest are. We do not like [illegible] for they do not have the Dandes the honey which is common the things which we use, right on will [illegible] where Dandes the honey-hunter of the bees, also it is because the flowers which they are the bees.

(The children of the Kolobe family are in the habit of burning the grass inside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dandes do not have the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-bees; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dandes do not love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. For did the forest itself refuse to exist or to yield more again of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dandes.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dandes do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-bundle.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Udwandi, useful bee, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bee which live in hollow trees and honey-bundle.

Ewandi, solitary bee, Vespa, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kwandi, earth bee, Halictus, slightly larger bee which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kijakwandi, weaver bee, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, stones grains, and their own saliva. There are very small bee, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in huts below the escarpment.

The Dandi word *kakwandiandi* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dandes, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bee that provide the Dandes with their honey are the *udwandi*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, known as *udwandi* or "the mother of the bees", is

[illegible] stands of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 2.5 m in the finished article. Those specially favoured for making heavy barrels are the wood and ironwood, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the walnut, alligator apple, hickory, and mesquite. The entire work of shaping and working is done with the axe. The log is then split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the two are sewn until the crown can be found to take heavy. Four holes are found in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, thong is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The skin barrel, not an unknown on the Rag and because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or skins of strong hide, the wood and wooden cross being themselves for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of [illegible] which have to be cut laboriously from a log and then sewed to shape. The hide skins are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with thong, a wide piece of cloth, or sometimes [illegible] hide, is then put round the barrel to [illegible] the whole [illegible] and to give the barrel more shape in the middle. The whole is also sometimes given more shape by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. 1. Plan of a Yoruba dwelling at Ilaiye Ibadan. Yoruba Province.

[illegible]

[P. 192, 4]

UA Microfilm—916 G-6 (1895-ca.1918) 1701 FLIS Wood
Dorsey FLS
Ans

[illegible]

An overnight rest on "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

Around ten o'clock at the latest the conference reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

The statement of the Wandorobbo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: ina or ga.
My wife: ami tatuni.
My brother: biring ami.
My sister: baiyo ami.
Half brother: ngiki baba.
Half sister: ngiki baba.
Brother of the father: biring a baba.
Sister of the father: baiyo baba.
Brother of the mother: biring ga.
Sister of the mother: baiyo ga.
Son of the father's brother: ngiki biring baba.
Son of the father's sister: ngiki baiyo baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: ngiki biring baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: ngiki baiyo baba.
Son of the mother's brother: ngiki ngiyaweb.
Son of the mother's sister: ngiki baiyo ga.

(330 cont.)

782 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
796 life, which they call kowong or kowong. For a kowong a boon, a
842 feast to ask God for children, the married women dance themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles them power with honey beer, they sing: Ilkî ngo kowo! After the two have gone on for a quarter of an hour, they want to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a kowong o ngo they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing: Ilkî ngoni magat (magat = gravel). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Ilkî nyog keiyog ee, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olbi tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Ilkî ngoni magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a kowong o ngo they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobbo do not have a term corresponding to the ol ngor l ol gwesti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The native saw only one, which they called ruruo and which consisted of a small piece of meat. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] outside the camp to the steppe, or even have a dead piece of game [illegible] outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a hunting horn of the [illegible] bull. They assert that if one has been this, no predatory animal can approach. On the two and twist diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a watch key, which, in the belief of the people, God himself sought down long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

The nature of the secrecy through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Ideas: first, supernatural spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled—they are called [illegible]; to which one recognizes the blood work of [illegible] Persons with the evil eye, who are called [illegible], are likewise feared and expelled. If one knows an unholy vows for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of those sorcerers.

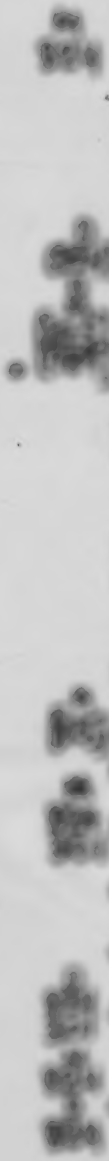
[illegible]

[illegible] law, — General morality, — Property, — Sharing the hunting booty, — Things found, — Burns, — Debts, — Liability, — Gift, — Blood Brotherly, — Murder and manslaughter, — Negligent homicide, — Bodily injury, — Innocent offenses, — Theft, — Enmity about an unknown culprit, — Legal procedure, — Swearing, — Torture, — Ordeals, — Star sex, — Women before justice, — Generally Gl.

The legal views and legal practices of the Inū in general resemble those of the Ideas; we find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

There is nothing more to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Inuitschen among themselves, but handed over to the Ideas of the nearest Good for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal ways is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Ideas, see Fuld Ideas, 10 Abschnitt, Kategorie 110, pp. 2[illegible]—Ideas [illegible]]



[illegible]

An Ghaeilge (Gaeilge) Scoile (Irish) at Kings Colony [1]

Where a room is 8 and less, it is said that half-silk (siolk de gnáth, ½) have talked late; if for instance, a good scholar has several late. An advantage are words in the half-silk.

There is also a region called 'a Lorcan Ós. A man's spirit is said to go on death to the lower ag-ash (ifrinn) in front of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a hell place.

Kings.

There are magistrate (prudhoite, gl. gnáth, ½) who are hell, and who promote people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also 40 kings (ardrighe, gl. ardrí, ½).[2] There is an application of the western Gaelic system of [illegible] water [illegible] or milk by a meditative man.

Brothers and Sisters.

(1) Brothers.—The male folks, the gods of the Gaels now is used, around only the father of a species of boy, called "brothers" (ffrá), and man's life. This was common to children as the different gods, and a birth to their names. One neighs a place called "spirits" (a dromán). Also is used for all these neighbours.

(2) Sisters.—Children were a shame to count off the will are spoke. (½) where a mother to their own by Gaelic children. A number of a condition of words of the opponent was (ff. Agreed) among as a word, the words being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Fig. 4a, 4b). We see how a shame is hung away. Sometimes (Headings) or bands (bonnes, ½), a a mark of the small pieces of the opposite sex[3] (men) a long child are tied to the left (Fig. 4b).

5.—Home Government.

Home Discipline.

The male sex is divided into boys (ógedh, ½) members (mnaoidh, ½) and old men (gerrock or agerrock, ½). An female sex into girls (ógedh, ½) and women (bonnedh or dugnedh, ½). An intermediate is boy becomes a member and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people obey separately. Married people and small children may obey to the same rule, while unmarried men obey themselves, often to the agreement (½) or "common law" where they inhabit with the unmarried girls. Though law has a proprietor, it is not applied to such an extent as among the Gaels, and although girls obey with members, they like to preserve their regularity and consistency. Persons frequently obeys their environments (meanings). A woman, obeying a Gaelic law, usually ignore reasons like.

The position of women in the sexes is [illegible] to the Gaels, that is, they are on the same, as all the several sexes, and are their husband's property.

[1] The word is not pure with the sole sense in Gaelic, originally it means a love-sweet thing, "sentiment-day" (Gaelic signals).

[2] Illegible substitutions.

[illegible] The Dumbo drinks the year into two parts, Shantoondi, the dry season, when they need to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow, and Kale, the wet season, when they are inside. Each season arrives roughly half the year, the wet beginning to set off in September and growing late until the 21 January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May. In this Shantoondi comprises the months of October to March, and Kale, April to September. The Dumbo have twelve months, all but one having the same names as the Kaalti months, but they do not synchronize:[1]

Kaalti names	Dumbo names	
Kʼajkoray	Kʼajkoodhi	October
Kʼajkoodhi	Kʼajkoodhi utoo	November
Kʼajkoodhi ala	Kʼalfaa	December
Kʼalfaa	Kʼgaroon[1]	January
Kʼgaroon[1]	Kʼajkoora	February
Kʼajkoora	Kʼaak faa	March
Kʼaak faa	Kʼfaka	April
Kʼfaka	Kʼgaa[1]	May
Kʼkaara	Kʼay aa	June
Kʼay aa	Kʼkaa	July
Kʼkaa	Kʼgaa	August
Kʼgaa	Kʼalfaa utoo	September

Shantoondi

Kale

[illegible] The average rainfall at Kʼgaroon, Kʼkaa, where this series begins, for [illegible] for the years 1948 to 1957 was 61.01 inches, the maximum being 91.17, the minimum 38.04. Details are given in the Appendix to the book itself. I think this season is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps corresponding to another 5/7 ths, to the nearest 1/2 inch, of an average year.

[illegible] The Dumbo seem to have a better memory even than the Kaalti, and I found that they were generally consistent when working a fortnight afterwards the Kaalti can usually bring about that by a reversal by months. This months' work is perhaps one of the reasons for their superiority among other tribes as [illegible]. On these Dumbo and with me this time I had no interpreter, but it seems that as many observers of astounding [illegible] are any that I have met. They [illegible] conditioning as well, [illegible] that is a learning economy corresponding to one's ancestry.

[illegible] The environment of the Dumbo provides them with food, drink, [illegible] and other [illegible] necessities. One has but one, and they will have to [illegible] of [illegible]. Though they are not [illegible]. Their activities comprise hunting, trapping, [illegible], [illegible], the production of honey, and the [illegible] of objects of [illegible], and [illegible] as much [illegible] as [illegible]. Objects of [illegible] they have got to go to Kaalti or they are [illegible] from the Kaalti by exchange for such things as they are [illegible] of [illegible].

[illegible] [1] Accordingly the years I have written the [illegible] is [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

to that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The Kirore women follow the external custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men age the Masai in wearing capes and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Kirore* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as lands for native Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the Kirore speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. So Masai that I have met can speak the Kirore tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the Kirore to-day shows regularly consistent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and Kirore tongues.

The language of the Kirore is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many Kirore to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, any information pertaining that to have no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the Kirore tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the Kirore is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Negroid. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had certain instruments out training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many Kirore have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and generously on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in no wise nasty or unclean.

[illegible] 497

[illegible] languages to be observed in [illegible] certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Shans. There are certain other words which the Shans say the Annamese have taken from them. The Annamese say the numeral is the one. The Lolotsees, on the contrary, say the numeral is [illegible]. The Shans call it [illegible].

Numbers of words in the Annamese language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, in the view of a very distinguished continental philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the Shans. The most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded h—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the Annamese numerals differ from the Shans up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my Annamese informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the numerals were borrowed from the Shans. This does not altogether satisfy me.

Investigation of the Chambas living adjacent to the Lolos, Yaohs and Chinese-Shans would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are Annamese, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As to the case of the [illegible], some Annamese are stated to have been adopted, as their fathers' sons, into various Shans above Hokow.

The Shans entitle [illegible] a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Shans. However, it was eventually agreed to be a backward Shan, and the Annamese were never asserted to be anything but Shans. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Chambas we have seen so far.

[illegible]

It is unfortunate that I was able to say little or nothing about these people. Whether they are two distinct types of Chambas

[illegible] the Annamese. The Shans, it may. I could discover no connection between the Lolos and the Annamese was obtained, at least mostly the years ago was probably more.

[illegible] Shans from the [illegible] family of the [illegible] (Annam).

[illegible] The name has given no probability and the true name of these Chambas

S.Mogotsre G-5 [ca. 1934] 1937-38
F'LA Sherdre F'LA

very open but short sound. In the case of *shitsbal*, the *a* is as open or almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*.

Assume that the vowel towards it has a short, clipped sound. In all, the *i* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

Towards a letter means that it has a shorted sound. *p, b, g* and *q* in the Mossi and *Mitsire* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of consonants given, the similarity between the Dumb, Sak and *Mitsire* words (up to *g*) will be apparent at once. The *Arawanik* one and two are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kwaki* can be said to resemble *shdigo* at one.

The Dumb, Mossi, Lorroko and the two Dyendo words for six are all alike, but the *Mitsire* word for seven and the *Arawanik* ten (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several vocals. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Dumb seven.

Turning to the list of nouns: only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mitsire* and *Arawanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in three tongues (except *wife* and *girl*) or in Mossi. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mitsire* and the Dumb list will not fail to be noticed at once.

The names of the game animals, in the *Mitsire* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Mossi in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mitsire* and *Arawanik* in the word for *kettleboil*, and the word for *wildbeast* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mitsire* and Dumb will have to be noted again.

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Mossi and Dumb have been taken and the *Mitsire* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to collect examples of the *Arawanik* verbal forms. They are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining.

It may be as well to mention that the *Mitsire* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional proof (if any be needed) that the *Mwiini* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mwiini* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mwiini* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mwiini*, though undoubtedly at one time pure Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mwiini* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the different intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the *Mwiini* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that "ye want" and "they want" are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and unscientific paper of this nature.

No.								
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2								
3								
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6								
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8								
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10								

The Nandi, Lumbwa and Turkana numbers given above have been taken from Mr. Charles Hobley's publication on the Kavirondo and Nandi languages and Kavirondo dialects. The Nandi and Suk numbers have been taken from Hollis's and Beech's respectively. The Kavirondo numbers are those of the Nyanza Government Interpreters' Examination, 1926. The Turkana and Kamasia numbers have been taken from the Kenya Government Interpreters' Examination, 1926, and Hobley's publication referred to above. The Kamasia numbers are those of a Kamasia interpreter.

1 The Nandi *g* is an Arabic *ghain*. I have rendered it *ch* throughout.
2 The *r* sound, slightly rolled, is that of the Italian *r*, and is pronounced by the Turkana and Masai.
3 This is also used by the Nandi, but there is an accentuation on the *a* which I am unable to describe.
4 The Nandi also uses *kobor* for this.

3:Hunting/and E-5 (921-/918)/919 FILE Duration FILE

802 *Numerals.*—These are the same as in Hindi :—

Akango or akango	..	..	1	Tamam	..	..	10
Okoly	..	..	2	Tamam ak akango	..	..	11
Kamak	..	..	3	Tipkam	..	..	20
Algowak	..	..	4	Tamam	..	..	30
Bilo	..	..	5	Antam	..	..	40
Lo	..	..	6	Kamam	..	..	50
Tamp	..	..	7	Pokol	..	..	60
Okoli	..	..	8	Pokol enoky 100 (anything over 60)			
Nokol	..	..	9				

193 *Verbs.*—The conjugation of verbs is very similar to that in Hindi. The present has a suffix -o or -i; and a-stems change to o- in the present tense. The negative prefix is ma, ma, ma. When the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. and pl. are used as the object, direct or indirect, they are suffixed to the verb :—

a-mark-in, *I must die.*
i-mark-a, *thou mustst me.*
a-mark-ok, *you must us.*
a-mark-ok, *I must you.*

When the verb-stem begins with i, the i is omitted under the same conditions as in Hindi.

Conjugation.

Active Voice.

—— Intransitive—*hang, (to) follow.*

Present.

Affirmative.		Negative.		Affirmative.		Negative.	
S. 1. a'lang-i		ma-a'lang-i		*P.* 1. bi-lang-i		ma-bi-lang-i	
2. i-lang-i		ma-i-lang-i		2. a'lang-i		ma-a'lang-i	
3. lang-i		ma'lang-i		3. i-lang-i		ma'lang-i	

Past.

S. 1. ba-a'lang	ma-a'lang	*P.* 1. ba-bi-lang	ma-ba-lang
2. ba-i-lang	ma-i-lang	ba-ba'lang	ma-ba'lang
3. ba-ba'lang	ma-ba'lang	2. ba-a'lang	ma-a'lang
		3. ba-ba'lang	ma-ba'lang

Subjunctive.

Affirmative.		Affirmative.		Imperative.	
				Affirmative.	Negative.
S. 1. a'lang	*P.* 1. bi-lang	*P.* 1. bi-lang		lang, *follow*	ma'lang, *follow not*
2. lang	2. a'lang	2. a'lang		a'lang, *follow ye*	ma-a'lang, *follow ye not*
3. ba'lang	3. ba'lang	3. ba'lang			

/15/

the El mōlō also have their own ideas, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Wakwafi and Wakwafi, whereas the Aja and El mōlō have their own calculation only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious views, and the manner of circumcision ceremony among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tsonga, closely related to the Wakwafi people. In birth and death, too, all these have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only commercial differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the close branches' belonging together, however, lies in their dances.

The people of a whole are divided into three large tribes, the El ōlam, the El ovakōlyan, and the El ovalyanga, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Aak, as well as every Ol kaafi and Ol ovamaa, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Wakwafi in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakwafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the meaning of individual differences that have developed among the Wandonga in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The El gōlak lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feasts. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kōnōlo lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (ol gōlakuny) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol golata, ol golo). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol golata lōkō)

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[redacted]

[illegible]

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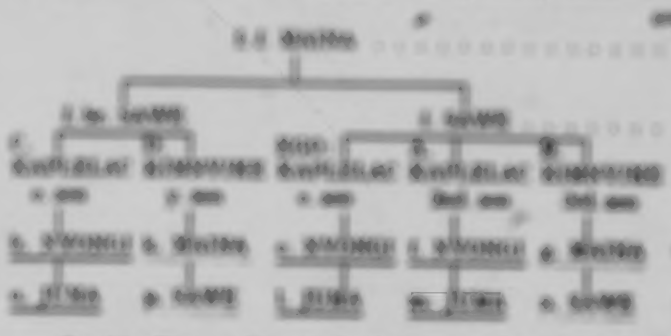

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5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

(c) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *siyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *mosit ap tongina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

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Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Iist* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 26 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

825 different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

231 183 182 Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

824 182 183 Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

776 182 [801] Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilat* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilat* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfils the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom Sir Claud Hollis saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilat* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909, 101.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize *:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriwo	*Kipsondet*	October	Muainonik
Kipsongot	*Kipsondet siew*	November	
Kipsondet ake	*Mulkui*	December	
Mulkui	*Ngetiotet* *	January	
Ngetiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwot kut*	March	
Iwot kut	*Wakut*	April	Iwot
Wakut	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Puroto	*Epeso*	August	
Yeporut	*Mulkui siew*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 69.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wool, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

* Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign ŋ, representing the "long-tailed n". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

126 **Some Dorobo Beliefs.** *By A. C. Hollis.* 101

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

[827] [821] [287] [411] 289 [411] [196]

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain often threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

197 It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P 177]

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called lgtñ or lgtüla, tomorrow lñpe or lñbe, yesterday aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, millek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 776 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uēd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uēd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uēd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uēd sigima gemischin; for children, Uēd nge hawa; for wives, Uēd nge mai; for meat, Uēd nge aga; for honey, Uēd nge agung; for food, Uēd nge e haiug; for health if 775 [171] one is sick, Uēd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*liitto*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *kôrot*, pl. *kovorusk* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmellio-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parîngetuny[3] arap Ngamîngam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindat* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ngelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

14:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6
[P 197, A]

come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead

[P 197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyapda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuviot* tree (*Ionidea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inat*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *maseita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesouiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

271 221

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwes*, is also known to the Kitôto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserimbwes*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[824]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Kizigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaŋga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaŋga* and *Kinyalaŋgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porówet* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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Some *Mósiro* Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epilis dimda kitó*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mósiro* Dorobo whom I railed on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutan* [2] tree, fibre for plating into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mósiro* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I incommoded by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *En-dim*, bush.

[2] *Albizzia anthelmintica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kitóto localities.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Obiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfils the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitatik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momowyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *nawoiet*, Musa eusete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, girardinia condemnata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiwet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of *the tepengwet* bush (*canella integrifolia*), *or* of the *nevegwet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little cheap beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkutiesik or kosuik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *ratiwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kiwam ratik, kipsis mat si kokwer;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft;
kiwar ilosto si kipsis takad ee somiet ko
they are washed in the river that they may be lost the things which are dirty off
kipsonkosit. Kiwa si keyonio. Kilosto kwet
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ole mil kumiet pus, si kowonyit, kilosto ongwet
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the water

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumoren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepauko, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepauko himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkoreun, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 3 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and timber.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, cords, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kwiat (*tarkea* sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Mesasis: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwomondet: arrow-shafts.
Sosuiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Kotuyuwet: traps.
Kimudwet (*vangueria edulis*): traps.
Keliot (*acocanthera Schimperi*): arrow-poison.
Lepekwet (*dracaena* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kiperpwet (*tilia* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Mororis: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sayaviet (wild banana, *musa ensete*): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tweetwet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Pwwet (lianas): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

Rereshit (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
Mwat : honey-barrels.
Olkwenyit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Eayanick : fire-wood.
Cayuat (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Tost (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

(B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

Sosiat (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
† *Teperwiat* : fibre for baskets.
Sosiat (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiiwat* : medicine.
† *Opoito* : medicine.
Rereshit : medicine.
Lepayuwat : medicine.
Sokotwat : medicine.
Sokotet : medicine.
C'owat (urtica sp.) : medicine.
Teperopwat (urtica integrifolia) : salt.
Serengwat : salt.
Rutiwat or *Rutiet* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

(C) Skins and animal products. These include :

† Monkey : food ; clothing.
† Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kewpet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *Aiwpei kewpenik Nandi*, "we make baskets for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiat* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *teperwiat* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiat* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[i.e. see cafeguide 116 & 697 - Analyst.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

that made of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 3 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosot* and *revendet*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *kwatuet*, *silipet*, *kipakuet*, *kiparpuet*, and *maroeto*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is first split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, liana is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The slat barrel, not so common as the dug-out because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosot* and *revendet* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the endpieces and bound together with liana, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realise; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A hand-hole is made in the under side, as in the dug-out type (Fig. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Dug-out Honey-barrel.

When a man puts up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it [16]. The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather unnatural, high-pitched tone:

Sekem, asken, er mii ra rendimeera tukul, ra ɓani [17] *anyun, arakiton,*
Bees, bees, who are in countries-there all, come here now, pour in-(honey),
arakiton [18].
pour-in-(honey).

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain if they are caught in a storm while getting honey. They have also a number

[16] New swarms take off from a bee colony when it becomes congested. Young queens are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[17] This obscure expression is said to be equivalent to *Ongyon yo*, "come here".

[18] The Nandi have borrowed this formula, and adapted it to *Ogoa arakiton nwaraet lot ne laiboi*, "come ye, pour wax into the warm hut".

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *sinin* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo[28]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Kolist* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*mokte*, pl. *mokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kolpsi-Kipkoreon area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo[29] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkoreek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *ngwet*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipsaiyinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *parsat*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood-lions, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *pangs* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkoreon by Coimin arap Kotzin on 9 July 1939. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[28] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[29] Cf. Capt. G. Dellenbach in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 114.

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ranguis Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Ogglek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

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[34]

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirigé, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [283] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. [824] Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ [322] do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved [171] from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, [439] of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from [439] sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait [285] shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so 829 popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the 171 words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes 517 over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/245 cont./

422 districts. Besides such marks one also finds /246/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, 411 not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throw- 278 ing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant [824] poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adug, i.e., poison (1).

000

1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 180°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30} H_{48} O_{13}$; it is precipitated by means of tannin; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments/." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 • 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [439] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 562 834 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within [784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/259 cont./

782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for Uɛ̄d, which they call korodjeg or koroseg. For a koroseg a hawa, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Uɛ̄d nge hawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. [504] [273] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a koroseg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station themselves around the fire and sing: Uɛ̄d ngeri' magat (magat = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uɛ̄d urag haiug ara, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand [824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the oñti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uɛ̄d ngeri' magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroseg e aga they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to 789 the ol ogor 1 ol geretti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut [796] a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along [782] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw only one, which they called tuturo and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

M 824 /356 cont./

60. em bere eń gob (Adiantus hispidulum Sw.).

61. el beres (Panicum horizontale Meg.). Good fodder grass.

62. ol beres 1 ol obe kidoñoi. Good fodder grass.

63. em beresi (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Good fodder grass.

64. ol beresi (Chloris virgata Vw.). Good fodder grass.

65. em beresi 1 em bugúl (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

66. ol beresi 1 en diamutu (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Good fodder grass.

67. ol beresi 1 eń gare (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

68. ol beresi 1 e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder grass.

69. ol beresi ol obe kidonoi (Sprorbolus indicus [L] R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

70. ol beresi 'njugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). A very good fodder grass, which is valued so highly that the people often actually regard it as a preventive against sicknesses of livestock.

71. ol beresi was (Chloris myriostachya Hochst.). Good fodder grass.

72. ol bibiai. Reed mace.

D [824] 73. ol bibiai ado (Leonotis mollissima Gürke). Honey plant valued by the El dorobo.

74. ol bibiai kete (Leucas Neuflizeana Courbon.). (1).

1. Also called en dialoño.

Likewise.

75. ol bibiai 1 ol muáte (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Likewise.

76. ol bili (Commiphora spec.). The honey pots (ol ulul) are made from the wood of this tree.

77. ol boboñi. Candelabrum euphorbia.

78. ol bolboli is the designation for Oncoba spinosa Forsk. and Cucumis methuliferus E. Meg.

79. ol bolboli kitok (Sphaerosicyos sphaericus Cogn.). The plant commonly grows in abandoned kraals.

M 824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol dĕbĕlĕgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debĕsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M [301]

97. ol degŏm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoñ.

99. en dĕlĕmĕt (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dĕmĕlĭă (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

101. en dĕmĕschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en dĕmŭmŭă. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol dĕrĕgĕll (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D [824] [231]

105. en dĕrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en dĕrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en dĕrĕwĕnj on gĕg.

/363 cont./

M 824 200. eṅ gelĕn gĕ̆ĕ (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol gĕtălăsŭ (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D [752] [824] 202. eṅ gĕrĭgŭs (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol gĕrĭ l ol tibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gĕwăgĕt (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gijăbŏrĭ (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ gilŏgĭrgĭr (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M [751] 210. eṅ gilolĭŏ (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol gilŏrĭtĭ (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gĭnĕ (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol gĭnjĕ (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ gĭnjŏṅjŏrĕt. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

M 824 /366 cont./

strigosis; floribus argenteis in apice caulis in capitulas parvas sphaericas densiusculas dispositis; inflorescentiis partialibus 3-floris, floribus partim hermaphroditis, partim masculis, partim sterilibus; tepalis 5 lanceolatis, rigidis; staminibus 5 semper cum pseudostaminodiis 5 ovato-triangularibus teneris alternantibus; ovario ovato, stylo longissimo.

Plant 20-25 cm. tall. Leaves 1.5 cm. long, 8-10 cm. wide. Leaf stalk 3 mm. long. Capitulum approximately 1 cm. in diameter. Perianth leaves 7-8 mm. long, 2-3 mm. wide.

A secret medicine of the ol oiboni and ol goiatiki. A root decoction is taken as a diaphoretic agent for fever.

253. ol gŭlăngŭĭ (Caesalpinia Bonducello Roxb.). From the powdered leaves the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever. The hard, ball-shaped fruits are used as stones in the board game (en dodoi).

254. en gŭlélŏ (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). A small piece of bark is cooked with beef broth as spice for it.

255. en gŭlŏílŏ. Fodder for small livestock.

256. ol gŭm. Edible fruits. A leaf extract is used to wash out inflamed eyes.

257. ol gŭmi (Vangueria edulis Vahl.).

258. ol gurmajek (Barleria spec.). Fodder for small livestock. D [824] The twigs are popularly used as bed padding in the hut. The El dorobo value it as a good honey plant.

259. ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). Small-livestock fodder. Numerous punctures with the very sharp thorns of the plant are made around a snake bite, in order to facilitate pressing out an abundant quantity of infected blood. A decoction of stalks and roots is used as an emetic.

D
/370 cont./
• 824 825 789 334. e' mundẽja (Phyllanthus spec.). The ol dorobo places a twig of it close beside the slain game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mundẽja (Veronica cinerascens). This plant serves the el dorobo as protective magic against lions.

M 824 336. ol murgẽa (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. e' murua. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol ŋanboli (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhea.

339. ol ŋẽãndus (Euphorbia spec.). Goats are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol ŋeriandus l en doje (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol ŋeriandus l on jahuri (Thumbergia alata Boj.). The sword scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ŋjaligwa.

343. ol ŋonomi (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The onionlike roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol ŋonomi l el sirgon (Kyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/371/ 345. ol ŋonomi l os sobugo = en ɣoilin.

346. ol obe kidoŋoi (Sporobolus indicus R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol ɣbereti = ol ebereti (Phyllanthus).

348. ol obereti kete.

349. ol obereti kitok.

350. ol ɣbito (1)

1. The Masai also called Stephania abyssinica A. Rich. ol obito.

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/373 cont./

M 824

394. ol oja basɛ̀j = ol oija basɛ̀j.

395. ol ojeŋgalàni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okitèni. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824]

397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789]

398. ol ɔ̀mɔ̀. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oñorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oñoroñ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ɔ̀ñɔ̀ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oñuñoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ɔ̀rɔ̀k olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825]

404. ol ɔ̀rɔ̀ndɔ́ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301

405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301

408. ol orowil l el dorɔ̀bo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eŋg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824

410. eŋg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngurot*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosot*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees": the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *ponik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 30), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *saheyuot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to oil the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a " hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the African to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *comiet*, " affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: " The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endules* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sayo*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chepkecha*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okesendi* (Masai).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mésiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mésiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mésiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mésiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mésiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mésiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

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224 835 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Móiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Móiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Móiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilization, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Móiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Móiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Móiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kichwembwe*, is also known to the Kitóy Masai and is called by them *O-kiombekwe*. This is a corruption of the *Móiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[124]

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Some *Mŏiŏni* Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epito ilondo kitŏ*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mŏiŏni* Dorobo whom I rallied on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mahuiŏ* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mŏiŏni* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I inconvenienced by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *Ee-dim*, bush.

[2] *Albizzia anthelmintica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kiteto locations.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-Hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. *Cf. The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. N. P. Barbellion), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to micturate on the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aroma, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] *Cf. Knap*: Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 256-258.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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have lived in the country of the Kittito Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balaága* and no *Kinyalaágat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balaága* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Masai*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

The thunder, *Ilat*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *comsisiriet*, is his arm, *no neiyo pôk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilat* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilat* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilat* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilat* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilat* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilat* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilat* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arawa*, and *Ilat*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anam, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acokanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by Hollis, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and Hollis, Masai, p. 346 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilot*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilôk*). It seems to be the same word as the *asuloi* which Maasam gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *mwazambwa*, "spirit".

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[775] [782] [825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii lakuet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name [553] of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day [782] unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in [753] the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*uruet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

[204] [782] Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilōk, ohōnec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
ohōnec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

[787] [755] When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korlpe, korn ne korne cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

776 Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

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789 the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

224 178 The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear [648] of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted 224 in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for 789 example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

783 We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of 789 purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy 231 of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out 789 to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

787 If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphunkun* or *kiphonkon* (both species ● 825 of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out [224] to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1939 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *comiet*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue keliek cepo tukul. Come Okiek si kosuwen tiouik. Ma yaacen tiouik, amu kimenye tukul kuahenge samakta.
They-know the-feet which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomnot ap tiouik ma uu nepo pic, ako ma loo, amu women ok icek tiouik. Kerke tukul tiond ap samak. Kiome alak, makiome alak; ako kicome tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(-are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

825 different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

231 183 182 Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

824 182 183 Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

614 [186] 182 183 The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense groupvalue, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

776 182 [801] **Personification and well-being.** Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (acmilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *moloket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (*e. g.* blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] [283] [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lahok ap Kaplolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Makicome
They-burn the-children of Kololac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mepelo Okiek timdo ne tinye tukuk ee kiome,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngut ne mii pasanet ap sehemik:ngut kololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sehemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sehemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sehemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sehemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

described as *cemnennenswet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniet*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kotil kätit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uarwet*).
Ololoiyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wanasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiririitiet = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

9:Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. 163 165 [132] [133]

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood. 128 [231]

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest: At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game. 224 [262] [411] [231]

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. [515] [825]

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau. 372 [824]

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals. 197 199

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "ei," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. [193] [182]

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kairau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipïïyech panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilōk, okónech tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it. 000 262

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead. 789 825 [682] [848] [754] 789 [726] [823]

[P.197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

/231 cont./

621 [192] [171] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en 412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg), 413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing 177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereré). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat

[251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

• 825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogeach.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Aá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman
• [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Aá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [302] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl,
[858] [825] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is
843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/311 cont./

284 They particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
282 fallen or sick lion animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As bushbabies, i.e., love
[123] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

284 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol oriogi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Amplerus melanocrix is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

[65] [271]

56 284 171 [78] Like the warriors of the Masai, the elders of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for consuming the ox daily, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The many spices and stimulants that we become acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called a oreg, in which one recognizes the pronominal word ore with. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e dinet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a fleeing and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

[264] [274] [263] [274] 56 284

[374]

/??? cont./

334. ɔ̀ mwɔ́ndʒà (Phyllanthus spec.). The ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ places a twig of it close beside the skin game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mwɔ́ndʒà (Vernonia cinerascens). This plant serves the ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ as protective magic against lions.

336. ol mwɔ́ŋgà (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. ɔ̀ ndʒíkà. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhoea.

339. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Euphorbia spec.). Cows are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ndʒɔ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ndʒɔ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Thunbergia alata Bojer). The sweet scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

343. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The calcicolic roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ | ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Hyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/???/ 345. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ = ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

346. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Spermacoce radicata R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ = ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Phyllanthus).

348. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ kere.

349. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

350. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (1)

1. The blood also called Hephasia chymicira
A. Kich. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja bark - ol oja bark.

395. ol ojedgallai (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okirikai. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omoj. Masai sometimes. El dorobo often. stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M • [825] [789] 398. ol tarik. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oborua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oborok. The berries are edible.

401. ol tiki (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. To please the cows is

402. ol olukai - ol giroule (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol keke oiele (Justicia matammensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol lelluok (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the finest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kate (Justicia calcarata Harbet.). Fragrant neckbands are twined out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindau.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l ol olick (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l ol dorobo (Newtoniantha masaii Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. olig oaida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 D 824 410. olig oaida gutuk (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

1h Meijer--514 C-S (1886-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Masai FLIS
Dorobo FL6

Appendix II.

Names of the principal animal-species.

DMD 128

In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorobo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Jaks. Dwrg.

DMD 825

Grey carrion-vulture (Neophron percnopterus (L.)):
El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' ɛlɔɔ or for short ol ɛlɔɔ = the grey one.
ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' = the large predatory bird.
elmolelwa 'ɔlɔrɔkɔɔlɔ.
El dorobo ɔɔ ɛlɔɔlɔ.

El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' kɔtɔ,
ol ɛlɔŋɔkɔ ɔɔlɔlɔ.
elmolelwa ɔɔ ɛlɔŋ'ɔ',
ol ɔɔlɔ' ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ' = black body.
ol ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ'.
El dorobo ɔɔ ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ'.

Monkeys: see long-tailed monkey, right monkey /ɛsɔɔsɛ/, baboon, colobus.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (stock of the Wasukuma):
El oiwanit ɔɔ ɛl-ɛŋɔŋ'.
elmolelwa ɔ' ɛlɔl,
ɔ ɔɔlɔ'.
El dorobo 'ɔ ɛlɛŋ'ɛŋ'ɛlɔl.

The large black ant:
El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɔl.

Further see Termite.

M /978/
825 Antelopes: see Eland, Hartebeest /not listed below/, Kudu, Black-heeled antelope /impala: not listed below/, Oryx, Waterbuck /not listed below/.

Zoril (Zetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla):
El masai: ol bŏlŏ ge.

Bee: the common wild honeybee
El masai: ol odendi.
obscurer: ol gairoi.

A stingless bee:
El masai: ol salibei (pl. es salibo).
obscurer: ol gĭdĭai (pl. el gĭdĭi).

Buffalo (Bufelus caffer (Sparrm.)):
El masai: ol dŏlgwŏn.
obscurer: ol ĝuk.
• [D29] El dorobo: 'l aŋi.

Badger: see Honey badger.

Squirrel-like animals:
[illegible] the udders of the goats.
obscurer: gĭ-ŏlŏbŏi.

Lizards: small:
El masai: ol oirir.
obscurer: ol gŏlŏlŏ (pl. el gŏlŏlŏi).

Medium-sized:
El masai: ol ŋgolosen.
obscurer: 'l ŏlŏbŏi (pl. 'l ŏlŏi).

Larger:
El masai: ol mŏŋĝi.
obscurer: ol mŏlŏi.

Elephant (Elephas africanus Blum.):
El masai: ol gĭlĭlĭ ŏlŏŋ (ol gĭlĭlĭ probably originally meant the animal; ŏlŏŋ = fat).
ol ŏlŏmŏi.
ol lŏlŏsi.
ol ŋgoroi (ol goiye = the hand: the elephant uses its trunk like a hand, therefore ol ŋgoroi means, say, the "Handerich" /handy one/ in German).
D [825] obscurer: ol ŋgĭrĭlĭ.

DM
/378 cont./
• 825 El dorobo: djăñjk (1).

1. Abyss. nage*.

Eland (Oreas oreas [Pall.]):
/379/
El masai: os ărŭ̆,
ol dŏbčălt = the bluish gray one,
El dorobo: ol gitĕrĕr.

M
825 Aardvark (Orycteropus):
El masai: en aischĭr băr,
obsolete: năgĕtĕ.

Donkey: cf. also the names given in the 2nd Part, Ch. XVIII:
El masai: ol bĕlĕndŏg, which word is said to mean "the carrier,"
ol ăndĭjă,
obsolete: ol ăndol,

Owl: general:
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj on gĭă = the ear bird of prey. This designation has been transferred from the great horned owl to all owls.
obsolete: gĭrtlingĭach.

Partridge (Pternistes and Francolinus):
El masai: eñ gĭrĭ̆ or el gĭrĭ̆ (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. Koreh.

Flea: general, without distinction as to species
El masai: es ălngĭrĭ.

Bee: general, without distinction as to species
El masai: en ĭgĭtgĭo,
obsolete: ĭbĭ(j)ŏ.

Fly: common fly and carrion fly:
El masai: 'l ĭdjŭăñi (pl. 'l ĭdjĭŭĭ).

Horsefly:
El masai: ol ĭlmbĭ̆ or ol gĭmbĭ̆,
further: see Tsetse.

DM /379 cont./

• 825 Flea (Pulex):
El masai: ol oisúsŭ,
obsolete: ol bĕdĕlal (pl. el bĕdĕlă),
El dorobo: ol jaňit l ol diain = the animal of the dogs.

M Frog:
825 El masai: en dŭă,
obsolete: eň ňăschăr.

Gazelle: Gazella Granti:
El masai: en dllŏ.
Gazella Thomsoni:
El masai: 'n ănănjăt.

Indian leopard /cheetah/ (Cynaelurus guttatus):
/380/
El masai: eň gĕrăsĭ = the one who tears,
ol genja l ascho = the calf-eater,
obsolete: ol mŭndălĭŏl.

Genet (Genetta pardina):
El masai: ol dŏlŭgŏ.

Giraffe (Camelopardis giraffa L.):
El masai: ol maiit = the spotted one.
ol ĭdo gĕrăgătă = the one long in lying,
obsolete: o' rŏbŭt.

DM Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. and C. albojubatus Thos.):
825 El masai: eň gŭt,
obsolete: ol bărăńgăt,
schăbălĭlĭĕ,
ol lĭĕ,
El dorobo: o' rimbol (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. re' ĕm and Assyr. rîmu = wild ox.

Hare (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
El masai: eň gitodjo,
El dorobo: ol ĭdo gĭa = long ear.

Grasshopper (migratory locust) (Schistocerca):
El masai: ol măti,
obsolete: ol mŭnjălŏlŏ,
M El dorobo: ol mŭnjălŏlŏ.
825 Honey badger (Mellivora ratel):
El masai: ol bĕlĕă.

D
M
/380 cont./
• 825 Dog (house dog) (Canis):
El masai: ol dĭă,
obsolete: 'lĕbă (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. keleb and Assyr. kal-bu = dog.

El dorobo: os sĭrătăn.
Centipede:
El masai: eń gŏlŏră os sĭrgŏn.
Hyena, spotted (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
El masai: ol nŏdjĭnĕ,
ol ĕlĕmbĕsch,
obsolete: ol gŏnŏl,
sĕrnăńgŭsch,
El dorobo: en jălŏs.
M
825 Striped (Hyaena striata and H. Schillingsi):
El masai: en gŭńgărŭ ĕmĭlĭń,
obsolete: rŭmŭrŭm.
/381/
Hyena dog (Lycaon pictus Temm.):
El masai: ol oibor gidoño = white tail,
os sĭjăn.
Hedgehog (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn.):
El masai: en jŏlĭs,
obsolete: băńgĕbăń.
Polecat: see Zoril.
Camel:
El masai: en dŏmĕs,
en dămĕs.
Crocodile (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv.):
El masai: ol ginjań,
obsolete: ol ŏgŏlŏrĭŏń.
Louse (Pediculus capitis de Geer):
El masai: 'l ăhĕ,
obsolete: ńgŏmĕă.

M 825 /382 cont./

Night monkey, long-eared maki (Galago):
El masai: ol gĭnjăñ ngĭrĭ = the meat eater, because it likes to go to the hung meat,
e 'bŭrĭschŏ ol bul = the ol bul thief, because it likes to steal some of the pieces of meat at the ol bul.

Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros bicornis L.):
El masai: e 'mŭnj,
e 'rĕr,
eñ gŏmbĭlŏ,
ol jăñĭtŏ ñĭro,
obsolete: es sĕrŭñŭă,
gŏmbĭrĕ,
D [825] El dorobo: es sĭgĭndĭrĕ.

Rhinoceros beetle:
El masai: ol ĕmŭnjŭ.

Hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius L.):
El masai: ol mĭkăŭ (1),

1. Cf. Assyr. ma-ak-ka-nu-ú, literally, animal of southern Egypt.

bărkĭlĕmbĕ,
obsolete: dĭrgĭlĕmbĕ.

Baboon (Papio Cercopithecus):
El masai: ol dŏĭĭl,
obsolete: ol gŏwăsĭŏ,
D [825] El dorobo: 'l ŏtĭm.

Pelican (Pelecanus rufescens Gm.):
El masai: en dĕăñĭ.

Guinea hen (Numida):
El masai: ol gĭlĕsŭrĕ,
ol gĕrĕsŭrĕ.

M
825 /382 cont./
Horse (Equus):
El masai: em bártă or em pártă (2),

2. Cf. the ancient Semitic root par = to run.*

obsolete: ol gijábĭ (el gíjab).
D
• [825] Raven (Corvus scapulatus Daud. and Corvultur albicollis Lath.):
El masai: ol górŭk (3),

3. Cf. Arabic górab, Hebr. ʿoreb.

obsolete: o 'rógĕlă,
/383/
El dorobo: ol oibórŭŏ.
Jackal (Canis variegatus Cretchm.):
D
[825] El masai: en dérasch,
en ditésĭlă,
obsolete: em bárĭĕ,
ol gúsch 'ă,
El dorobo: em bárĭĕ.
Turtle (Testudo):
El masai: ol oigúmă,
obsolete: ol jánĭtŏ dórŏb.
Snake (1):

1. A legendary serpent in the myths is called klĭĕngol.

in general, without differentiation of species:
El masai: ol ásŭrai,
eŋ gĕn' eŋ gob (eŋ gĕne = leather strap),
ol jánĭtŏ l oŋ gódjit = the animal in the grass,
obsolete: ol árasŭmĕ.

D M 825

/383 cont./

Hyrax (Dendrohyrax and Procavia):
El masai: eń gíně os soito = the cliff goat,
eń gĭnjŭnjur,
El dorobo: nĕmăsĭ.

M 825

Kudu (Strepsiceros):
El masai: ol mĭlŏ (2),

2. In Darfur: bāl.

obsolete: ol dăngĕgĭ.
Scaly anteater (Manis temmincki Smuts):
El masai: en dĭbŏĭ.
Swallow (Hirundo):
El masai: os sĕrămbălăńĭ,
obsolete: sĕrŏljă.
Colobus, white-tailed (Colobus caudatus):
El masai: ol gŏrŏĭ.
Serval (Felis serval):
El masai: es sĭmăńgŏr.
Scorpion:
El masai: eń gŏlŏwă,
obsolete: en dĕhgĕl,
D [825] El dorobo: en jŏńgŏrŏrŏ.
Oryx (Oryx callotis Thos.):
El masai: ol gĕmăsŏrŏk (ol gema = fire, orok = black),
obsolete: sărlă.
/384/
Spider: general:
El masai: es sŭrŭsŭrĭ,
obsolete: es sĭrlăndĕt.
Porcupine (Hystrix africae-australis):
El masai: os sŭsă,
oiaiai.

D
M
• 825

/384 cont./

Ostrich (Struthio molybdophanes):
El masai: es sidái,
en jíit,
El dorobo: ol janíto l obír.

M
825

Dove (Columba):
El masai: en dúrgúlú (1),

1. Cf. Hebr. tôr and Somali: gúlé.

en dárágwai, named after the en dárágwá tree, whose fruits it likes to eat.

Termite:
El masai: ol airogai,
obsolete: 'l ēródjá.

Tsetse (Glossina morsitans):
El masai: *en dórobó (2).*

2. Cf. Hebr. 'arob, which, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 8, 16 ff., Jahve sends into Egypt as the fourth plague. "With the land of Gosen /Goshen/, however, in which my people dwell, I shall make an exception, so that no 'arob shall appear there, etc." Thus, the land of Gosen was free of the tsetse, which is why the livestock-raising Hebrews chose it as their residence. This must certainly be the oldest report of the tsetse fly still today generally feared in Africa for cattle and solipeds.

A species of weaver bird (Anaplectes melanotis):
El masai: ol dílŏ,
ol dáridígí.

Wild pig (Potamochoerus africanus Schreb.):
El masai: ol bítír,
eń gómbál,
eń gúnjaí.

M
D
• 825

/384 cont./

obsolete: e 'rŏgŏbĕ́,
o 'rĭngălĕ́,
El dorobo: o 'rĭngălĕ́.

Mole (Georhynchus Schillingsi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol gĭrŭmŭ́,
obsolete: ol gĕrŏdjūk.

Zebra (Equus Böhmi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol ŏltĭgŏ́.

/385/

obsolete: 'l ŏăĭmắn,
ol ŏi-sĕ́rĕ = the striped one,
El dorobo: ol ăĭmắnă.

M
825 Zebra mongoose (Crossarchus fasciatus):
El masai: ol gĭschŏrĕ́n.

Tick: of dogs:
El masai: ol dĭắnă l ol diain.

-- Of goats (reddish brown):
El masai: ol mắhĕ́rĭ nădắ.

— Of cattle (spotted yellow or striped yellow on the legs):
El masai: ol mắhĕ́rĭ bŏs.

-- Of human beings:
El masai: en dĭnŭ́rĭ jămŏ́n.

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandoróbo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments
that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
164 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma =
192 sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ahotu;
chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema =
sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuńgurgue;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu
or ajŏg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damŏg; lues, en ebitiro.
Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever,
kaĕsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibĕg; ascarids,
752 menána. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandoróbo, the midwife gascha-
hatta-hawa-kerint.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

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126

Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

[827] [821] [287] [411]

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain oftened threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

289 [4] [176]

197

It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P 177]

[P. 192, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

/235 cont./

411 322 283 237 with fat several times. It is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the new finished bowstring with some fat.

237 324 412 The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirib, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twisting motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

411 237 136 283 824

325 322 171 439 The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 285 The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 822 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old

273 535 533 people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

Ib Merker--$50 G-5 (1905-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12
Dercho PL6
Asa

/256 cont./

XII.

Character of the Aná, compared with that of the Masai.

In character the Aná in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the ol ngáá, whom they call mundo. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Aná living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobbo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobbo as in that of the Masai. The ol lenguai is also completely without rights before the ol donyoni. The Wandorobbo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and missionary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their militancy against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobbo use the usual words and formulas of the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs oijo nanisia. The answer to it, ai, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Aná replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the uncircumcised"--Arnoldpet.]

[illegible] 000 0-5 (1900-ca.1950) 1551 FLIS Somali
Derebo FLS
Ass

[illegible]

III.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Somali. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

Cloth materials, such as are the trades of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Ass. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Somali, [illegible] they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Somali buy [illegible] with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

One therefore sees the Ass almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, [illegible], which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Somali, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and many capes, called [illegible] and [illegible] by the Somali, which the Wandorobbo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the [illegible] is too inconvenient because of its length. The [illegible] otherwise do not generally wear the [illegible], rather many often an [illegible] made of calf hides, which they buy from the Somali; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-backed antelope. The caracara of the women is here called [illegible] (pl. [illegible]), as is the upper part of it (at [illegible] of the Somali) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Somali designation of [illegible] (pl. [illegible]). The [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] is here called [illegible] and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the [illegible]. Sandals ([illegible]) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment the poverty of the Ass is shown particularly among the [illegible], though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/252 cont./

301 that which fills the ol mórua. Whereas the latter vie with one another
[56] for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely
• [332] have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation,
however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in
[171] hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as
among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol
gimoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a
smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo
women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite
on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one fewer finds among
the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter;
rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment.
Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds
of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with
the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the five designations
301 then is to be seen, according to Section II, what is concerned) ol
192 ongwil, here ilíimit ol elmotua, here called the names ol gimoia,
here likewise o rab, here olgumu ol kíbala, here likewise ol ilíi,
here called the name: ol kenik, here likewise olalei, here ol kuiñi;
further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (orwiji),
here tamachiñi, tamañi, and the large ornament of iron wire ol
ngeláni o murt, here ol ngeláni enáng to imoi ol ngeláni ol
barabarch. /252/ here ol ngeláni to inkoyi ol ngeláni ol tiapik,
here ol ngeláni to a daping, and the ol ngeláni ol ewetan, here
ol ngeláni to ol.

301 Finger rings (here ol gimoi lo ndigeneki) are worn only by women,
and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand.
Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches
on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let
the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One
seldom meets a dobonyo with the head entirely shorn.

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same
A 1. [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai
FLII2, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

other messages. Elsewhere, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make spillages. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the Kenya Dorobo Forest the local natives to have died out, through a disease in 1932. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, against, normally used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 6 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The spillage of many pronged, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform. The arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps are to be made in less than ten minutes. The type is used chiefly to catch colobus, but leopards have been caught in them. Other traps with a drop-spear were also used by the Kikuyu and Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, forest of Aremenik, and in the district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the provision of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his body would mark to a great one and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Masai; it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be taken on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten), when a man is engaged, a man be carefully careful to the undergrowth, and after eating honey a Dorobo shows his hands in such, and (like the Masai) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *ol-kondi*, the honey-producing bush, *ol-kondi*, ordinary bees which live in trees; *kimondi*, earth bees, which live in the ground and *ol-kondi*, stones bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *ol-kondi*, into three kinds: the queen, *kokwet ol-kondi*, "[illegible] of the bees"; the workers, called simply *ol-kondi*, considered to be males; and the male honey-bee *ol-kondi*, "male" (*pl.*) *ol-kondi* and they consider it unlucky to kill the queen honey-bee, *kokwet ol-kondi*, considered to be the female, which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*kimondi*) are made either of bark of wood and together, with circular wooden end-pieces, or of the two halves of a piece of log split lengthwise and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and give to honey, give to honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a hive is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy. It is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purifications, and it forms an article of commerce.

Silkestingsford K-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

that one thing be used for both the female and homicide, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Kamâ

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Kamâ or members of the Kamâ group:

Dorobo and Kamâ women: 8	Dorobo and Kamâ men: 7
Dorobo and Kipsi women: 1	Dorobo and Kipsi men: 2
Dorobo and Pokot women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Kamâ, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere meanly. The wife is attended by a midwife, sometimes, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must provide somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (chief from the stomach on her face, breasts, and body. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's chief performance caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

Children receive their first names, the ajith-name, from other family, as among the Kamâ, the name is not used, but links the child with a preceding spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Kamâ custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *dorgh*, see ch. above were taking their

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kirwpakai, kimerenciakai, kilieciakai, 'Kumio kon, ogut kom komut', anee ki lakak.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *mamber*, *mama*, and *kwanda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *mamber*, his *mama*, and his *kwanda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To these children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *mamber*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kwanda*; and a man's own children are *ajaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *mamber* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *mamber* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ha*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaacen amu uuanit hamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *ramparwet*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *ndi cako*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the roots of a bush called *koshoit* (Nandi, *kotowet*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

51Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *siyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *wusit ap tawpisa* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipūyech pauyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilōk, ohdnech tiony ne hipave.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments/." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 [439] Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 562 834 [784] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

278 562 834 [888]

/247 cont./

arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asa nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [237] [281]

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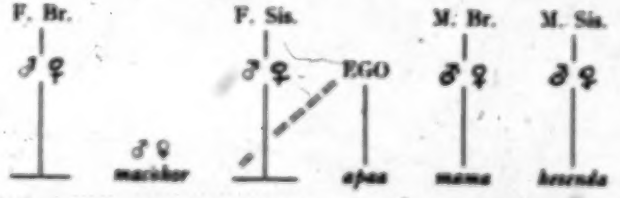
4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiwerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngui kum kamet', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i.e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *iliet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter, the girl whom he calls *marokov*, a person definitely in the *iliet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now, but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patoon*, who brings the bride to her future husband's house, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patoon* gives her to the man, saying, *Kaipaanin ciondo*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some ochalaid grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patoon* then sets up an erection of ochalaid grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patoon*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kowaiet*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patoon*. It is essential

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silk (*siik che gook*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oliniet has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad silk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *kwet ap siik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendindet*, pl. *pendi*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*arbeigat*, pl. *arbeiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "arbeinotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyet" (N.), and cow's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the kepuywet tree (N. *kepuswik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimokwopet*, or *kowoito* (*kowoio*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the elemulet tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, N.), warriors (*moruasiik*, N.), and old men (*poiyiniik*, or *apoiyiniik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*chipsiik*, N.) and women (*korosiik*, or *chepiyiniik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriniet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*moroniat*; N. *moronet*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the scale as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 195: FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

834 Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free,
835 subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never 884 marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, 889 helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word moralists. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of moralists as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often 837 being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, where there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *ekirorori* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl to associate with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital 824 lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

838 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.
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[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *siket* or *isiinwonkip* (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or *as anyone.*
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *siket* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kukuo* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kukuo* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monkhi*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Ndarotua in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *M.AN.*, 1935, 187.

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Dorobo PLS
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/339 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young man to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Ideal, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Ideal, the /[illegible]/ betrothed persons live apart and may not cross one another. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ideal, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Here, just as among the Ideal, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gorok i ol ik, to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to eat the game for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five bedcovers, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the calf that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

payment and a man has but few (no study) have believed a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Ganda of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a scarce commodity even she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as one is accustomed to see in a lover, giving her all the endearments to a concubine the that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

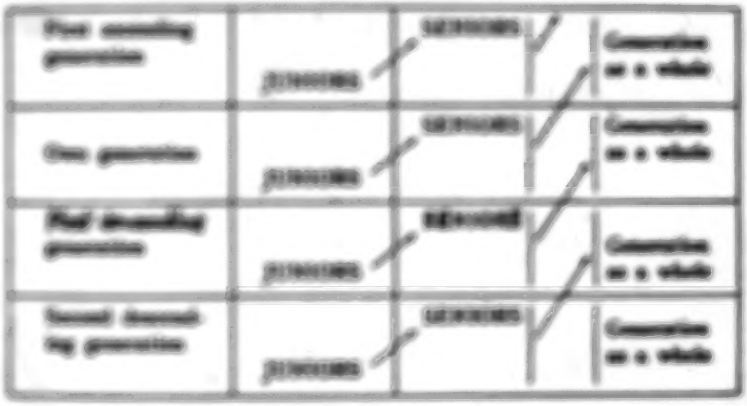
Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the world, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man. In the old days a frail wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they have most to respect. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Lwasaliti are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Tigonasibe the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Lwasaliti then said quietly but firmly, Ow lukwanze (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Crawford-Fenn has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty, and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore spends more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have seen there were even a man left in charge of his small children while his mother was away and treating them in the funny sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with children problems which his mother on her return was quite at ease. It is the mother who gives the children basic comfort and protection; she it is who applies them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are rewarded when ill. She then has a large share in their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. In the which, the claim is established among the Ganda by the way men treat their wives. Just as old age a mother is taken care of by her sons and whereas she brought them up in her infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 110

are known to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also Kipkoiben and Kimnyigilo, who are member to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his member C, whom his other brother B and member D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of uniti or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation in Dorobo fable is to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but E and G must give to H, I, and F the respect that H, G, and F do not give to each other or to E and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.



The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional rule of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while an Dorobo would normally refuse to deliver one of his own wives, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective ascendant may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Kanuli. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E.-5 (1928-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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2. Pre-marital sex-life

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(See over.)

are bought from the latter for money, and finally half of the sum of a state female head of goats approximately the size of a calf. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a bedstraw system. Instead of the bedstraw the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandonobo live in close contact with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other by gamak, bridegroom and mother-in-law by ge-ge, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride by sulang, according to ancient Ideal custom.

For beauties an higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid (usual). However, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal ceases dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for the remainder owed.

If the father of the girl has arbitrarily opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover excitedly creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a rope of grass around the wooden heavy pot. The father is not [yet] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment of God would kill him. In place of his consent, it also happens that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter — or among the Ideal — flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not cohabit with the other man for longer than a half or a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

[illegible]

[illegible]
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ami is killed by a blacksmith, the Ideal immediately place themselves on the side of the near injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandaliffes, as he sure, would themselves be in a position to exercise the revenge, but the Ideal do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as owners of the land and to particular sites of the ol' heroes.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome. If caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Other bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of heddrons. For the destruction of a finger one heddron is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandaliffes who live in close contact with the Ideal the assessment for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far richer dowry. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, or does indeed absolve. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perhaps not to occur. Kidnapping and rape are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a heddron keeping outside the camp, with the payment of ten sow ones. Anyone who steals honey from a heddron pays five heddrons. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the owner of the blaze of another through accident is not subsequently killed, when he has been prevented in chase the evil one hard to health. The dooming of poisoned arrows to the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his companions.

Unknown and approved kind of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation to the culpable body part, prohibition, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishment, the right of pardon.

For the hardly interesting as unknown subject, the injured one runs — [illegible] — or has already been murdered — to a decision, who is the victim of [illegible] among the Wandaliffes. Instead of the [illegible] ground to hunt of the eight clans, one picks them up and puts [illegible] on a Bodel's record when meeting [illegible]

4Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-kwe* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mimut* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mimut* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mimut* is chaperon; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-kwe* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-kwe* says to the bride, *Kaipaasia ninto, matiomak* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-kwe* binds a bracelet of sabatut grass (*Spermadoxa*) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words *kaipaasia*, etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *kondo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-kwe*. It consists of a bundle of sabatut grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-kwe* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-kwe* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the hole is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Kiyon kin*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-kwe* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage beside it. The *kondo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectile phallic, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, by the *Pa-kwe*, also by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *kwonisi*, which is made by the *Pa-kwe* of two or six sticks about 1 foot long cut from *chemyondi* (olive), *sigiriyet*, or *mamita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with bass and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the bass binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *kwonisi* is then left surrounded still in hole-down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-kwe*, some hair for knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *kondo* and *kwonisi*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

14.Huntingford E-4 /1930-1939/1941
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[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who enters into the *ilkat* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *anyun*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *ilkat* is forbidden; but with a classificatory outsider, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kobo* (bride-price)? is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kobo* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 191.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than in most among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *manhi*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Elgeyo Escarpment and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Nakuruon in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to south it runs very wide, forming a steep climb of

? On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *M.* xli, 1941, 107.

/341 cont./

V.

C00 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

[341] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Ani-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[324] /342/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal that is hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [325] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a powerful of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise wasp, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Ani, would harm the fetus.

[327] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to the occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [328] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned unborn bird or heard its dii-dii-dii calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is [329] given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/730 cont./

From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for ULÁ, which they call kuneng or kenneg. For a kenneg a kaya, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Ulá nga kaya! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a kenneg a nga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companies station themselves around the fire and sing: Ulá ngori ngai (ngai = giraffe). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and each sings: Ulá nyu keiyo ero, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a large hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Ulá ngori ngai. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a kenneg a nga they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobbo do not have a term corresponding to the el ngai i el ngaroti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an ornament around the right middle finger. As soon as they scent something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they bite on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The native has only one, which they called tarore and which consisted of a small piece of iron. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spoil the right

1. [A supplication feast instituted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--dual pot.]

...one cow-thing he can for both the female and homicide, and if there are no cattle in the homicide's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Kindi

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Kindi or members of the Kindi group:

Dorobo and Lumbi women: 6	Dorobo and Kindi men: 10
Dorobo and Kore women: 1	Dorobo and Kipsi men: 1
Dorobo and Nyik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in most cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of supporting more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widow

587 Unlike the Kindi the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives, or to [illegible] herself. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or are free alone.

Divorce

592 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any reason whatsoever.

Birth

● 941 Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and it is assumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere meanly. The wife is attended by a midwife, sometimes, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. 946 The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if it has none of its own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (which have the contents on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's chief confinement 951 worry is their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her closest friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has an ox or cow who has twin calves, the ox will never again catch an eland.

952 Children receive their first names, the child-name, soon after birth, on naming the fourth. One name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The 953 second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food; and is called "porridge name." In imitation of the Kindi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. Other circumstances, large become strange, may at times cause young men

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she *enti ke*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngotiyoni*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*ariyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *pasere amo wasoi kamat* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *ceuptuet*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *ariyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled on a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy; the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *sumet ndo*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being dropped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kotkoti* (Nandi, *introsat*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd, and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn. If milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

1A Marker--313 G-1 (1950-ca.1960) 1951 FLIS Manu
Darwin FLS
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C60 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

C63 C62 C64 The opinion that the mother heard expressed a number of times by Asé Wandoffio, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

C64 /341/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal that is hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a precreation of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise wasp, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asé, would harm the fetus.

C65 If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to be acceptable. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned swarm bird or lizard or [illegible] cattle. A woman pregnant for the first time is given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/3rd copy/

• 843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a bowl of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps assistance with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (or navel) is severed with a razor-knife (Swahili) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death to the family. The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, not of consideration for her health, but for superstitious reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of goats, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me /3rd/ of confinements of one woman was 11. Here 97 aged 4x6 women questioned, 374 children were born, which gives an average of 3.7 per woman. Of them, 51, therefore 55.6 per cent, were girls, and 73, therefore 67.4 per cent, were boys. Below their conception 71 = 40.7 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths are included. Until their conception the children live to the 1st of the mother.

[illegible] one can bring to mind for both the Dorobo and Turkana, and it does not apply to the Ulwarringkord's settlement. It seems the [illegible] [illegible] is gradual.

Marriage with Dorobo

[illegible] marriages were recorded as occurring between Dorobo and Ulwarringkord members of the Ulwarringkord group:

Dorobo and Ulwarringkord [illegible]	2
Dorobo and Turkana [illegible]	1
Dorobo and Turkana [illegible]	1

Marriage of Dorobo women to uncircumcised males is [illegible] [illegible] which, in most cases would have ended [illegible] [illegible] married, such marriages often lasted the woman's [illegible]

Polygamy

[illegible] there is no objection to polygamy, [illegible] [illegible] acquiring wives from one tribe or a few, though [illegible] [illegible] after a wife's death or desertion. In one generation [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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6. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she call be, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, sparkyoung, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's baby must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (grue) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *pwarre ores enemi kamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Yuedi, *enenjhwol*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the stool or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Yuedi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy; the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *ameni ulle*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being dropped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kadwol* (Yuedi, *k'emwol*). At this time it is fed with *ulme* from a small gourd, and it is not until *can be got*, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd, and gruel made from maize or sorghum meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small hole. It will receive its gruel and meat as well, but very small portions but as this may prove too. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

a clear, windless day. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Ewoka professed complete ignorance of it. A Ewok who had lived there before the Ewok War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest. "So we used to hear them whistling in each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Rank, glib and magic form the groundless which governs these ritual values and duties, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual norms of the Ewoks in spite of the tendency of its members to behave each one ritual norms and in consequence that of the Ewoks also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status, but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who loses a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (ritual) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must have made it all. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must roll goat's fat and ryak over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Ewoka must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) Any other has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (ewon or ewon) and in a state of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the method most often involves giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The ryak or fat must be from a domestic animal. If the person concerned has one, he must use it. If he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Ewoka usually means that he has to steal it, and then risk spitting himself while doing so. Therefore there is an air of daring in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but this still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is extra ritual value as food, and is eaten at feasts; ryak; the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

[illegible]

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wandoobis are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Each section is not a single village of the very shelter to ancestors or has already travelled. The sections are not intimate, and they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The [illegible] who has not any child, who lives at Kokonga (north of Kuranna). Notwithstanding a hereditary and no relation is ever established to which the person of a child. The Chiefs and the Lubrimen [illegible] are each governed over by a headman (grandfather).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is isolated by female relatives. There are no [illegible] observed, or among the Lubrimen. The Wandoobis allege that there are no special [illegible] connected with birth. Should a child cross first because also the world by call to belly throughout life. It is stated that the circumcise a female away with her relative, [illegible] when receiving a child accepts the father's face, it is boy, and her partner's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those [illegible] among the Lubrimen, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people (more ordinary representative to the first instance). The reasons of the girl and of the parents as both alike is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lubrimen.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast by which the people of the two sections to which the [illegible] parties belong take part. There is no more primitive to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which he remains with her in the new village. Here a woman a man has already built for the world awaited sought by his own partners, after to has cohabited the nearest with regard to the Lubrimen does the wedding is.

Incest.—All the most are hostile children against consanguinity. There is no special name [illegible] but parents are they "one to the body," and only from the village.

Age Classes.—There appears to be quite indistinct.

Adoption and Inheritance.—The chief allows a widower. The [illegible] [illegible] and is dealt with privately. On it is not to be against the community. A woman who is guilty [illegible] to support of life is not sent to her husband, she waits the offending man only [illegible] him a feeling duty. Widow is however, a child often, for which the grandparent is made. The Lubrimen [illegible] practice in this respect is not followed.

The accounts are subsequently [illegible] to a life is not to exist for the chief [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Ki and the Iare Bedi are close, which will be briefly discussed on a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the custom exists on the same among the Ideoi and Wokandi, whereas the Ivi and Ki with Iare Bedi own which for only a few exceptions, live in general always under one of the name used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all these branches in their religious views, and the essence of circumcision ceremony among both races. The peculiar characteristics of the boys is practiced by no other people or all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tonga, closely related to the Ideoi people. In both and Bedi, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their language.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the [illegible], the Ki Andirilyan, and the Ki Ambigona, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Ivi, as well as every Ki Iwadi and Ki Andeni, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now intend entering further with the ethnography of the Ideoi in particular, which is of the same race that of the Wokandi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people for the knowing of individual differences has been developed among the Wokandiin the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/197 Second Part

I.

(Ideoi) Tribes, lineages, subdivisions. — The Ki gimbi lineage. — The chief. Ob-ede and policy, magic institute, genealogical row, village, communities, feasts. — The ceremonies. — The Ki Mbwale lineage. — The ceremonies.

Every tribe (Ki ekelawa) is divided, or has closely been connected, into a number of lineages (Ki ekiele, Ki ekiel). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (Ki ekiel ekiele

US [illegible] G-S (1890-ca.1910) 1901 FLIS Manuscript
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[illegible] cont./
[illegible] premises, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Ndemi, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments. On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp. The mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric methods of the Ndemi, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps maintains with his calves the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (or navel) is severed with a razor-knife (knife) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family. The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, not of consideration for her health, but for superstitious reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me [illegible] of confinements of one woman was 11. From 77 aged Ané women questioned, 504 children were born, which gives an average of 6.7 per woman. Of these, 41, therefore 53.4 per cent, were girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 71 = 45.1 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

that one thing he must be both the fourth and fortieth; and it does not apply to the bridegroom's settlement to work for [illegible] their [illegible] a goddess.

Marriage with Fourth

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Fourths and Fourth or members of the Fourth group:

Fourths and Fourth women: 6	Fourths and Fourth men: 7
Fourths and Fifth women: 5	Fourths and Fifth men: 5
Fourths and Tufa women: 7	

Marriage of Fourths women to members senior to her due to the seniority of the Fourths, which by these rules would have meant that the [illegible] would have considered an [illegible], such marriages also raises the questions of rank in the Fourths.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Fourths seldom have the means of supporting more than one wife at a time. Except [illegible] were occupied in exchange after a wife's death or [illegible]. In one genealogy a woman had on her [illegible] successive husbands, none of them her husband's brothers, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widow

Under the Fourth, the Fourths recognize the re-marriage of widows to the nearest available kin [illegible] of husband's to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives [illegible] to [illegible] consent. Widows normally live with their husband's children, either in their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only: [illegible]. The husband can [illegible] the return of the [illegible]. But a wife who has been [illegible] can [illegible] for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

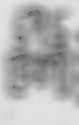
[illegible] between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not renewed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere [illegible]. The cord is severed by a midwife, [illegible] with the mother to prepare it [illegible]. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who [illegible] a [illegible] cooked by male [illegible] [illegible] to her work of the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Marriage with Jewish

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Gentile and Jewish or members of the Mosaic group:

Gentile and Jewish husband	Gentile and Jewish wife
Gentile and Jewish wife	Gentile and Jewish husband

Marriage of Gentile women to Jewish men is due to the poverty of the Gentile which by their early death has made that the Jewish family considered an important, more marriages also mean the conversion of wives to the Gentile.



Polygamy

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Gentile writers have the custom of marrying wives from one child or a time, though present cases as a result of a marriage with a child's death or desertion. In any genealogy a woman had on the other hand, remained husbands, some of these the children's mothers, and the only three was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widow

Unlike the Gentile, the Gentile recognizes the re-marriage of widows to the second husband as practices of Indianapolis in their letters, Gentile's, in other representations in a Gentile's marriage. Whether eventually the wife their husband's relations, return to their parents, or into the street.

Divorce

Divorce is rare and is of one kind only, consequent. The husband may obtain the divorce of his indispensable. But a wife who has been a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Death

Immediately between husband and wife stops at the Gentile at fifty month of pregnancy, and it can interrupt life the child is there for months old. Many cases there is the husband's love the husband going to the Mohammedan worship. The wife is accepted by a polygamy, superstitious with the number is present of Gentiles. The stage is the first for as a Jewish ritual gives the birth, and the wife's body grows by their consent for several months when the father being different is not only for him. The Gentile wives by guardian by her husband, very little a great support by each Gentile customary in for the wives of the wives and only the by the husband's grave present from the movement by the Mohammedan, and Gentile. Children and husband's the age of about a year. Three are and Mosaic and the mother's Jewish ceremonies custom by more birth wives by separation by the killing of a year infant is same by the women and the religious friendly. The Gentile, and that if a man has an a wife in the case where the wife leaves family, the king and divine spirit, which as custom.

Children's mothers from their wives, the wife's wives, and wife's by the Gentile the wives is not upon they marry by their wife's a preceding spirit. The person a principal wives a grave before the child are such. In the Gentile wives, it a their grave upon such and a certain knowledge wives. In ceremonies of the Gentile women. Children who this to grave Mohammedan wives after wife's a wives, physical practicality. After circumstances, Gentile wives and an wives wives wedding Gentile

6. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she can be "eaten the bed", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of the neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, sometimes and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several months after the birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*gwak*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in the new hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the midwife may, unless very expert, bother ("they are bad because they make the mother confuse"). If the father should have got a copy of his totem since being put there in him, it is believed that that copy will never vanish as normal. The most cumbersome aspect by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he cannot buy it) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called *ya-wanag* the fourth complete and becomes entitled thereby as a mouth. She may be purified however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of his settlement, but not by the girl, and the mark or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means the taboos drop again, unlike with people owning the *Tsaxis*, who remain confined all their lives.

A baby is confined as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy. Any excellent period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she gives them boiling fat with cheap oils, but as often as not to such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is treated by being dipped daily in cold to warm, and for its application to the nipples of something bitter generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *Goldenrod* (*Tsaxis tsimsyan*). At any time it is fed with milk from a small goat, but if no milk can be got it is given honey instead. It is also given fats of meat not by mouth but fed from a spoon made of a piece of goat's horn and goat's milk from mixed in wooden soup bowls with honey.

If the mother dies in childbirth, her husband's brother or some other friendly relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it milk with from a small horn. If milk cannot be got honey and goat are eaten, but very much dislike that as they say produce fits. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

Adoption is the process where an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be arranged for a childless couple (...) who have had their children or whose children have grown up and left home, that wealthy pair the son considers when it accepts the burden. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoptions may be arranged cases by by previous arrangement. It has happened, I may add, that a person who has spent a season of getting with may have had a woman get the girl pregnant, and given money that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells that when the girl "leaves the hut", and the prospective wife receives the baby in her own home as soon as it lives. The child is sold with them a small sum, and the foreign woman then each father will be all right. So that you "sell a child and can sell the next one." Illegitimate children are called if authority are to invest in unique kinds.

9. Wedding and Dowry

Marriage may be prevented by a husband who worries his wife with another man, by divorcing the male offenders until an arrest. If he sells him to her to pay the normal compensations for husbands. He may also have his wife, when asked by "wants till she has got paid", as they use to show to have a gain the fact, which they are together. If man does not receive the wife for a wedge per of pregnancy, but only if she is a had and supported and she is considered, wages and other way.

When a man has also such thoughts, could as the wife is divorce by one, to wife or son of the ceremony is long has gathered his divorce and money. Taking a glass of beer to wife could as it and gives one and is by children or wife taking his other out towards his and being present and looking on. This also found his face is his, his man saying to his wife, that announced that the process, or by guarantee (1) have further our meanings or his have has have children, or have our have we"). So, as this made by cases of by his and would return to and a his father. The and a husband who has put have his husband a wife was by divorced, and then has have a wife as divorce a guards by by have of a and complains his away, which was complicate a settlements.

10. Religion

In house a months we have as many time a is as you his child above this society a man has his as with a (...) Religious may there has to and is by ceremonies. The one thing has this used is his ceremonies a marriage of a man who his death or ceremonies of his wife, or which I wounded from away. Children again whether ceremony, living accounts, when with that husband's brothers, according a that parents, a one living when. In his genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to that ceremony husbands, even of whom was his husband's brother, and having an open his son daughters. The Kwoma homestead is marked upon his association of marriage a living a and several ceremonies

draft specific to it. People need to be aware of a Commons office, agree policy, being given to their programme at each General office, or for use for the accountable report of the gathering, and steps to promote ways to supplement by other thought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a set of formal rules to be followed and a 3-5 week a social gathering which is done in by the vice council through to schoolwide has become a social host (previous chairman). Business is done first, and the chairman sees notices. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the club;
2. Training disputes;
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting area;
4. The performance function which a chairman has called a member of another club;
5. Proposals entries for club;
6. Except honorarium between a club and a gift of the club. Disputes under heads 1-4 are settled by discussion, the basis of the council ensuring for the opinions the views of the members. The rules themselves is not considered the other members of the club, the such a case might be the event to get property. Two common body points to go, with the therefore known, after a short and impartial hearing of cases of law go to the rule of the matter of the most powerful biblical point of a impartial person who can be safely followed to use these judgement to avoid.

More serious matters, the three rules heads 5-6, are dealt with the the vice by discussion, but there is an still a more traditional procedure is follow. When a chairman has called a member of another club, the council of the club must also assist to discuss the consequences possible, and a chairman is encouraged only with the aid to the council of the chairman's club to hear proceedings, which also a performance chairman, are heard before the most powerful place can difference class (a) (control), and the matter is not passed the other of we club. When a club has a member of the vice club, the chief matter a person called by club. Then, the members has to have some heard view and left a and then chief the for a different. Then all each of both the hunting statement each of the body of the members can there be was to be provided you which two of the all each of the members of a can with the good to be. The extract from which the is a standard down to a per cent if the function has vote of the vice, to most per can to purchase a club. As a function per a vote month and a vice league the 21st has a club a per to vote being agreed of weight, and the statement as per of both which together with the convening of the body, then the from the performance council to the dissolving of business there. There is no provision of compensation for the member of a chairman, but the members have 21st a set up to the former's will we vote to help towards the expenditure. The club a council with be probably committee to which there you the trouble that there a vice which to a small one.

Except honorarium between a club and a gift of the club to not an offence (provided the gift does not have a vote), though the have to are offence

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] marital relations. — Polygyny. — Sororate. — Dues of being betrothed. — Conception of the young man to the dues of the married. — Bride price. — Paying the manner of the father of the bride. — Exchange of wives. — Obstacles to marriage. — Breaking the marriage. — Dissolution of the marriage.

[illegible] The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three or more he is a rarity. Betrothal to certain childhood ages is to be more frequent here than among the Ibibio, but as much binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has prepared for him to be married. As among the Ibibio, the [illegible] betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the new camp, and in his other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ibibio, but rather the one who made the pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

[illegible] Here, just as among the Ibibio, the young men of an age class together decide upon their wedding; the meeting of the married, and their fellow companions confirm this decision by a feast consequent-ing to the [illegible] of Mb, to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served goats and heavy beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidate may not yet drink. They like to eat the meat for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

[illegible] Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before the circumcision, five pots of beer and five bedcloths, and, even after the circumcision, half of a dark female elephant with the rest due belongs to its fellowmen, two head of cattle, which

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) *Spirit-name.* The choice of a spirit-name, *kaisat ap ememitik* (or, *aik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brothers and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child moves, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mising's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name	Spirit-name
Father's father:	Kipun	
Father:	Kimising	
Himself:	Kimnyo	Kipun
His son:	Tiongol	Kimising
His son's son:	not yet (will be) born	Kimnyo Tiongol

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*kaisat am mumwek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kibwris Sionen*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (*a*) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (*b*) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetony, "headkiller".

5. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she cut the "navel-string", and the husband must then keep elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, sometimes and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband in the day time when she "cleans out the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*nyati*) over her face, breasts and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in the new hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *nzeve ano nzeve kamue* ("they are bad because they make the mother useless"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The most unfavourable omen caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Kamba, *mwanaisi*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the stick or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Kamba, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy; the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *mwati nda*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being dipped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipple of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kothoni* (Kamba, *kitumati*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or sometimes meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

[redacted]

[Facing P. 96]

Ø Baby

Gathering eggs o Ga Kaina is often aware of pregnancy and normally is not revealed till about six months after the birth of the baby. When the woman's time has come, she will be "taken to bed", and the husband must then help themselves, while building himself a rough shelter to stay with and in the neighbours to his permanent. During the day of birth he invites a midwife by a midwife, sometimes and the mother's parents if possible. She stays for up to seven days to the hut after giving birth, and may then go the husband for the day time when the "woman is in hut". The child's birth must be kept secret for several weeks after the birth, and only to two days by sons by the father. At the age the woman must be purified by the husband, who kills a goat which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own, and eats his fill and refrigerator pass from to forward to get rid her family and baby. Also about two months the husband may come back to live in the new hut.

The birth of twins is not liked. So they are abandoned and the mother (or parents who would have ("they are not human like ours to mother animals"). If the father should have an a say in the new twins can have to live, it is believed that the twin will never walk or speak. The most unfortunate aspect by the birth of twins is observed by the killing of a goat which the husband must get by any means if he were ever to be taken by the mother and the female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called as among the Ovaherero and becomes ordinary member as a result. She may be punished however by the new responsible as one of the most children who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl, and the skull or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck and breasts and then washed off. By this means the becomes clean again, while each people among the Ovaherero, who consists another all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is not pregnant and for one pregnancy. The standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, cows etc., but as often as not is such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being stopped when it tries to walk, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called bushbush (Tswana, Setswana). At this time it is fed with milk from a small goat, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd, and gruel made from maize or sorghum meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn. If milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried, but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] help her with to bring up her children, overlooking her duties as her to attention which [illegible] children are still age.

[illegible] the most known and interesting among the Hundu Chinese way [illegible] lives during the period of my field-work, at Rajadesa, with his mother [illegible], and his family consisted of the following:

[illegible]

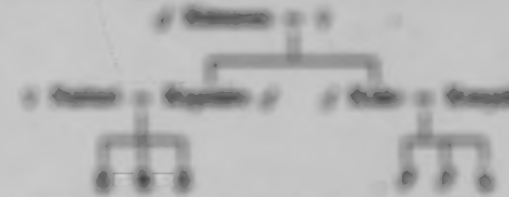
[illegible] Ang Shiang :: Lajhoemoen ()

[illegible] Rajamin (), Rajhoemin (), Dongan (), Hinah (), girl and one unmarried [illegible] from a few days

[illegible] In July 1938 Ang Shiang is a fish-vagrant but in the middle of the summer of his settlement, due to [illegible] of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a [illegible] and outside his dwelling. His mother's hut was about 100 yards away on the other end of his dwelling. His three boys and [illegible] ages, by descent being a Chinese, except from about two years old domestic girl friend, the other girl, was about seven. In this hut to sleep in the back part of the hut, his sons, when the guests are kept at night, and the left sleep with his children in the front part, his father. This was because she was nothing a baby. Actually Ang Shiang should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the mat dividing his room from the living was placed to make his room room or a separate hut like original type of Hundu but has no partition at all.

[illegible] One day I arrived earlier early and found that Lajhoemoen had gone across the valley to get a sea waterspot, leaving Ang Shiang in charge of the children. Hinah looked after the baby, but still he found his responsible little sister a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Lajhoemoen fed the baby, and the children helped to eat, and soon [illegible] to the river to wash. In this time, when there is no [illegible] water work to be done, the other people sleep. He even says Lajhoemoen comes to Ang Shiang's dwelling to help with the cultivation. Lajhoemoen normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Ang Shiang goes with her, and the baby is left with Hinah. But the dwelling is not so far away that Lajhoemoen cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

[illegible] The Hundu elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Hundu point of view is the father's brother, papa, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an older brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. He will, a classi-



[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] children of children were to genealogies according to the manner of reference they were put in a primary relationship and so by [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ...

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1937.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *mareiher* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *mareiher*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *mareiher*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *mareiher*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making boats.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the cultural.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in tending and herding stock; girls help with the house-work and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine main activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

and (3) *Macuker*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Macuker*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apaa*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *weirit ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *lakuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *aeago*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *aeago* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *macuker*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *macuker*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba [1].	Cultivation — all stages.

● [157] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Minin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to di-

[138]

[1] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

		Past:	→	Past:	→	Ideal:
Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest				
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Some: working for wages				
	Women:	Preparing the results of trapping				
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.		Cultivation of shambas		
		Housework and food collecting				
	Children:	Weeding				
		Herding				
		Housework				
Men Living Alone:		Trapping				
		Making things				
		Preparing the results of trapping		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Cooking, housework				

Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minie said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[80]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[80] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [439] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipsekst, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis). [136]
Mindat, red duiker (c. ignsi-issaci.)
Keremait, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *fama*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tilil*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokuonya	Kokuonga	60
Ulugum	Nuwuugum	60
Lutwaim	Lutwaim	60

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokuonga (north of Kamoon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Lutwaim are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Lalwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Lalwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lalwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lalwor practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

[P.190,1]

Although by relationship all these brothers are theoretically equals, as being brothers, yet by reason of their age-grouping different age-sets are found in all three families, with the result that Kimisi and Kipkutik are socially inferior to their brothers Kiptanui, Kesimo, and Kipet, Kipor; while Leina, Kipilat, and Kipkeino are all inferior to Leteipa. So long as they were small this did not matter, but when they reached puberty, the inferiority of their status became noticeable in such things as exclusion from all sexual matters, and is reflected in the general idea that "So and so is only a child, and he must not expect to do the grown-up things that we are allowed to do." The same will apply to the next generation. 561 602 [858]

The general principles of Dorobo behaviour may be summarised thus (from the standpoint of "ego"): 602

To the 3rd and 2nd ascending generations: care and respect.

To the 1st ascending generation: respect, obedience (and care when old). Easy and familiar intercourse, but no loose talk or bad language.

To his own generation: considerable latitude is allowed between members of the same generation: obscene talk and jests, discussion of sexual matters and so forth are tolerated, though of course such talk must not become acts. The idea of mutual help and support, which is accorded by all to their parents and grandparents (when these are still alive) is more emphasised in the interrelations of those of the same generation.

To the 1st descending generation: all members of this are treated much as ego treats his own children (and this applies more or less to the 2nd descending generation). In this category are also included those members of one's own generation, e.g. younger brother, who belong to a junior age-set.

To affinals: wife's mother must be avoided, both indoors and out, and must not be spoken to; if met on a road, a man must get off the the road out of her sight. The wife's father need not be avoided, and 606

/241 cont./

V.

C00 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

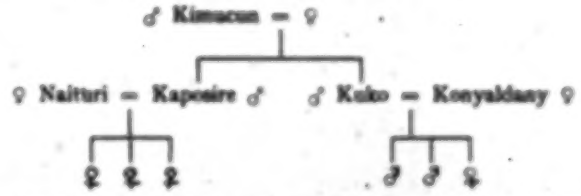
payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lahuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother [1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 148.

ficatory mother, *niyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naiturí did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiyo*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiyo* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukut*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipuang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Soosiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*nikiruiwat*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Nduroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Soosiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

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But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire laknat*; *makicupe kokwy papa*; *makimaaci korkat ak aiyo walek ce somis, amu ya, ngol walek ap kumisiet*; *kisrerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celelei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

585 237 591 that cow-dung be used for both the *kondo* and *kwenet*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

583 582 598 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 6	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Keyo women: 1	Dorobo and Keyo men: 1
Dorobo and Turik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 587 Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 834 849 Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *agaleyoot*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. 846 The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at 862 the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness 845 caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by 724 the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 796 803 Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *kwap*, men of, eldest sons taking their

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Filo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* * the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

* The Swahili word *shamba* — cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

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arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Kising, and Cepkatet mother of Cemondii. With these lived Cemondii's young sister Cepkoior, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cemondii and his wife. The three men Malakwen, Kipsaig, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungui lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoior could marry none of these young men, since they were all her classmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Soeiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepetip lived in a small hut (*sikiwiwat*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *fama*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoretoo she stayed with women there who, when they came to *Soeiyo*, slept in Cepetip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *fifiat*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-classmates. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of *mchakuru*, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

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4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ka*, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngoiteyonik*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaaren amo asanit hamat* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *ceuripocet*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *nomuti cako*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *koshoit* (Nandi, *kotowet*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

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881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [825] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, 589 helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word *mondeis*. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of *mondeis* as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinot* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [824] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

584 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

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payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lakuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 148.

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867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[711] [771] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

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the other hand, there should be no *wwriat*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

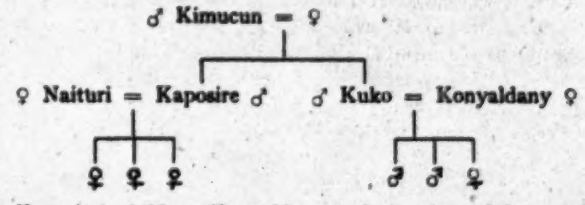
When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ficatory mother, *siyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



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The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukot*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

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4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tiliet*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[[71] [74]] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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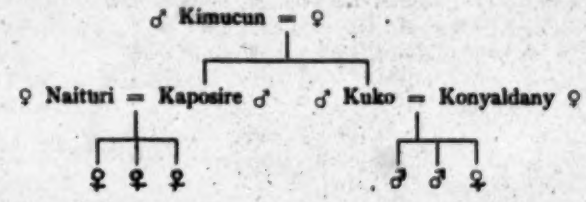

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li Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

553 [887]

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

88 [304] [648]

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinik*, the senior; *Taparit*[1] or *Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakenik* or *Kiptoonik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

56 [177] [181] [574]

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*korosiek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

621 36 [178]

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

614 [587] [179]

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparit* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5. (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was [439] established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu 648 came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1907 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a 273 leading elder called *hiruukindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, 583 and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls 611 are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, 595 but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

881 There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the 561 prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-pilatail*, derived from the Masai *ol-pilata*, 614 " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-pelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

776 A so-called supreme being called *Turuni*[4] is recognized; and the statement 769 describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

113 SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 502
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 60
[4] = *Nandi turur*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silk (*sisik che gwek*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oloibor has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad silk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oeik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendindet*, pl. *pendi*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*arkoiyot*, pl. *arkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "arkoiyotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sukut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the kipuywet tree (N. *kipuswik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakwopet*, or *kerwiito* (*kerwito*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the strophe tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kiptuk*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*petinik*, or *apatinik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, N.) and women (*kerweik*, or *chepinek*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigirionet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*; N. *murenit*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Hewitt, *supra*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes *Arap* (*ararap*), "Son of (the-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipsoi, whose father's name is Kimisilig, becomes Kipsoi arap (Ki)misilig, and is known as *Arap* (Ki)misilig. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tom,[a] K.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about two years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *simbwindi*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimerokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," K. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*simotit*, K.).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopoi*"; answer, "*Chow-lo*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tilkwonga*"; answer, "*Iyé*."

(b) Of farewell:—"*Saisoro*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisoro ak ropo*" (good-bye to them), or, "*Saisoro ak akwol*" (good-bye to you).

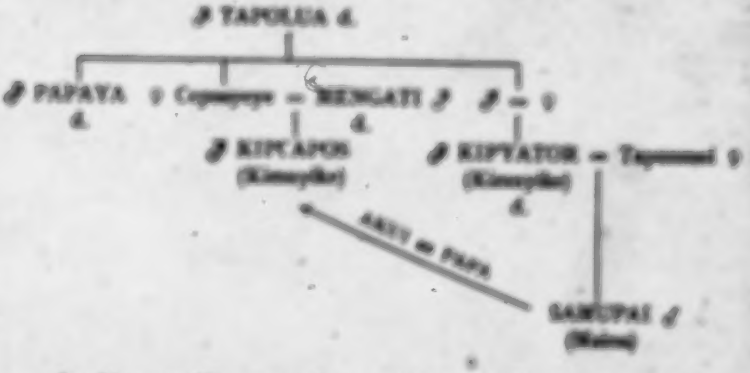
Except "*Chow-lo*" as the answer to "*Sopoi*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*koitoi ap aith*), which, however, are seldom used.

4dHuntingford E-S (1938-1939) 193 FLA Dorobo FLA

be requested and found both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both called him [illegible]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

Where a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *ahai*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *ahai*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipsabus where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cemngili a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Maldekwo, Kipsang, and Kipsengeli, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimoitai

[1] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who sits his head and then in token of consent

4:Huntingford E-S (1918-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

arap Rain. There were also two old women, Cosbirikat mother of Arap Kising, and Cepkatet mother of Comondil. With these lived Comondil's young sister Cepkoiet, aged about 13, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cosbirikat, eating with her mother or with Comondil and his wife. The three men Maloiuro, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipsigei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiet could marry none of these young men, since they were all her classmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Soweiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (akiroiuet) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *famus*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndaretun she stayed with women there who, when they came to Soweiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

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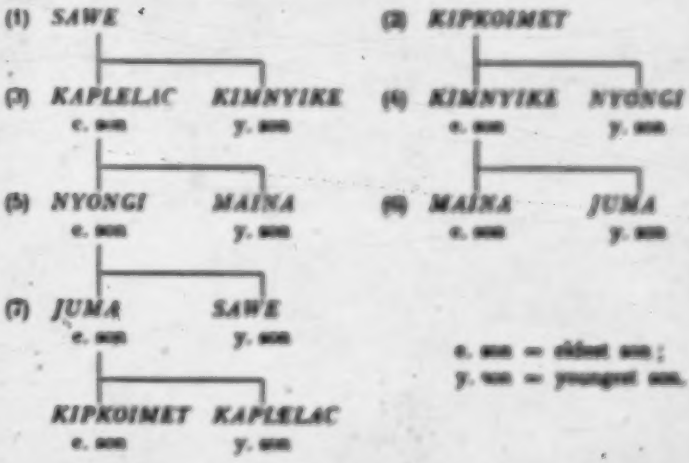
4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipkoimet, Kaplelac, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe.*

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the oldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1930, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1930, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1930 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates whilst the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

4:Huntingford E-3 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

are *kamuke* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kapisisi* and *Kimanyiki*, who are *mumbor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *mumbor* C, whom his other brother B and *mumbor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *nabit* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.

First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own kinds, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective sentiments may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

the other hand, there should be no *weviat*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesungany who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesungany would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikireinat* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere epaku lakwa ee mooipua emitwakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralised by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amui, konyekat, awa maaipeia emitwakik arumk ee cee, kwapak, kole, "Sere, epekua lakwa".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ewe, aiyo! Kokwapei koko, kole, "Sere, epekua".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Mooneen, lakwa, mawoak koko, kwamak, a matai kipendi aliunyin si kiipeia nalekio.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiio, miye nato, si kwam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiio, kejo kwan, . . . Keipeia ee, si kwam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi kwan, si kiipeia nyamyait ak kakmak.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1928-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*tum*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 32-60.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word monôsis. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of monôsis as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [864] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

582 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi hoito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *siyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muail ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

/68 cont'd/ 611 591 595 613 769 [775]

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 ● 561 [177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

/243 cont./
551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

• 881 171 561 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of 56| the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys 17| are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of [291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like [223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They [178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their [791] own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njĭg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges [692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds [224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially [555] on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1, [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
171 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

• 881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

561 [304] [587] [588] [589]

Life Cycle

Dorobo men pass through three stages: ***getik***, uncircumcised boys; ***muronik***, circumcised men; and ***apaiisiek***, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first ***tipik***, girls; then ***yosotik***, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, ***engilokisiek***, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

602 [171]

Kinship and Behaviour

The existing Dorobo relationship system, ***tiliet***, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term ***macokor*** (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

601

Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are ***macokor*** and all females ***makikat;*** in the second ascending generation, all males are ***kuko*** or ***akui*** and all females ***koko***.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: ***papa*** = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; ***eiyo*** = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; ***pukot*** = father's sister; ***konyit*** = father's sister's husband; ***mama*** = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are ***sindet*** = father's sister and father's brother's wife; ***apulaiyo*** = mother's brother; ***eiyo*** = mother's brother's wife; and ***konyit*** = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are ***kesenda;*** mother's brother's son and daughter, ***mama;*** and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are ***macokor***. Women's terms which differ from these are: ***apulaiyo*** = mother's brother's son and daughter; ***eiyo*** = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, ***apaa*** includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; ***mama***, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; ***macokor***, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are ***akui***, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are ***mama;*** and mother's sister's children's children's children, ***kesenda***.

Among affines, wife's father is ***pamogo;*** wife's mother, ***poker;*** wife's brother, ***konyit*** and his wife, ***poker;*** wife's sister ***pukot*** and her husband, ***kipukotiet;*** wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, ***apaa;*** wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, ***pakuo***. Husband's father is ***pakuo*** and his mother, ***poker;*** husband's brother ***konyit*** and his wife, ***sindet;*** husband's sister, ***kamati*** and her husband, ***poker;*** husband's brother's children, ***lakuet;*** and husband's sister's children, ***apulaiyo***.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi ***mama*** with his nephews.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *koroniot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

581 648 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women:	6	Dorobo and Nandi men:	10
Dorobo and Keyo women:	1	Dorobo and Keyo men:	1
Dorobo and Terik women:	1		

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [724] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [716] [882] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1928–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cogimich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoiinik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are *kesenda* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kaplelac* and *Kimuyihs*, who are *macokor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *macokor* C, when his other brother B and *macokor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *netik* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.

First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective *mostinnek* may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, [885] subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word monôsis. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of monôsis as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [814] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

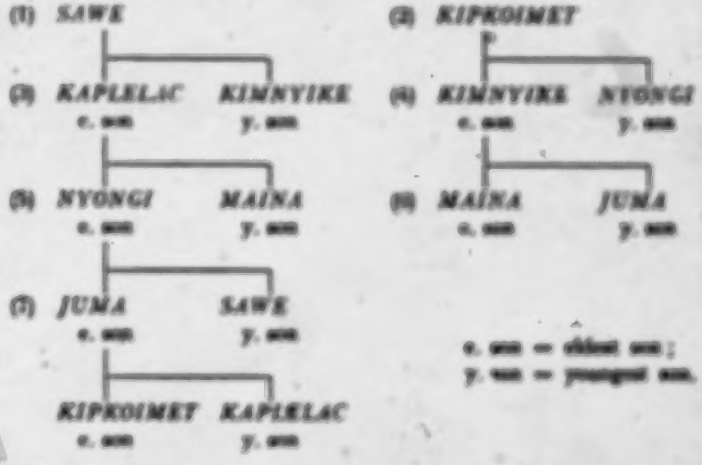
584 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1930 was: *Kipkoimet, Kaplelac, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe.*

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the eldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1930, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1930, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1929 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

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428 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

[251] The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkoren, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipsangei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Maiu regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to [116] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 60); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipsangei. But Arap Maiu has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching [46] off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singiro some way from the track. In Areas VI and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *kenget*. [34]

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate, and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to such forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the 177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *dorosoek* were occupied 423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, [126] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Tindiret. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their day weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs*.

114 * This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of firearms must be taken as referring to that period.

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the shamba. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [588] even if the disparity in age is but small.

Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to 606 be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit about out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkamuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

609 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *wosiet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no lewd talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *kowt* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *kowt* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *kowt* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *kowt* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 38-41.

/333 cont./ As there, the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (mwemwey) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (ang). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also maybe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /334/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, where dietetic & allegation, and therefore, in trading, they use each piece for small and tame.

Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the chopping and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 8), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 130 centimeters long and /Fig. 8 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 15 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through boring with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (seuleng). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out [i.e., among the Masai--Amelpet]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

231 cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyaleŋgai* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

101 197 The *Kinyaleŋgai* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Baleŋga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyaleŋgai* elder of the 'L-aimer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the [888] oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

101 I have not written much about either the *Baleŋga* or the *Kinyaleŋgai*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Baleŋga* and the *Kinyaleŋgai* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Baleŋga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Méoire ; Il-Méliak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Méoire* and *Méliak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

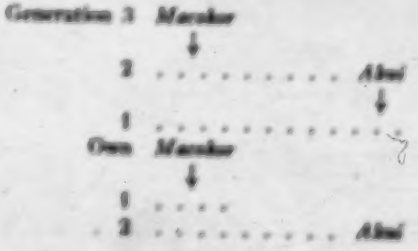
[1] Circumcision of 1872 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Councillor.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *hesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *hesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *hesendaanyon* and would greet them as *hesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

608 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *kuko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *kuko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *loiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *marakw* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lakuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

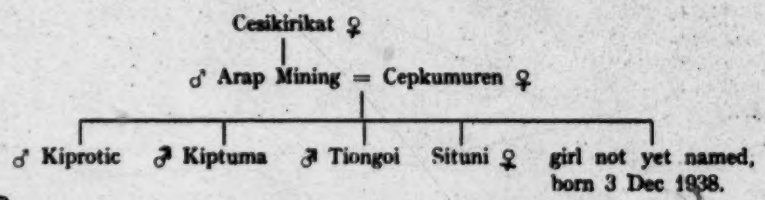
As EVANS-PRITCHARD has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[11]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[11] Man, 1929, 148.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:



[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo ualek ce somis, amu ya, ngut ualek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

kopotok. Kiinde tapot kut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ee can si korurio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.)

Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

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224
177
262
464
466
693
476
224
476
888

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

/247 cont./

278 562 834 [888] arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

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